

The Political-Economic Discourse Practice In The Media Industry Through Developing Headline About The 2014 Republic Of Indonesia Presidential Election Campaign On The Indonesian Media Newspaper

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ABSTRACT

This research is entitled the political-economic practice discourse in the media industry through developing headline about the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential election campaign on the Media Indonesia newspaper. The purpose of this study is to dismantle the political-economic practice discourse in the media industry through developing headline about the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential election campaign on the Media Indonesia newspaper. This study used a qualitative Content Analysis Method. The results of the study showed that the Media Indonesia newspaper was pro-capitalism wrapped in popular issues, where the news focused more on the structure of the media economy compared to the ideological content. In addition, the Media Indonesia organization is a subordination of the economic system of the owners of capital related to their respective political interests. The contents of the news contained exchange rates that forced market expansion for capital owners as policy makers and other businesses that were still within the corporate sphere with Media Indonesia. This is a monopolistic strategy in their business empires. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the independence of the media ideology lies in the strength of the economy. Media Professionalism Indonesia relies heavily on the interests of capital owners, then concentrates Media Indonesia tends to ignore the microeconomic sector. The tendency of Media Indonesia to serve the interests of political and economic power with political tactics is to place the public freely in accepting their existence.

Keywords: Discourse, political-economic, media, & campaign

1. INTRODUCTION

Every 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 "one person" political rights, 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 fight over the same target, namely the voting community (Rahman, 2018: 167).

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 2014 presidential election campaign which was reported in the Media Indonesia newspaper, it was certainly the result of construction from the press on the media. They also worked in the situation of advancing information technology so rapidly as an influential factor from the outside to the process and management issues of news from upstream to downstream 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, (Muis: 2000: 3). As the issue that has been and being carried out by the management of newspaper reporting is indicated by a tendency not to adhere to the principle of independence as an ideology that must be held firm by any media because the interests of the media owner influence the construction of the text in the news making process. The suspicion is getting stronger when we find out the owner of the newspaper as well as a politician or founder of a political party.

The relationship between journalists and politicians are based on the process of communication between these actors. Some communication processes occur in situations characterized by rather formal arrangements. These situations are planned, following certain fixed rules, appearing in the context of repeated events, which use standard language is common, and the situation has a more or less official character. (Philip and Carsten, 2013: 3).

The emergence of political communication as a special forum for the transmission 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)

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 in 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 namely Media Indonesia tends to display information about the Presidential candidates with their respective reporting faces containing more positive 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. Whereas on the other hand, the demands of our national press system to preserve the function of the Pancasila press are also increasingly tight. In other words, there is a conflict between the demand to maintain the existence of the press and the demand to carry out the functions of a free and responsible press, in accordance with the Pancasila democracy, (Muis: 2000).

The ideology of the news in the mass media wrapped in the presidential election campaign agenda is part of social change that is increasingly fast and broader. The change in ideology is directly related to the influence of the process national development sharpened by the influence of globalization and this information age. In other situations, sometimes the content of information conveyed through the mass media to the public often contradicts the expectations of the public as a result of the pragmatic view mass media, which inevitably reality as such will affect the information development system in Indonesia. In Muis's view above, 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 Media Indonesia newspapers.

Furthermore, in the perspective in analysis of the news text related to the 2014 presidential election campaign in Media Indonesia newspapers, which tend to be not independent, there are actually the most basic things, especially the issue of the press values of the Pancasila that are increasingly left behind the progress of information. There is a gap in news management that has occurred sharply in the newspaper's practice. Why is that? Basically the gap phenomenon occurs due to a conflict of interest involving the media working class (editorial team), newspaper owners who are also the founders of political parties / politicians who influence the management process of the 2014 presidential election campaign reports in Indonesia. This matter has caused various interpretations of the news in the newspaper. C.A. Van Peursen explained in the current era of globalization, the problem of communication ethics is increasingly dramatic. Human ethics and wisdom are increasingly left behind by the development of information and communication technology. The law of communication of mankind is also increasingly transformed into a phenomenon that has more harm than its reward. Because, the function of information and media commodities is increasingly more dominant than social functions, (Muis: 2000: 19).

In newspapers namely Media Indonesia newspapers, according to the authors, this is similar to what has been assumed by Subiakto and Ida, to be 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 press, (Subiakto & Ida, 2015: 155).

Substantively the election of the President and Vice President will determine the values that will later be implemented in the government and politics of the country. The values developed through political ideas, the interests of the political parties will certainly be related to the control of state resources, not only members of the cabinet but also as the political direction of the nation for the next five years. It is hoped that every 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. The introduction of political figures as personal and institutional and / or political coalitions will be built together with the introduction of political ideas or ideas, to get acceptance in the eyes of the voter public. According to Stuart Mill in Subiakto and Ida (2015: 5), democracy through direct elections (one person, one vote, one weight) depends on the votes of the majority who have the right to vote and come to the election by legally choosing the presidential candidate invite. The presidential candidate pair will fight over the same target, namely the voting community.

Media Indonesia newspapers that are members of the Metro Group led by Surya Paloh, known as Great Indonesia activists, are supporters of the Jokowi – JK presidential candidate. In its announcement, Media Indonesia always gave a prominence and established the Jokowi-JK presidential candidate, compared to the Prabowo-Hatta presidential candidate. Thus the loading of news on newspaper headlines is influenced by the political power of media owners. Each media will represent candidates according to the political orientation of the media owner. The news of Media Indonesia newspaper, which is part of the Metro Group led by Surya Paloh, is alleged to have been influenced by the media's political economy. Where Media Indonesia, which is part of the Metro Group led by Surya Paloh, is known as a Great Indonesia activist, is a supporter of the Jokowi – JK presidential candidate. In its announcement, Media Indonesia always established Jokowi's presidential candidate as a leader who was free from human rights violations, concrete programs and visionary.

Referring to this background, the researchers are interested in examining more deeply how the practice of political economy discourse on the media industry through the development of the headline 2014 Republic of Indonesia presidential election campaign on Media Indonesia newspaper. The purpose of this study is to dismantle the practice of political economy in the media industry through the development of headlines for the publication 2014 presidential election campaign of the Republic of Indonesia, in Media Indonesia newspapers. Then this research is expected to be able to provide theoretical benefits, namely providing development on new models (theories) about mass media economic political discourse, especially regarding political campaign reporting. Besides that, it can develop communication science especially in the research aspects of the content analysis of print mass media with Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis approach, and can be used as a reference for subsequent research. The social benefit of this research is that it can provide important meaning for improving the quality of professionalism for media players, especially Media Indonesia newspapers in reporting political events to the public.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Discourse and Signs in Newspapers

Some relatively important definitions relating to discourse are as stated by Cook, discourse is the use of language in the context of communication, both verbally and in writing. Likewise the thing expressed by Halliday and Hasan that discourse is a semantic unity, and not a grammatical unit. Unity which is not because of its shape (morpheme, word, clause, or sentence). Connect Halliday and Hasan, there are two things that can be studied in connection with the unity of language proposed by the two scientists. First, abstract elements are used to teach language and to find out how the rules of language work. Second, the elements used to communicate. Other terms used in this study are more likely to use the concept put forward by Gee, which combines linguistic elements together with nonlinguistic elements to portray activities, views, and identities. (Badara, 2012: 17).

Furthermore, Hoeta Suhoed distinguishes the notion of discourse and text based on De Saussure's view that distinguishes langue and parole, according to him discourse is an abstract theoretical construct whose meaning is studied in relation to the context and situation of communication. What is meant by context is the element of language referred to by a speech. Thus, discourse is in the langue level, while the text is the realization of a discourse and is at the parole level. (Badara, 2012: 17).

In addition, the marginalization process as stated above, can be compared with the vocabulary used. This is in accordance with the basic argument as stated by Roger Fowler. He explained that certain linguistic choices of words, sentences, propositions, carry certain ideological values. The word is seen not as something neutral, but brings certain ideological implications. (Badara, 2012: 7). According to Berger, for the sake of the speaker (communicator) the sign functions: (a) to awaken (sense) the listener to something he stated to then think about it, (b) to express his feeling (feeling) or attitude towards an object, (c) to notify (Covey) the attitude of the speaker to the audience, and (d) to show the purpose or outcome desired by the speaker or writer, both consciously and unconsciously. (Badara, 2012: 13).

For the benefit of the listener (communication), the sign functions: (a) shows (centering) the center of attention, (b) characterizes, (c) makes him aware of the problem (relizing), (d) gives positive valuting or negative, (e) influencing (Influencing) the audience to maintain or change the status quo, (f) to control an activity or function, and (g) to achieve a purposing goal to be achieved using these words. As for finding an ideology sign it is necessary to know the context in which the sign is located and according to the culture of the user. Because, a sign can change its meaning according to the context. Both sentence, time, place and culture context. A symbol will change its meaning even in a context (time) or place) that is relatively the same but in a different context of culture (civilization). (Badara, 2012: 14).

2.2 Views on Critical Discourse Analysis

From linguistic history, humans by means of signs, can communicate with each other. Many things can be communicated in this world. (Sobur, 2003: 15). According to Badara (2012: 29), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates how the use of the language of existing social groups fight each other and submit their own versions. Some characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis summarized by Eriyanto are as follows: a) Actions. Discourse is understood as an action, discourse is associated as a form of interaction. Discourse is not placed as in closed and internal spaces. Discourse is seen as something that aims, whether to influence, argue, persuade, refute, react, etc., b) Context. Critical Discourse Analysis considers the context of discourse, such as setting, situation, events, and conditions. Discourse in this case is produced, understood, and analyzed in a particular context. c) History. Placing discourse in a particular social context means that discourse is produced in certain contexts and cannot be understood without including the accompanying context. d) Power. In the critical discourse analysis also considered the power element in the analysis. Every discourse that appears, in the form of text, conversation or whatever, is not seen as something natural, natural, and neutral but is

a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the keys to the relationship between discourse and society, d) Ideology. Ideology has two contradictory meanings. Positive, ideology is perceived as a worldview that states the value of certain social groups to defend and advance their interests.

In Fairclough's view, discourse is a social practice and divides discourse analysis into three dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and social practice. (a). Text is related to linguistics, for example by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and order of sentences, as well as coherence and cohesiveness, and how they form a definition. (b). Discourse practice is a dimension related to the process of producing and consuming text; for example, work patterns, work charts, and routines when producing news. (c). Social practice, dimensions related to context outside the text; for example the context of the situation or context of the media in relation to society or a particular political culture, (Badara, 2012: 26).

2.3 Political Discourse and Representation in Mass Media

Political discourse, according to Syaifuddin, is as communication of ideas about politics, both oral and written, which are official and orderly for the purpose of power (hegemony). In this sentence it implies things that affirm the meaning of "political discourse": First, all regular writings such as political news, political articles and political editorial are structured systematically and logically, which has unity and integration / red thread (coherence) in the editorial or sentence. (Badara, 2012: 75). Political discourse is communication in a complex process, in which it involves / is related to the thoughts and attitudes of citizens and interests, organizational groups, election activities, and lobbying as answers to how to obtain, process and maintain power (hegemony) for the maker of the political discourse. Here it means, communication involving political messages is as "political discourse", political discourse is essentially a political reality constructed by the creator / media to influence political audiences with the aim of political imaging, hegemony and accumulation of interests. (Badara, 2012: 76).

In connection with the 2014 presidential election campaign, both the Media Indonesia and Seputar Indonesia newspapers used representational practices in constructing the reality of the campaign. Campaign issues are social reality, each newspaper will framing the social reality in accordance with the interests of the media. According to Fiske in Eriyanto (2008: 114), when doing representation it cannot be avoided the possibility of using ideology, (Eriyanto, 2008: 114). That is, in reporting the campaign is adjusted with the orientation of the media's interests to the candidates it supports. The political world of media involvement has become the center of attention by many parties because it turns out that media companies also participate in politics. The mass media without exception is TV, magazines, radio, and newspapers often do not want to miss the political process in a country. The mass media is an important instrument in campaigning for candidates for formal political leaders, including communicating various political programs of candidates. Mass media can be relied upon enough to bring certain messages from candidates who get a place in a media.

2.4 Critical Theory

Some of the premise that has been the trigger for the birth of Critical Theory. First, the birth of critical theory came from the Frankfurt School of Germany. Second, the discovery and rapid development in the field of communication technology, especially newspaper technology, radio, television technology is one of the factors that trigger the birth of critical theory. Third, the debate about the role and effects of the mass media between the Frankfurt (Germany) School and the Chicago School (United States) is another problem that has encouraged the development of critical theory. The problem contested by the Frankfurt School in the research of mass communication in the Chicago School (United States) is the question of "marxistic economic determinism" and "empirical positivism". Four, Habit in empirical positivism research that denies freedom of value and narrows social reality. From these four premises, what emerges is what the Frankfurt (German) School group calls the "Critical Theory".

By referring to the typical character of critical theory, 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 human slavery, a life that 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 more balanced human life for their needs. (Eriyanto, 2008: 56).

2.5 The Theory of Media Political Economy

The third basic theory that is used as an analysis for this research object is in the discussion of the results of the research in the next chapter, which is the Media Political Economic Theory. 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 the maker for the benefit of obtaining financial benefits. (Eriyanto, 2008: 160-161). This is actually the main reason why newspapers, Media Indonesia newspapers discredit each other and claim social truth about each of the presidential candidates in the 2014 presidential election through reporting in the newspaper.

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: First, 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 . Second, the media routines that take 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. Third, 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. Fourth, 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. Methodology

This study uses a qualitative Content Analysis Method. While the analytical approach is the Norman Fairclough version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this research is in the realm of the critical paradigm. The critical philosophical assumption is that seeing reality is based on competition for power, identity, history and ideology. Thus the presidential election campaign is a battle of discourse of each candidate. Through mass media representation appears to establish the ideological discourse that will be built. Representation in the mass media, especially in newspapers, is inseparable from the influence of history, political economy, media and ideology. For this reason, understanding social reality requires a theoretical framework, but not to be deducted, but rather to gather concepts in explaining the phenomenon of media coverage written in Media Indonesia newspaper headlines and Seputar Indonesia in the 2014 presidential election campaign. used the Political Economy of Media theory, and representation, while Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis was used for discourse analysis.

Starting from the critical approach, in the stage of interpretation "dialogue" is carried out between the results of the analysis and the theoretical framework so that a new understanding of the phenomenon is obtained. In this stage, inductive thinking is used, concepts in theory are used to analyze factual units while moving in a more abstract direction in the form of generalizations and eventually become theories through the process of conceptual formation and theory formation (grounded theorizing).), Neuman in Hamad (2004: 46) In the study of critical discourse analysis, in addition to the use of critical tradition perspectives, critical paradigms and also some critical theories adapted to the research themes needed to become analysis blades in dissecting / analyzing text texts and the results of in-depth interviews (dept interview). In addition to the intended theories, in this study the analysis of Norman Fairclough's version of Critical Discourse Analysis was used as an analytical approach or model.

The subject of this study is the headline of political campaign news, namely Media Indonesia newspaper as many as 6 news owners / actors (editors) as well as representations of media readers. While the object of research is political ideology and economics reporting on the news headlines of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential election campaign published during the campaign period of the intended Presidential Candidate. By taking experience from what Syaifuddin said in his research, the data collection techniques that will be used in this study are as follows: Text Analysis, Depth-interview, Library study and documentation, and Observation. Then Fairclough's data analysis technique understands Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) related to research on tension between two assumptions about the use of language, that language composes and is socially structured by Titscher, Mayer, Wodak, & Vetter. (Titscher, et al. 2009: 242). The assumption is based on Halliday's "systemic functional linguistic theory," that each text has an "ideational" function through representation of the experience of representation and representation of this world. In addition, the text produces social interactions between participation in discourse, and thus also displays interpersonal functions. Finally, the text also has a textual function, that the text brings together separate components into a whole and combines them with situational contexts (Fairclough, 1995 p. 61).

The validity technique of the data in this study is the intertextuality technique. The results of this analysis are in the form of meanings, representations, and the influence of media political forces in the 2014 presidential election campaign. In drawing conclusions, researchers use interactive models as stated by Miles and Hiberman (2004). The analysis process flows from the initial stage to the final stage. Components of data analysis (which includes data reduction, data presentation and conclusion) are interactively interconnected during and after data collection. The researcher will draw conclusions by staying open and skeptical. As long as the research takes place, any conclusions that are set will continue to be verified until truly valid and solid conclusions are obtained.

4. Discussion

This discussion will reveal more about Media Indonesia newspaper's political economy discourse in the reporting of the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election Campaign. From the Media Indonesia newspaper, the researcher assumes three reports relating to political economy discourse. Furthermore, in the sub-section of this discussion, researchers will divide the three reports into two major themes. For more information on the political economy discourse in the headlines of the news of Media Indonesia newspapers, the researchers will present it in Table 18 below.

Table 18

POLITICAL ECONOMIC DISCOURSE SK. MEDIA INDONESIA

DATE./TITTLE	HL – MEDIA INDONESIA	DISCOURSE
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Headline		
05 June 2014 excite the world's efforts (1)	The Jokowi-JK pair received support from businessmen (KADIN and Apindo) and academics.	The Jokowi-JK Pair Policy received support from the business community / KADIN
16 June 2014 Jokowi is More Concrete (7)	The media considers Jokowi's maritime-based program because removing price differences is more concrete than Prabowo's. Text construction also shows support from KADIN towards Jokowi's policies.	
22 June 2014 Jokowi-JK Ready to Protect Maritime Affairs (11)	The Jokowi-JK pair stressed the importance of protecting citizens, maritime natural resources, domestic products and regional and international security.	Protection of business actors, maritime natural resources, and domestic products, as well as regional and international security guarantees

The study of media political economy on several news titles in the table above wants to show how economic interests are always overshadowed or occur in a political battle setting. Conversely, political battles occur in the interest of gaining power to regulate economic resources. In this interest, capital owners are involved through the operationalization of tangible mass communication media institutions to achieve their goals. Owners of capital affiliated to certain political forces tend to construct reports that favor the groups they support and marginalize groups considered as opponents.

The tendency of media alignments mainly occurs because of the working mechanism of the media structure in producing a discourse. This relates to the editorial work process where planning, selection, editing and improvement occur until the news is ready to air. Media in the view of McNair (2011) not only conveys the messages of political organizations to the public, but also changes them through various processes of reporting and interpretation. (McNair, 2015: 65).

On the news on June 5, 2014 entitled "Jokowi Breaks the Business World", and June 16, 2014 entitled "Jokowi is more Concret", the text construction was aimed at directing public opinion that the Jokowi-JK couple's policies received support from the business community namely KADIN and APINDO and academics. KADIN (Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) is an Indonesian entrepreneurial organization engaged in the economy. This organization was established on September 24, 1968 and is regulated in Law Number 1 of 1987 concerning the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The law stipulates that all Indonesian businessmen in the field of state business, cooperative business and private businesses jointly form the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the context of realizing a strong and highly competitive Indonesian business world.

Whereas APINDO (Indonesian Employers' Association) was established on January 31, 1952. This association was formed in line with the increasing issues in the field of labor and industrial relations, employers considered the importance of a forum that was able to become a forum for communication and exchange of ideas to resolve various problems arising in the field of industrial relations and labor. The interests of the government and employers. In a wider scope, the forum can voice the aspirations of employers to governments and other organizations, both at home and abroad, which are related to the world of industrial relations and labor. (<http://apindo.or.id>).

The practice of Media Indonesia newspaper discourse by displaying KADIN and APINDO in text construction, besides being part of journalistic techniques, but more than that has a close connection with the media political economy. As the discourse analysis of Theo Van Leeuwen (Rachmadi, p. 6), which focuses on: first, the exclusion process; second, the process of inclusion. In the headline text construction above, what is done by the Media Indonesia newspaper is the inclusion process, namely a discourse strategy that constructs a group or each particular party is included in the news text into a representation. While in Fairclough's discourse analysis, the representation of the headline discourse practice above shows how events, people, groups, situations, circumstances, or whatever is displayed and described in the text, implies a reciprocal relationship between discourse and social structure.

In reviewing the news that presented the chairman of Chamber Commerce and Industry as well as the President Commissioner of PT Panasonic Gobel Indonesia (PGI), Rachmat Gobel and Chair of APINDO Sofjan Wanandi, it could be seen that <http://dx.doi.org/10.29322/IJSRP.8.12.2018.p8456> www.ijsrp.org

there were relations between the Media Indonesia newspaper, the Kadin Chair and the APINDO Chair, even with Joko's vice presidential vice presidential candidate Widodo - Jusuf Kalla, who is both from a business background. Later, after the election of Joko Widodo - Jusuf Kalla, Rachmat Gobel was elected as Minister of Trade. Rachmat Gobel is currently a member of the Nasdem Party honor council and legislative candidate for the Gorontalo electoral district.

While Sofjan Wanandi, when the 2014 Presidential Election with APINDO supported Jokowi-JK. After the pair he supported was elected president-vice president, Sofjan, who is also the owner of the Gemala Group (now Santini Group), entered the Jokowi-JK cabinet to become the Vice President's expert team. In addition to Sofjan, an APINDO member who later entered the cabinet was Franky Sibarani, who was the Head of the Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM).

In contrast, in addition to the allocation of power to non-party political groups (in this case KADIN and APINDO) in government, for the Media Group business conglomerates, especially capital owners, the economic benefits obtained are in the form of advertisements by entrepreneurs who are members of both organizations. Some that can be mentioned here are Sugianto Kusuma and Robert Budi Hartono who are members of the APINDO Advisory Council. (<http://apindo.or.id/id/about/struktur-organisasi>). Sugianto Kusuma or familiarly called Aguan is the founder of Agung Sedayu Group, one of the largest property developers in Indonesia whose advertisements often adorn glass screens. (<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3179405/profil-aguan-bos-agung-sedayu-group-yang-dicegah-kpk-ke-luar-negeri>). While Robert Budi Hartono is the owner of the Djarum cigarette company and owner of Polytron. (<https://properti.kompas.com/read/2017/12/05/171034021/ini-sepuluh-raja-properti-terkaya-indonesia>.)

The advantages in terms of ad revenue as described above, allow the Media Group, especially the newspaper Media Indonesia to run a media business as an industry and at the same time a tool for the ideological battle of capital owners through the practice of daily news discourse. This advantage was also conveyed by Elman in an interview with the Researcher about the importance of advertising in financing media operations. Quoting Elman's statement, "Especially today, advertisements and editors must be together. No, maybe we don't have a salary. Where is the salary (if) from the ad not there? How do advertising promotions want the newspaper not to sell? Through the statement, Elman stressed the importance of collaboration between the editorial section and the advertising section to produce the performance of newspaper publications that attracted readers' interest. This opinion was reinforced by Gaudensius who emphasized the importance of cooperation between sections in Media Indonesia. Gaudensius stated, "Between the parts shoulder to shoulder so that. Editors also help friends in advertisements to open opportunities with policy makers. But Gaudensius also emphasized that the fire in the newsroom cannot be intervened by the business / advertisement section. He mentioned the need for cooperation between the editorial section and the business section to maintain the sustainability of the company. In its conclusions about the mechanism of the media industry's work in the Media Indonesia newspaper, Gaudensius stressed that there could be no idealism if the company was not healthy.

The description of reality and the dynamics of politics and economics above shows the reciprocal relationship between discourse and social structure as mentioned earlier. Both institutions, namely KADIN and APINDO were identified as public organizations, namely non-party organizations with political objectives; by occupying institutional political power, in government or representative councils, which enables the implementation of desired policies (McNair. 2015: 5-6). For example, on the June 5, 2014 headline, Media Indonesia newspaper constructed a text about KADIN's hope for Jokowi-JK to make a mental revolution to cut the high-cost economy. Likewise the construction of the text regarding the recognition of the Chairman of the Indonesian Employers Association (Apindo) Sofjan Wanandi that Jokowi not only simplified everything, but also made it very simple.

On the contrary, Media discourse is carried out by Media Indonesia with an exclusion process for institutions or institutions that support Prabowo. For example, support by the Mainstay Farmers and Fishermen Group (KTNA) and the Indonesian Farmers Association (HKTI). In the practice of this discourse, the Media Indonesia newspaper deliberately ignores institutions or institutions that are considered to be political opponents. This kind of media work practice shows a form of cruel market mechanism because it makes certain media dominate the public discourse and others are marginalized. The presence of KADIN and APINDO in the Media Indonesia discourse as an organization that is closely related to economic activities, as well as being seen as non-party organizations that have political goals reinforce McNair's (2011) view that the media not only provide knowledge (cognitive), but also organize and arranging political reality, sorting out more or less important events according to their existence or absence on the media agenda. (McNair. 2015: 71).

On June 22, 2014, Jokowi-JK was ready to protect the maritime country, the conclusion of the news was that the Jokowi-JK couple stressed the importance of protecting citizens, maritime natural resources, domestic products and regional and international security. Regarding maritime natural resources, Agrimedia Bulletin states that there are seven economic spectrums that have the potential to contribute to the maritime sector to Indonesia's national GDP. The seven marine economic spectrums include fisheries, maritime tourism, sea transportation, offshore mineral energy resources, marine industry, marine building and marine services. The potential for marine economic value is estimated to reach a minimum of 8.22 trillion dollars per year. (<https://www.researchgate.net>). Through the construction of the news, the Media Indonesia newspaper carries out a communication function that connects political power in the contestation of the 2014 Presidential Election with economic resources that include production, distribution and consumption in the maritime sector. The fruit picked by Media Indonesia newspaper is of course in the form of economic benefits obtained by the owners of capital.

The researcher noted that the Media Group, a conglomerate that covers the Media Indonesia newspaper, has planned to build a resort in Sabang since 2015 to develop marine tourism with the concept of eco-tourism in the western tip of Indonesia. The Media Group claims to have received direct requests from the central government and regional governments. The development is likely to hold China Sonangol Media Investment, a joint venture between Media Group and China Sonangol Land. China Sonangol Land and

Sonangol EP are under the umbrella of the Sonangol Group which has been in partnership with the Media Group since 2009 in the Cepu Block. Since 2014, Sonangol EP wants to become an oil supplier to Indonesia. Surya Paloh himself admitted to whispering to President Joko Widodo that Pertamina would cooperate with Sonangol EP. (<http://industri.kontan.co.id>). In addition, Media Group also obtained investment cooperation with China Sonangol Land to build the 303 meter Indonesia Building 1 with a value of Rp 8 trillion. Inauguration of the building located on Jalan MH. Thamrin was carried out by President Joko Widodo on May 23, 2015. (<https://finance.detik.com>).

The economic facts above illustrate the power relations between the media and the stakeholders who are symbiotic mutualism. These facts also affirm that in the process of making news on a particular event about power there are special considerations by the media in giving emphasis and scale of priority by placing the "interests" of both parties (the interests of the media and stakeholders) as something important especially concerning various aspects such as the issue of sources of production, consumption, and distribution as sources of news that can benefit both parties.

When considering the political economy perspective from the aspects of commodification, structuration and spatialization, it seems clear that Media Indonesia chose events by presenting news that was considered to be liked by the groups of readers. This means that reporting related to the political field, especially regarding the Presidential Election has a high selling value, as evidenced by the intense presentation of this political news as a headline. While the practice of structuring is evident in the dynamics in the editorial room. Particularly in Media Indonesia, it seems that the structure of the role in influencing the presentation of the news is so clear that what is placed in the headlines of the Presidential Election is a single discourse that tends to be positive for the Jokowi-JK pair. Explanations from informants in the Media Indonesia newspaper showed how the editors had taken the same position and were socialized to the journalists. Spatial aspects such as the adoption of innovation in the form of sophisticated technological tools in the media industry driven by the Media Indonesia newspaper, since its inception in 1970, have developed into a media conglomerate. This business group has Media Indonesia, Lampung Post, Borneonews, Prioritas tabloid, and MetroTV television stations. In fact it has penetrated into various other industrial fields.

From the discussion it can be concluded while the political economy of Media Indonesia newspapers is viewed from a theoretical perspective. From the point of view of Media Political Economic Theory, that from the aspect of structuration, the owners of capital conduct a variety of owner's ideologies in the news content that is disseminated to the readers. The newspaper also focuses on the structure of the media economy compared to ideological content. This media organization as a subordination of a very large media corporation / economic system of capital owners related to their political interests.

The Media Indonesia newspaper also uses monopolistic strategies to develop the capital's business empire. Therefore, the independence of the ideology of the media lies precisely in economic and political power. Political economic interests This newspaper has influenced the values of democracy which are increasingly retreating in the practice of the state. The political and economic practice of the Media Indonesia newspaper affiliated with the Nasdem party has become a significant factor affecting media operations. While readers as viewers / consumers / become easy targets as well as commodities in the media industry. This Media Indonesia newspaper practices the values of materialism that are distributed and circulated in the production practices of new cultures into the concurrency of economic logic for the benefit of the owners of capital to gain financial gain and political power. The political economy interests of the capital owners of the newspaper have actually spawned disagreements among readers because they narrow the space for public discourse, representation, distortion and imbalance between society, the market and the country's political system.

From the criteria of critical political economy analysis, it can be affirmed that; a). Media Indonesia newspapers can be classified in the class of capitalist bureaucrats and dominating groups. b). The Media Indonesia newspaper is part of the dominant class among the classes in the community that conducts the fight. c). Professional Media Indonesia newspapers form an illusion of autonomy that is socialized into norms - nonna dominant cultures.

From the commodification aspect, the Media Indonesia newspaper has made the 2014 presidential election campaign event in the news a commodity / merchandise to accumulate economic and political value benefits by capital owners as a way of maintaining target audiences as well as advertisers who have become customers, as well as increasing the amount larger sales people / circulation so that they can survive and make massive expansion in order to control economic resources on a large scale. From the spatial aspect, the political economy of Media Indonesia newspaper has also commodified information technology by building online, TV, corporate media and the size of media business bodies as an effective means of overcoming barriers to distance and time with readers. From the perspective of professionalism at the level of the political economy of the media, the main focus of the Media Indonesia newspaper is to serve the needs of capital owners in providing a platform for a variety of different views. Institutional autonomy and journalist professionalism are not the best guarantee for proper supervision of political power.

5. Conclusion

Regarding the political-economic of the Media Indonesia newspaper on the headline of 2014 presidential and vice presidential campaign reports, it can be concluded that the newspaper Media Indonesia is pro-capitalism wrapped in popular issues. The Media Indonesia newspaper focuses on the structure of the media economy compared to the ideological content. In addition, the Media Indonesia organization is a subordination of the economic system of the owners of capital related to their respective political interests. The contents of the news contained exchange rates that forced market expansion for capital owners as policy makers and other businesses that were still within the corporate sphere with Media Indonesia. This is a monopolistic strategy in their business empires. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the independence of the media ideology lies in the strength of the economy. Media Professionalism Indonesia relies heavily on the interests of capital owners, then concentrates Media Indonesia tends to ignore the

microeconomic sector. The tendency of Media Indonesia to serve the interests of political and economic power with political tactics is to place the public freely in accepting their existence.

Based on the two conclusions above, the writer can provide several recommendations (suggestions), namely that Media Indonesia consistently adheres to and is responsible in accordance with the spirit of the National Press Law and the Journalistic Code of Ethics. Media Indonesia also should avoid hypocritical attitudes and stay away from hypocrisy towards the public (audience) and run media business management professionally, rationally and proportionally, not through capitalistic business management. This mass media must strengthen the role in providing education / literacy to the community. Media Indonesia owners are expected to be able to stay away from an anomalous attitude in manipulating nationalism symbols to their particular readers, and to the general Indonesian community. The media owner (owner) should prioritize humanitarian interests as a form of dedication to the nation, both to employees and the wider community

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