

The Practice of the Political Economy Discourse of Media Industry on the *Sindo* Newspaper through the Development of Headlines for the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign

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ABSTRACT

Research Title: “the Practice of the Political Economy Discourse of Media Industry on the *Sindo* Newspaper through the Development of Headlines for the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign”. The research aim is to analyze the political economy discourse in the headline of the 2014 Republic of Indonesia President’s election campaign, in *Media Indonesia* and *Sindo* Newspapers. This type of research is qualitative. The research method is content analysis with Norman Fairclough’s version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Research paradigm; critical paradigm with critical theory. Furthermore, the data collection techniques used in this research are text Analysis, Indonesian-interview, literature study and documentation, and observation. Based on the results of descriptive analysis at the text/ micro level, interpretive analysis at the level of discourse practice/ mezzo, and explanatory analysis at the level of sociocultural practice/ macro, the results of the research that the political economy practice of the *Sindo* Newspaper in the headline of the 2014 presidential and vice presidential election campaign were interpreted as prioritizing interests owner of capital or similar capitalism. Therefore the author calls this media anomaly because on the one hand the media claims to end the Pancasila democracy by giving space to the opposing parties. But on the other hand this media practices dominance in the practice of media management by capital owners. But even though the *Sindo* newspaper is pro capitalism but its excess can cover it with populist issues and professionalism.

Keywords: *Political Economy, Mass Media, Sindo Newspaper, and Presidential Election Campaign*

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the things that might have happened and at the same time became the source of our fear as the Pancasila community was that in the process and management problems of the 2014 presidential election campaign report on *Media Indonesia* and *Sindo* newspaper there was an escalation of the influence of the information flow liberalization process, which influence had dragged the national press system away into the values of liberalism.

The 2014 presidential election campaign which was reported in two newspapers namely *Media Indonesia* and *Sindo* Newspaper is certainly the result of the construction of press personnel on both media. They also worked in the situation of advancing information technology as rapidly as an influential factor from the outside to the process and management issues of news that they could not avoid. All of that is based on the issue of transparency in the news management process in disclosing facts in the news to the public. The advancement of information technology is a new civilization which means information. According to Muis, the flow of information from the outside will be more intense and increasingly difficult to filter because the obstacles of space and time are getting thinner. Finally the world becomes more transparent.

For developed countries, the process of information liberalization is a natural thing because they have consciously entered the stage of global change with the values of modernization as the main factor. Globalization in the field of information in the world of mass media cannot be separated from globalization in the economic field, which of course the development of information is highly dependent on the ability of the power of the capital class. Of course these conditions have an influence up to the world of mass media in Indonesia. Therefore, the phenomenon reported in the newspaper of *Sindo* tends to display information about the presidential candidate with his reporting face containing more positive elements and negative elements as an inevitable issue of reporting. On the one hand, the pressure of various interests that come from the investor (owner) media into the news management process is getting bigger.

The globalization is currently penetrating the walls of the national mass media system boundaries increasingly depleting in each country. In the case of many new values presented by social change, it is considered to be rejected because the delivery of information through the mass media is not in accordance with the personality of the nation or is not in accordance with Pancasila democratic norms (Muis: 2000, p. 8).

In Muis’s view, it emphasizes more on the behavior of the mass media that appear in two faces, where the state through the national press system requires the press to deliver the news must fulfill the applicable ethical values and press law. But on the

other hand, the behavior of the press tends to adhere to the principle of freedom which is more nuanced to the interests of the intended media owner. This assumption can be seen clearly in the practice of reporting management in the newspaper of *Sindo*.

In two newspapers editions of *Sindo*, according to the author, this is similar to what has been assumed by Subiakto and Ida. It is part of media politics and popular culture. Media and popular culture which are presented as capitalist commodities, ultimately build popular cultural narratives for politics in the country. Media or newspapers reverse passive audiences, the media become interactive participants who are no longer just spectators, but are part of the "story". Politics is no longer seen as a serious event and is related to the interests of the masses, including citizens. But politics becomes a "spectacle" and even used as a driver to increase the rating of programs on television stations and in other newspapers and the rubric brings benefits to the world of the press, (Subiakto & Ida, 2015: 155).

In the habit of election events, for example, the political campaign process as carried out in the presidential election process can be interpreted as a practice of discourse (discourse practice). In the process of the political campaign, the construction of the discourse carried out by candidates and newspapers certainly contained or directed the interests of the candidates and the newspaper. The construction process is certainly carried out with various interests for the party who made the discourse.

Sindo is part of MNC Group, whose largest share is owned by Hary Tanoesudibyo who is known as an activist for the Red and White Coalition (KMP) supporting Prabowo-Hatta presidential candidate. The reporting of the *Sindo* Newspaper was alleged to have been influenced by the media's political economy interests.

Based on the description of the problem above, the researcher considers the importance of making the focus of research so that researchers avoid various forms of concentration bias during the research process until the preparation of research reports. It can be affirmed that this research focuses on the discourse of media economy in the news of printed mass media related to the 2014 presidential election campaign, by taking the research corpus on the newspaper headline of *Sindo* Newspaper.

Thus, the title of this research can be formulated as "the Practice of the Political Economy Discourse of Media Industry on the *Sindo* Newspaper through the Development of Headlines for the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign".

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Political Communication

According to Steven Foster, political communication is a way and implication of where politicians try to communicate their messages through various media instruments for skeptical and unrestricted voters. Foster considers that political communication occurs in relation to elections, when there is a political campaign process involving politicians and voters. The other side of Foster explained that political communication is not limited to the election, but occurs all the time. In contrast to the views expressed by Damsar, political communication is the process of transferring messages in the form of data, facts, information or images, which contain a purpose or meaning of sending to recipients which involves the process of interpreting power, authority, political life, government, state, policy, decision making, and the distribution or allocation of power that is running or not yet running (Darmawan, 2015: 115-116).

The emergence of political communication as a special forum for the transmission of political messages is a response to the needs from time to time because communication is no longer dominated by interpersonal communication and direct oral or face-to-face interaction but oriented to communication technology (Ahmed and Ansari, 2012: 181).

According to the author, there are several elements of political communication that are quite important in the context of this research i.e. (a) Political communicators. They are persons or group of people who act as sources of political information, such as political professionals (political lecturers, political observers, etc.), activists in the political field, and politicians representing political parties who commonly voice criticism of executive policy or country at a certain time. (b) Political messages. It is a set of information that is politically charged related to the development of political dynamics in the electoral process (c) Political media. It is a set of means or instruments commonly used as a tool to convey political messages in the electoral process. (d) Political communication. It is a person or group of people who receive or follow political messages in the electoral process. (e) Political effects. They are the effects arising from the presence of political messages in the electoral process.

Participation is an important part of democracy, where Huntington & Nelson (1976: 3) put forward his views as follows: "By political participation we mean activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making." Based on this definition, political participation is interpreted as a private activity of citizens carried out to influence government decisions. Then Dahrendorf (2003) stated "Political participation affords citizens the opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and pressure on them to respond."

In the context of political communication, a constructor or political leader is a political communicator. According to Nimmo that:

Political communicators play a major social role, especially in the process of forming public opinion. Politicians communicate as representatives of a group and the politicians' messages are to propose or protect the objectives of political interests. This means that political communicators represent the interests of the group, so that if summarized, politicians seek influence through communication (Nimmo, 2003: 73).

Thus, political communicators are also opinion leaders, as stated by Rosenau, in Nimmo, that occupying a position that allows them, with certain order, to express opinions about policy issues to strangers. Roger and Shoemaker in Nasution (1986: 98) describe opinion leaders as "certain individuals who have the ability to influence others in opinion behavior through ways or paths favored by those affected".

To play a bigger role than others, political communicators work through opinion. Karl Poper asserts that leaders create public opinion because they “succeed in making some ideas first rejected, then considered, and finally accepted (Nimmo, 1999: 74).

Each democratic process in the Presidential Election will always have efforts to gain public support from the public, especially those who have the right to vote. Democracy itself comes from the words *demos* and *kratos*. That is, the pattern of governance originating from the people. It could also be that the government (President) was elected by the people's representatives. It means, the highest power is in the hands of the people. Democracy is developed to foster people's participation, not someone or group participation. The role of the people (read: public) is more valued because it plays an important role in making decisions in the public interest. Just say, in determining a Regional Head, Regent, Governor, and President as head of state in a democratic system must be chosen by the people (Irawan, 2018: 91). The introduction of political figures as personal and institutional and or political coalitions will be built along with the introduction of political ideas, to get acceptance in the eyes of the voter public. Through a democratic system, each individual has the same political rights “‘one person’, ‘one vote, ‘one weight’” depends on the majority of the people who have the right to vote and come to the election by legally choosing the presidential candidate. The presidential candidate pair will compete over the same target, namely the voting community (Rahman, 2018: 167).

2.2. Thinking Underlying Discourse Analysis.

As we have seen, there are several scientists who have based the theoretical concepts of discourse analysis. What can be stated here, *Firstly*, Althusser. This scientist combines narcissistic theory and psychoanalysis. Althusser's important idea of “interpellation” is related to the formation of the subject of ideology in society. Interpellation is related to how individuals are placed as subjects in social order. The basic argument is an organ that indirectly reproduces the conditions of production in society. The second idea of “consciousness” is related to individual acceptance of these positions as awareness. They accept that as a reality, a truth.

The second scientist that underlies discourse analysis is Foucault. According to him, how the discourse is produced, who produces it, and what are the effects of discourse production. One of the highlights of the concept is his thesis regarding the relationship between knowledge and power. Power of attorney according to him is not owned but practiced in a scope where there are many positions that are strategically related to each other. Power does not come from outside but determines the arrangement, rules, and relationships from within. Power is always accumulated through knowledge, while knowledge always has the effect of power. The organization of power produces knowledge as the basis of that power. It is almost impossible for power without being supported by a political economy of truth. Every power is compiled, established, and realized through certain knowledge and discourse. Certain discourses produce certain truths and knowledge which give effect to power. Truth is not an abstract one, but it is produced, every power produces and produces its own truth through which audiences are led to follow the prescribed truth. Power is not subjective and does not work negatively and repressively, but in a positive and productive way. The power strategy works through normalization and regulation, punishes and forms a disciplined public. The public is not controlled through physical powers but is controlled, regulated and disciplined through discourse. Power is channeled through social relations, which produce forms of behavior categorization as good or bad, as a form of behavioral control more than simply described as a form of restriction.

The third scientist underlying the discourse analysis was Roger Fowler's group, Robert Hodge, Ghunter Kress, and Tony Trew. Roger Fowler's group, which based the discourse on Halliday's explanation of the structure and function of language. According to this group, the function and structure of this language forms the basis of a grammatical structure, where the grammar provides a tool to be communicated to the public. What Roger et al has done is to lay down the grammar and practice of its use to find out the practice of ideology which became the focus of analyzing the news text by using a framework made by Fowler, et al. is on the practice of using the language used. In this case, two important things are considered i.e. “words” and “the word order/ sentence”. The word in the practice of discourse as well as a marker or identity is also associated with the meaning of a particular ideology that is communicated by the media to the audience in terms of profit and loss for certain parties. While the arrangement of words/ sentences is related to how the pattern of arrangement, merging, compilation of words into sentences that contain certain effects on the sentence intended to construct a positive or negative image on certain parties directed by the media.

The fourth scientist who underlies discourse analysis is Theo Van Leeuwen. Leeuwen uses discourse analysis to analyze how the media positions a particular group or someone marginalized by the dominant group that holds control in a discourse, while other groups whose positions are lowered, how parties and actors are constructed in the news.

2.3. The Concept of Political Campaign.

In the course of politics in Indonesia there has been a lot of experience that can be learned from political events that have taken place, some are fun and some are painful. Both of these conditions always occur because the political nuances of a country are strongly influenced by the style and nature of the leadership of the rulers as political actors of their time. Since the reforms began, the people of Indonesia have become more democratic compared to the previous era. The community seems very free, open, independent, and egalitarian in dealing with all forms of persuasion and information. Efforts that try to influence or empower the people by coercive means become unpopular. Campaign is one of the important instruments in democracy as a form of voluntary and voluntary persuasion activity for a common goal in the life of the state. Therefore, the campaign will be able to produce interest/ participation in having a peaceful and open people's politics.

Although campaign activities have advantages in persuading the community with the aim of achieving goals more broadly, but most campaigns in practice have not run on the principles/ ethics, the campaign has not yet proceeded in the concept of scientific campaigns as developed in the science of communication. Most campaigns carried out in this country rely more on feeling and habits that have been practiced for generations (Syaifuddin, 2013: 14).

The question is, what is meant by the campaign? Venus (2004) defines “campaign as a series of threatened communication actions with the aim of creating certain effects on a large number of audiences that are carried out sustainably in a certain period of time” (Venus, 2004: 7).

Based on the above view, the point is that the nature of the campaign according to Syaifuddin (2013) is a goal-oriented communication process, because any form of campaign, including political campaigns, always has goals to be achieved by the implementing party. To be able to reach the goal, the implementation of the campaign absolutely requires a management system that is systematic, tactical and strategic. The campaign implementation requires a serious handling of the hands of solid and professional team members (Syaifuddin, 2013: 87-88).

From the point of view of communication science, according to Syaifuddin (2013), every campaign activity in any field is basically a communication process. Campaign activities containing political messages which were then called “political campaigns” included one study of political communication. Practically, political communication activities that often attract the attention of many people are political campaigns carried out by certain parties in the lead up to legislative elections such as the election of the President, Governor, Mayor/ Regent (Syaifuddin, 2013: 87).

2.4. The Theories of Media and Society

The use of theories in this research is needed as a tool or analysis and as a guideline to be able to focus more on the object of research and sharper in the process of carrying out the analysis and discussion of the data that has been obtained in the study. The three basic theories used in this study are Habermas’s Critical Theory, the Mass Society Theory of Charles Wright Mills, and Graham Murdoch’s Media Political Economic Theory.

By referring to the typical character of critical theories, criticizing ideology in the process of changing society in a system, for example, criticism must be done comprehensively and holistically with all the advantages and disadvantages inherent in the system if, for example, there is a process of slavery, life not independent of their social reality, there is injustice and irrationality in humans. Critical theory aims to open up the slavery process, liberate humans, create a life of justice and rationality. That is, the creation of a better and balanced human life for their life needs (Ardial, 2009: 191).

The critical theory view is directed at creating more just and human social change through efforts to sensitize humans critically in their lives. The critical dimension of human consciousness and the inspiration of Karl Marx’s social thinking which became the human starting point in understanding social change is an important dimension in creating social change, even though it has exceeded the context of Marxism by means of interpreting the traditions of industrial society with reliable creativity. For this reason, Neo Marxists are a school that is seen as a group with critical theory. Critical theory asserts about how human responsibility in their own lives so that they can live freely without pressure, exploitation, oppression or domination by any party. Nevertheless, critical theory rejects the practice of revolutionary pragmatism.

In this context, Habermas uses the emancipatory communication paradigm which emphasizes the communication process that is argumentative / communicative dialogue that is the communication process that “enlightens” to humans in their lives. What Habermas means through critical theory is to build life through a just struggle to achieve a “consensus” in the process of a just and radical democracy. Only in this way can the creation of a more free process of communication in people’s lives. This is called “rational conversation” in fighting for the interests of the class who are victims because of the dominance of power from a particular class. Habermas’s thinking can be understood as a combination of three main types of interests: Work, Interaction, and Power.

Next, the theory of Mass Society emphasizes the interdependence of institutions that exercise power and also the integration of media to the sources of social power and authority. Content often serves the political and economic interests of power holders. Media cannot be expected to offer a critical or alternative definition to the world and they tend to form accommodation in public dependence on their destiny (Suseno, 2005: 103).

The theory of mass society gives priority to the media as a causal actor. The basic idea is that the media offer a view of the world, a false environment or substitute which is a potential tool for manipulating the community, but also helps them survive in difficult situations (Suseno, 2005: 103).

Based on the above assumptions, the theory of the Mass Society regarding this media contains several main propositions i.e. (a) Communities are organized centrally and on a large scale. (b) The public becomes divided. (c) The media is centralized, with one-way broadcasting. (d) Communities become dependent on the media to find out their identity. (e) Media is used for manipulation and control.

2.5. The Theory of Political Economy of Media

The political economy of the media will influence the standards of democracy in a country. A democratic media system is an indicator of whether or not a democratic country because the essence of media political economy is a set of values that has a correlation with the prevailing socio-political system in the country where the media operates. Although politics and economics have always been significant factors that have an effect on media operations. While the political and market interests are equally forward, the people as the audience or media consumers in this case are both easy targets as well as commodities in the media industry.

Graham Murdoch explained that electronic media and other print media operated by private institutions actually use viewers as commodities to be sold to marketers. They are competing to make the program as interesting as possible to attract as many viewers as possible. The more viewers they will automatically be sold to advertisers, and of course the results can be felt by the media institutions themselves (Subiakto & Ida, 2015: 157-158)

The study of media political economy can be understood from the beginning of its development. This can be traced from the classical to the critical view. The focus of attention for this media political economy study is on what can be the causal factors and the consequences of economic, financial and political problems on culture, especially media culture.

The political economy of the media is actually a battle of how economic and political aspects have influenced the production and reproduction of culture as a commodity of mass media. This approach looks more at how the conception of materialism is distributed and circulated in the practice of implementing cultural production. As the view of Babe also writes that the roots of media political economy stems from views and conceptions born of experts in cultural studies, such as Theodore, Adorno, Richar Hogart, Raymond William, and E.P. Thompson. These people introduced the theory of cultural materialism. The efforts of adherents of critical theory to explain that culture or culture are the results of production and reproduction that are caused or become consensus of economic logic.

Culture has become a commodity produced by the particular interests of its makers in the interests of purely financial gain (Subiakto & Ida, 2015: 160-161). This is actually the main reason why the *Sindo* Newspaper claims social truth about the Prabowo-Hatta pair in the 2014 presidential election through reporting in the newspaper.

The political economy approach focuses on the study of the relationship between political-economic structures, the dynamics of the media industry, and the ideology of the media itself. The attention of political economy research is directed at the ownership, control and operational strength of the media market. From this point of view, mass media institutions are considered as economic systems that are closely related to the political system. The critical political economy perspective also analyzes fully on public interference as a process of legitimacy through public disagreement over forms which must be due to the efforts of the capitalists to narrow the space for public discourse and representation.

In this context it can also be called a distortion and imbalance between the community, the market and the existing system. While the criteria possessed by critical political economy analysis consist of three criteria. The first criterion is the capitalist bureaucrats who dominate the class. The second, media is seen as part of ideology in which classes in society do battle, even in the context of the domination of certain classes. The final criterion, media professionals enjoy the illusion of autonomy that is socialized into dominant cultural norms.

The critical political-economic perspective has three main variants. The three variants are instrumentalism, cultural, and structuralism. In this study, the variant used is the instrumentalism perspective. This perspective places emphasis on economic determinism, where everything will ultimately be directly related to economic forces (Sudibyo, Hamad, & Qodari, 2001: 5).

This perspective sees the media as an instrument of class that dominates. In this case the capitalist is seen as a party that uses its economic power for any interest in the commercial market system to ensure that the flow of public information is in accordance with its interests.

The political economy approach of the media argues that the content of the media is more determined by economic and political forces outside of media management. Factors such as the owner of the media, capital, and media income are considered to be more decisive in the form of media content. These factors determine what events can or cannot be displayed in the news, and in which direction the tendency of news coverage to be directed towards the economy (Sudibyo, Hamad, & Qodari, 2001: 2). In the political economy approach of media, media ownership has an important meaning to see the role, ideology, media content and the effects that media has on society.

The content of the meaning of political economy terminology above is related to a study of the existence of power relations between the media and the stakeholders who are symbiotic mutualism. That is, in the process of making a news of a certain event about power there are special considerations on the media by giving emphasis and scale-priority by placing the "interests" of both parties (the interests of the media and stakeholders) as something important especially concerning various aspects such as questions sources of production, consumption and distribution as sources of news that can benefit both parties.

It can be understood the meaning of political economy in a simpler way, namely the relationship of power (politics) in the economic resources that exist in society. The media 'political economy' perspective is a perspective that can dismantle an essential problem related to the way the media views in understanding the business aspects of media companies that they do in the news management routine. This kind of thing certainly has a logical impact on the management of market and political aspects in constructing an event that is reported.

The study and approach of political economy in the study of mass media has three initial concepts, namely commodification, spatialisation, and structuration. In mass media three interrelated things are: media content, audience number and advertisement. What is meant by commodification is an effort to convert anything into commodities or merchandise as a means of gaining profit. News as mass media content is positioned as a commodity that has economic value as a way of maintaining target audiences as well as advertisers who have become customers, as well as to increase the number of audiences/sales circulation to obtain and increase the amount of profit at the same time. Big profits from the sale of news or advertisements are very much needed by mass media companies in order to survive and more important is to carry out large-scale expansion to be able to master economic resources on a large scale. While the notion of spatialisation is ways to overcome the obstacles of distance and time in social life

With the advancement of communication technology, distance and time are no longer obstacles in the practice of political economy. Spatialisation relates to the process of transforming boundaries of space and time in social life. It can also be said that spatialisation is a process of institutional media extension through the form of the corporation and the size of the media business entity. The output of commodification and spatialisation in mass media management is in the form of structuration, namely the uniformity of ideology as an interest applied in the structure of mass media organizations. An example in the practice of news management in *Sindo* Newspaper as a subordination of such a large media corporation, in a structured manner the newspaper implements efforts to uniform the ideological values of the owners in news content that will be disseminated to the public.

In addition, the content of the media is the accumulation of influences from various factors that influence the decision-making process for related parties in the editorial room. These factors can come from, among others: *Firstly*, the individual/media worker itself such as the media manager's professional background, gender, age, or religion, in terms of professionalism of the media manager, educational background or tendency of journalist orientation to political parties. *Secondly*, the media routines

that takes place every day and become standard procedures for media managers such as the mechanism and process of determining/ making news, the form of delegation of tasks, etc. *Thirdly*, organizational structure factors where foreign components in a media organization may have their own interests such as editorial, marketing, advertising, circulation, general, and so on that have different goals, targets, strategies, and philosophies own organization. *Fourthly*, environmental factors outside the media such as news sources, external parties such as the government and the business environment. *Fifth*, ideological factors used by individuals / media owners to see the reality and how they deal with it.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The research used a critical paradigm. In a critical approach, the aim of research was not just to study the social world but to change it. Social reality for critical approaches was as a form consisting of various layers: empirical, real, and actual. Observation and experience with empirical reality are not purely neutral, and immediately, on the contrary ideas, beliefs and interpretations color or influence the things observed and how to observe them. Thus in observing social reality there is a set of beliefs that precede it. This is because there is a deeper reality that was previously formed (pre-structured), not created by humans (Hamad, 2004: 125).

The type of research was included in qualitative research using the Content Analysis Method. The analytical approach was the Norman Fairclough version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this research was in the realm of the critical paradigm. In this stage, inductive thinking was used and eventually becomes a theory through the process of forming new concepts (conceptual formation) and theory formation (grounded theorizing) (Hamad, 2004: 46).

The subject of this study is the headline of political campaign news in two newspapers i.e. *Media Indonesia* newspaper was as many as six news and *Sindo* Newspaper was as many as nine news, owners/ actors (editors) of the two media as well as representation of the audience of media readers. While the object of research was political ideology and economics reporting on the news headlines of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential election campaign published during the Presidential Candidate's campaign period.

Furthermore, data collection techniques that used in this research were:

- a. *a. Text Analysis*, which is collecting data on the dimensions of the text/ structure of the text by utilizing linguistic analysis of vocabulary, sentences, propositions, and paragraphs to explain a language text (micro level analysis).
- b. *b. Indepth-interview*, which is a technique of collecting data by interviewing in-depth the relevant parties as key informants to complete primary data at the mezo level (discourse practice), i.e. 1 Chief of editor and 3 Senior reporters/ reporters of *Sindo*, and 1 Chief of editor and 2 senior journalists from *Media Indonesia* newspaper. In addition, at the level of sociocultural practice or macro level, the author also conducted interviews with 6 resource persons who are professionals/ scientists in the field of communication, researchers, national political observers, former Chair of the Constitutional Court and members of the DPR-RI as representatives of the public readers to analyze the discourse of the two media on their social context.
- c. *c. Literature and documentation studies*, it is a technique of data collection carried out by collecting written materials, reading books (literature), documents, references (references), and others in certain places, in the library, to obtain various theories, concepts, etc. that have relevance to the purpose of this research. This technique is to complement the primary and secondary data at the Sociocultural practice level.
- d. *d. Observation*, which is a technique of data collection carried out by direct observation and recording on research subjects in order to obtain primary and secondary data in both newspapers (Syaifuddin 2013: 124).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This discussion reveals more about the *Sindo* newspaper's political economy discourse in the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election Campaign. The researcher found two headlines related to political economy discourse. The construction of a discourse on Prabowo's ideals for Indonesia to be able to enter the World Cup is inseparable from the aspect of the availability of nutritious food, all of which are produced by farmers. From the construction of this idea Prabowo has also touched on various other aspects as his campaign material, such as issues regarding health and malnutrition, issues concerning children, sports issues, and issues of Indonesian labor abroad. In the discourse practice, Prabowo was constructed while building emotional bonds with prospective voters from farmers and fishermen when he said that he was 'indebted' to farmers and fishermen, while the important role of farmers and fishermen as food producers was still ruled out.

Here it can be understood the reason of *Sindo* included groups of farmers and fishermen in the construction of the headline. The ST2013 results show that the number of farmers in Indonesia is 31.70 million. Male farmers are still dominated by 24.36 million people (76.84 percent); while the number of female farmers is 7.34 million or 23.16 percent. East Java Province is listed as the province with the highest number of agricultural business households, which is 4.98 million households (Central Statistics Agency, 2013). The number of fishermen in 2014 was 2,210,000 people. 59.86 percent of fishermen are full, 26.20 percent are primary part-time fishermen and the remaining 13.94 percent are additional part-time fishermen. East Java Province has the highest number of fishermen, namely 227,888 people or 10.31 percent of fishermen in Indonesia in 2014 Indonesia (Central Statistics Agency, 2016).

The data above explains the construction of texts that highlight certain facts on an event and include certain groups in a discourse practice. In the direct presidential election system with the mechanism of "one man one vote", the construction of the text by including groups of farmers and fishermen is of course aimed at gaining the support of 31.70 million farmers' votes plus 2.2 million votes of fishermen. Especially in the news, the head of a non-party political organization, such as the Mainstay

Farmers and Fishermen Group (KTNA), was presented with its chairman Wiharto Tohir, who called Prabowo an honorary member of KTNA. Wiharto Tohir's statement builds a bond between farmers and fishermen with Prabowo because it is considered to have similar interests, namely as a member of KTNA. Another fact that is highlighted in the headline text construction is the place where the events took place, namely in the Supreme Opinion of Malang Regency where it is part of the East Java Province with the largest number of agricultural and fishing businesses in Indonesia.

Sindo wanted to construct a neutral and independent impression by displaying the opposite group in a news discourse. On the 7 June 2014 headline, the *Sindo* Newspaper presented the Chair of the Mindo Sianipar Farmer Field Development Team and Chairperson of Rieke Dyah Pitaloka who organized the Nusantara Farmers Declaration to win the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla in the Satriyan Field in Kanigoro Sub-District, Blitar Regency. But the researcher found that the marginalization process was carried out in the practice of the *Sindo* Newspaper's discourse on the support group of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla. The marginalization process is done through the vocabulary used, "But the event is quiet supporters". This process of argumentation is in accordance with the basic argument put forward by Roger Fowler that certain linguistic choices of words, sentences, propositions, carry certain ideological values. In Fowler's view, the word is not something neutral, but contains certain ideological content.

On the headline of June 8, 2014, 'Realistic Prabowo Program', Koran *Sindo* constructed a discourse on Prabowo-Hatta economic program as a realistic program where the couple plans to allocate state expenditure funds of Rp. 3,400 trillion in 2015 and Rp. 1,400 trillion for infrastructure development for five years. The allocation of funds contained in the APBN is used for development to encourage economic growth. APBN and economic growth are two important indicators in determining the level of prosperity of the people. The indicators that are the assumptions in the preparation of the APBN are macroeconomic indicators which are indicators in the process of economic growth.

The use of the word 'realistic' in headline construction contains a charge of positive ideas. The word 'realistic' means: real (real); reasonable (<https://kbbi.web.id/realistis>). Some words or phrases in the text when political contestation is often used to provide guarantees to the public as seen in headline reporting: "not just promises or niceties", "realistic", "measurable", "rational" "ready to implement". This shows that certain linguistic choices of words, sentences, propositions, carry certain ideological values as Fowler believes; because the word is not something neutral, but contains ideological content. Meanwhile, the neutral and independent impression was again carried out by *Sindo* by presenting the pair Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla in the same discourse but with a sentence that gave a negative impression as follows, "On the contrary the Jokowi-JK pair in their campaign set a 9% economic growth target assessed unrealistic."

The conflict between the two parties in a discourse as shown above shows that, the process of construction of reality is a process of engineering an event carried out by the mass media where language in the form of words in the text becomes the main tool. The process of framing, discourse, compilation of sentences through text that is directed to bring a certain meaning according to the interests of the media is actually an activity of construction of an ideologically charged reality.

The economic power is associated with control over ideology which leads to the policy of allocating resources to a group of people who become winners in political battles. The study of critical discourse analysis in the field of mass communication presents discourse as an entity that is open and constantly undergoes transformations because of contact with other discourses. This process requires a discourse struggle as carried out by the *Sindo* newspaper.

If we pay attention to the reporting practices in *Sindo* Newspaper, it appears that the treatment of political news, especially in this case is the 2014 Presidential Election, is considered a commodity of economic value. Its placement as a headline has shown the main function as a storefront, which will attract readers to buy *Sindo* Newspapers.

The dynamics in the newsroom have shown, at least from the results of interviews, that all editorial staff were expected to have the same view of events/ issues to be raised as news. The structure in the editor determines the behavior of journalists.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the findings of the descriptive analysis, there were a number of things that can be concluded that the political economy of the *Sindo* newspaper in the headline of the 2014 presidential and vice presidential election campaign coverage, can be explained as follows; (a) *Sindo* newspaper was pro capitalism but was covered with populist issues, (b) *Sindo* Newspaper as a subordination of the economic system of capital owners related to their political interests, (c) *Sindo* newspaper contained exchange rates that impose market expansion for capital owners as policy makers and other businesses that were still within the corporate sphere with the media. This was a monopolistic strategy in their business empires. Therefore, it could be ascertained that the ideological independence of the two media lied in economic power, (d) *Sindo* newspaper tended to depend on the common interests of capital owners and journalists who were played through a political approach to penetration in media management by capital owners, (e) *Sindo* newspaper concentrated on the macro market, only in this case the *Sindo* newspaper was strong enough to play the issue of populist economy, (f) The tendency of the *Sindo* Newspaper media to both serve the interests of political and economic power with political tactics reporting put the audience free in accepting its existence.

Based on the two conclusions above, the author can provide several recommendations (suggestions) as a solution to the current conditions in the newspaper *Sindo* as follows: 1) To accelerate the ideals of reform in national democratization, it is better to avoid hypocritical attitudes while avoiding the attitude of hypocrisy towards the public of readers (audiences) in the business of reporting. The idealism of the media capital of *Sindo* Newspaper is very much needed and anticipated by all Indonesian people, while media institutions continue to survive through the management of media business in a professional, rational and proportional manner, not through capitalistic business management. The attitude of the media as intended by the author is very important in order to provide positive energy for the future of Indonesia that is better than the present condition, 2) This media with its abundance of material/ wealth, it is appropriate for the media owner to prioritize humanitarian interests as a form of dedication to the nation, both for employees and the wider community. We hope that all media conglomerates and other business

sectors can think that way, and 3) The reader's (audience) attitude and critical power towards all media needs to be built by the media themselves, from the media and for the morality of society. Because technology cannot operate on its own without humans, human beings are at the same time as means of controlling the technology so that neither media actors nor the public are enslaved by the technology, but use technology for the benefit of national benefit.

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