

Landscape Political Economy Media in Kompas Gramedia Group (KGG): A Chomsky's Media Propaganda Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Kompas Gramedia Group (KGG) is one of Indonesia's largest corporations with a network of media businesses. This study aims to analyze and map two aspects: How the mapping of business networks and the development of KGG media concentration in several regions in Indonesia, as well as political and economic factors that influence the formation (construction) of strengthening the KGG conglomerate as one of the largest media companies in Indonesia today. This study uses qualitative research methods through the instrument of political economy analysis of media propaganda models against five filters/layers of political media economy developed by Noam Chomsky. The study results found that KGG built a media business arena almost evenly throughout Indonesia. Arena contestation has become a bone of contention because it has significant economic opportunities to create new expansion areas. For example, areas outside Jakarta as information control mechanisms from Jakarta can control suburbs as the center of information. In addition to the work of five media layers on Kompas, it can move quickly to reach one point, namely the element of diversity or diversity of media content consumed by the audience to be nonexistent. This condition needs to be watched out as a threat to the independence of the fulfillment of citizens' rights to diverse information, but the content is not uniform.

Keywords: Kompas Gramedia Group; Political Economy of Media; Noam Chomsky; Media Propaganda.

INTRODUCTION

The development of the mass media industry in Indonesia can always be connected to the political context and economic interests (Sen & Hill, 2007). The media industry began to increase at the end of the new order regime and peaked in the 1998 reform era. When the first private television emerged in Indonesia in the early 1990s, Indonesia's broadcasting business soared rapidly; some Indonesian conglomerates became interested in the broadcasting business. They calculated the commercial entertainment and television business as a new opportunity to profit. It was not until ten years since RCTI was the first private television to broadcast nationally that the media industry's momentum in Indonesia increased.

The media industry, especially television, today has changed a lot. Initially, a force that supported democracy now goes to the point that ultimately has the potential to threaten democracy itself. It is a misguided thought that democracy is solely a matter of strengthening the people's aspirations through the release of State authoritarianism. Especially for the mass media that influence the national elite. The threat of democracy can also arise through the strengthening of the mass media as an economic institution that sacrifices the public aspect in its behavior (Kristiawan, 2012).

From a political perspective, the structure of domination arises not only from the power of the State but also from economic power. This understanding is in line with what is often reminded by many social scientists such as Noam Chomsky and Ben Bagdikian. Two great thinkers in the study of the political economy of the media. According to Chomsky, in countries where power is in the hands of the state bureaucracy, there is monopoly control over the media, which is often equipped with official censorship bodies to make it clear that the media serves the goals of the dominant elite (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

Chomsky's statement can be observed that in triangularity, political interests involve the interests of the government, the public interest, and the interests of the media industry. Monopolistic practices have controlled these three things and are also responded to by the State bureaucracy, which continues to be in a position to harm the public interest, such as through some regulatory applications. That way, the keyword in this discourse is the isolation of media ownership which has proven to be the center of media industry problems, especially in the Indonesian context.

Previous research has been researched Apul (2022) on local media autonomy crisis: analysis of Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model in Victory News Daily in the 2018 Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT) Governor election contest. The study's result was that the different accesses of the elite to the media are responsible for producing separate access to news reporting structures. This access results in five filters: 1.) Media ownership: News of Victory, the face of the national and local elite kongsi in NTT; 2.) Advertising as a source of income for the News of Victory; 3.) Elite as the leading news source; 4.) 'Flak' or criticism to discipline the media and 5.) Pancasila ideology as a national control mechanism.

Today's latest development is the tendency of media ownership to assemble in one corporation –a conglomerate (Wasko et al., 2011) using the term media conglomerate. This broadcasting company combines the operation of television with newspapers, magazine publications, broadcast radio, and cable television through the horizontal integration of information power. The rapid development of technology in the 4.0 era is a lot of mass media overlords, uniting media channels of media, through the process of acquisition or merger; this is an inevitable development, which is usually taken to increase profits and reduce costs. Such a portrait can be seen from the development of the media industry in Indonesia at the latest.

For the current context, mainstream media is centered on only a few owners, such as the Kompas Gramedia Group (KGG), Jawa Pos Group, Media Nusantara Citra, Berita Satu Holding, Vivanews Holding, Trans Corp. Ownership in large groups is not only on one platform but multiplatform, ranging from newspapers, radio, T.V. and also online. Almost all significant media also have businesses outside of media affairs.

The conditions described by (Bagdikian, 2004), which refer to the political economy setting of the media in the United States of America, are not much different from what happened in Indonesia. For a long time, the media industry has been a battleground for the business and political interests of the elites. Listen to the history of the establishment of several mass media, especially print media, in the era of the Soeharto government, the president of Indonesia for 32 years; the media must be willing to be stalked for their authoritarian political interests. Among them are The Daily Indonesia Raya, Sinar Harapan Tempo and Harian Kompas (Hikmat, 2018).

The attempted suppression of the mass media by the then government, affected by no longer being able to breathe press freedom, was called the ethical term 'free and responsible press. The political effect of the three newspapers must be suppressed to the point that it is completely forbidden to the public. Unlike the Kompas daily, even though you have to appear with determined news content, you have to "lie down" to survive for its existence. As a result, until now, Kompas has become one of the media corporation monsters that counts in the country.

Because it has had a good reputation and public trust for decades, Kompas group, a media company led by Jacob Oetama, has now controlled over 150 print, electronic, and broadcast media brands in this cluster. Not counting other business sectors such as Hospitality, Education, Event Organizer, and Property (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

Based on the data on the media ownership sectors above, P.T. Kompas Gramedia Group is one of the largest media conglomerates in Indonesia. This media company has business in program production, program distribution, terrestrial television channels, television program channels, newspapers, tabloids, and radio networks. The company, under the control of C.E.O. Jacob Oetama, the owner,

further emphasizes the characteristics of media concentration which is only controlled by a handful of elites, managing the media and information business in an institution (corporation), namely Kompas Gramedia Group.

Based on the above background, the author further wants to dissect and examine the extent of the tension in the vortex of media ownership dominated by a certain few people, in this case, reviewing the Kompas Gramedia Group.

METHOD

The primary method in this study is qualitative. The descriptive analysis approach studies several primary sources, including literature analysts, relevant to the theoretical foundation used in this study. Data analysis includes descriptions and interpretations of understanding and studying theories from various research-related literature. This article refers to Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman regarding the political media economy in the review "Propaganda Model". According to Chomsky, the "propaganda model" is an analytical framework that seeks to explain the appearance of basic institutional structures and relationships, which is where the media works (Chomsky, 2009; Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

This propaganda model describes the existence of a filter that presents the existing political power. The information given by the media has been filtered by five filters, including:

First filter: Size, Ownership, and Profit Orientation of the media

The media has a network of ownership links with other economic institutions (corporations, media services sector). Few people control the dominant media. Those who control the media also have ownership in other areas of business or politics because the media is controlled by few people (Chomsky, 2009).

Second filter: Advertiser

Advertisers influence media content directly or indirectly. The range of the media reflects the perspectives and interests of sellers, buyers, and products. Moreover, advertising is a significant source even for the press. Like Television and radio, almost 100% of revenue comes from advertising. As for print media, 50-75% of revenue comes from advertising.

Third filter: Media Source

News sources are people who know the facts (events); they can also be people who are considered authoritative in explaining an event. Without sources, news can be just a rumor. Moreover, news sources are essential for two things: the credibility of the news; the more complex the source is to achieve, the more prestige a news story will be. Second, the media can claim that the information produced is "objective" (Chomsky, 2009).

Fourth filter: Flak

Flak refers to a negative response to a media program or institution. It can be letters, petitions, telephones, lawsuits, and other forms of complaints and protests (Herman & Chomsky, 2010). Flak can appear sporadically. Still, it can also be organized by corporations or social forces that exist in society.

Fifth filter: The ideology of Anti-communism (or anything that can threaten elite power)

This filter is understood as an ideology that helps mobilize public support in the fight against the "common enemy." Such doctrines and common enemies unite the media and public views.

Thus, based on the background and references to Chomsky's media propaganda model theory, I will thus go over two aspects:

1. How to mapping the development of Kompas Gramedia Group's concentration and conglomeration in the media industry business in several regions in Indonesia?
2. What political and economic factors influenced the formation (construction) of the strengthening of the Kompas Gramedia Group conglomerate as one of the largest media corporations in Indonesia today?

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Mapping the media ownership concentration of Kompas Gramedia Group

The Ownership of Media and Profit Orientation of Kompas Gramedia Group (first filter), as Noam Chomsky points out, many media companies are fully integrated into the market system, with pressure from shareholders, directors, and bankers to focus on profits. At the same time, newspaper and television owners see an opportunity to capitalize on the large number of audiences that grow through advertising, resulting in the value of wealth being multiplied .

Chomsky's statement reminds us of the development of capital concentration and refers to the development of communication technology that is modified by the power of capital. Nowadays, the tendency of the media industry as a tool of market control is becoming increasingly evident. The form is becoming more and more ludicrous, reaching everywhere, tending to want to monopolize, and even crossing national borders. However, ownership control is increasingly concentrated among just a few people. In explaining the phenomenon, Peter Golding and Graham in Wasko et al. (2011) say that, media as a political and economic vehicle, tend to be controlled by conglomerates and media barons who are becoming fewer in number but through acquisition, control the larger part of the world's mass media and mass communication.

But on the other hand, one point of criticism for the propaganda model comes from its need for more consideration of the sociology of journalists (Comeforo, 2010). That is to say; its analysis is of the political-economic roots of news media organizations and the subsequent texts produced, not the practices of journalists. Klaehn (2012) notes, the propaganda model is not concerned with analyzing practical, organizational, or mundane aspects of newsroom work because deliberate intent (conspiracy) and unconscious hegemony (professional ideology) are mostly unknowable and unmeasurable.

Thus, based on the perspective proposed by Chomsky, it can be traced that capital expansion is thriving, focusing on almost all sectors of the information industry (media). Especially in Indonesia, for the object of this research, the author highlights the conglomeration practiced by Jacob Oetama and continued by his son Lilik Oetama as the owner of the Kompas Gramedia Group media corporation. Furthermore, the author will map the 'pockets' of the media business by referring to Nugroho Yanuar's (2012) research on mapping the landscape of the development of the modern media industry in Indonesia, which has placed the Kompas-Gramedia Group in third place in the most prominent media ownership in Indonesia, after Media Nasional Corporation (M.N.C.) and Jawa Post Group, by having 89 print media, 12 electronic media (radio) and 10 TV stations (Kompas Tv) (Nugroho et al., 2012).

Table 1. Kompas Gramedia Group Business Media

<i>Media Corporation</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Print Media</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Media online</i>
Kompas Gramedia Group	12	89	10	2

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

The following is a description of the media industry business network map under the corporate control of Kompas Gramedia Group:

Newspaper network

As part of a unified communication media network, newspapers are the most common form of media because they can absorb all kinds of news to benefit their readers to other partners in need. It is not surprising that the needs of the newspaper provided by Kompas Gramedia are not only national newspapers but also local and regional newspapers, which are believed to be able to empower readers and partners where the newspaper is published, including (see table).

Tabel 2. Kompas Gramedia Newspapers Network

Newspaper Network		
Kompas	Bangka post	Prohaba
Tribun Jambi	Banjarmasin post	Flores Star
Tribun Jabar	Kupang Post	Harian Surya
Tribun Kaltim	Sriwijaya post	The Jakarta Post
Tribun Yogya	Belitung Post	Tribun Manado
Tribun Lampung	Serambi Indonesia	Tribun Medan
Tribun Batam	Warta Jateng	Tribun Pekanbaru
Tribun Timur	Metro Banjar	
Tribun Jakarta	Tribun Pontianak	

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017; Nugroho et al., 2012).

Magazine and Tabloid Network

Kompas Gramedia managed to determine the segmentation of a media. Armed with the experience of pioneering and maintaining the leading pocket magazine *Intisari*, Kompas Gramedia presents magazines for various segments of readers without a single one being missed. Not only targeting all age groups, but Kompas Gramedia also provides readings for the community, such as business people and hobbyists.

Table 3. Kompas Gramedia Magazine

Magazine Network		
Intisari	Bola Vaganza	More
Hai	XYKids	Living
Kawanku	Bobo	Jalan Sesama
Ide Bisnis	Bobo Junior	Hot Game
Info computer	Donald Bebek	Chic
CHIP	Disney Junior	Grils
CHIP Foto Video	Sedap	Kreatif
National Geographic	Sedap Pemula	IDEA
Angkasa	In Style	Flona
Forsel	Auto Bild	Princes
Prevention	Motor	Mombi
Fortune	Sekar	JIP

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

Table 4. Tabloid Business Network

Tabloid Network		
Bola	Motor PLUS	Otomotif
Gaya Hidup sehat	Nakita	Otoplus
Kontan	Nova	Pcplus
Rumah	Saji	Sinyal
Soccer	Janna	Omega
To modify	Agrobis Burung	Lowongan kerja
Mentari Putra Harapan	Genie	Haji
Mom & Kiddie	O.R.I.	Trust
Scooteriz	Garden	Parents Indonesia

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

Radio Networks

Realizing that the presence of print media is still incomplete without electronic media as support, Kompas Gramedia has also built Sonora radio networks in several major cities in the country and Motion FM radio specifically aimed at meeting the needs of young executives. The existence of electronic and multimedia media further complements the presence of Kompas Gramedia to expand the market penetration of the media business in Indonesia.

Table 4. Radio Business Networking

Radio Network		
Radio Sonora Jakarta	Sonora Bangka	Eltira FM, (Yogyakarta)
Sonora Surabaya	Sonora Semarang	Metion FM (Jakarta)
Sonora Yogyakarta	Sonora Bandung	Sonora Purwokerto
Sonora Pontianak	Sonora Aceh	Sonora Cirebon
Sonora Palembang	Sonora Solo	

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017; Nugroho et al., 2012)

Kompass TV (Network)

Kompass TV, a subsidiary of Kompas Gramedia Group, serves entertainment and educational television content. As a content provider, Kompas TV still tells the pros and cons (which will be discussed in the next section). Kompas TV premiered on September 9, 2011, in ten cities in Indonesia: Medan, Palembang, Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Denpasar, Banjarmasin, and Makassar. As well as the disposition and cirri of market penetration to maintain audience market segmentation, the number of cities will soon increase in the third quarter of 2011 and throughout 2012. With joint

operations and management, Kompas T.V. supplies entertainment and news programs to local television stations in various cities in Indonesia that have been involved in the cooperation process (merger and acquisition) to maintain the stability of its capital accumulation.

Table 5. Kompas TV Network

Kompas TV and Online Media		
Kompas TV	Kompas TV Bandung	Kompas TV Surabaya
Kompas TV medan	Kompas TV Semarang	Kompas TV Denpasar
Kompas Tv Palembang	Kompas TV Yogyakarta	Kompas.com
Kompas TV Banjarmasin	Kompas TV Makassar	

Source: (*Brand Kami*, 2017)

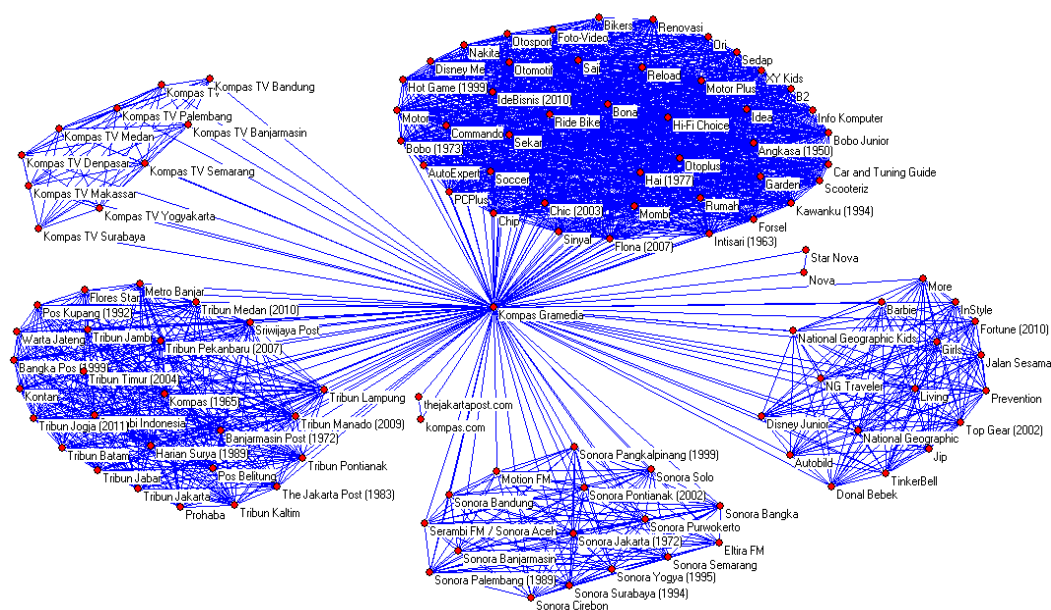


Figure 1. Map of Kompas Gramedia Media Networking Business (Nugroho et al., 2012)

The Problem of Ownership And Accumulation Of Media Industry Capital

The conglomeration model and concentration of the media industry in Kompas Gramedia has significant problems, namely: Concentration of ownership, because ownership is almost without being limited by the role and control of the State. Indeed, the control of the media industry, which covers almost all of Indonesia's territory, tells the story of a massive accumulation. On the other hand, this issue still raises an important question, namely on how citizens' rights in fulfilling information, if public information channels have been coordinated by

economic and political interests who are members of the media business, in strengthening capital penetration in several media business sectors run by Kompas Gramedia. According to the author, of course, the fundamental rights of citizens to information are threatened (distorted) by the economic interests of the Kompas Gramedia Group corporation, which views citizens (audiences) as an arena and a market that reaps great benefits.

This statement is in line with Croteau & Hoynes (2006), who view the mass media as having undergone tremendous commercialization. The press puts the audience solely as consumers, not citizens. The main goal is to take advantage of profits for the owner. Then encourage the audience to enjoy the advertising treat as a consumer of a particular product. Therefore what is considered attractive to the public by the media is widespread in society. Thus the ideal goal of the media to promote active citizenship via information, education, and social integration, has been forgotten and sunk with the hyper-wave of commercialization.

Various content in Kompas Newspaper and Kompas TV have realized that they have built public trust through educational and entertaining information shows. At the same time, the content and context of the event are relatively uniform from several points of view, where a media company does not only rely on one channel, one platform, or one type of content. After all, to reach the maximum audience, media awareness is needed to present multi-channel, multi-platform, and multi-media content. A media company will only be able to last for a while by publishing one type of mass media, be it newspapers, television, or other media. For example, Kompas Gramedia Group will only be able to maintain or increase its audience if it releases Kompas.com, Kompas e-newspaper, or content provider Kompas TV.

On the one hand, this media conglomerate is used by consumers (media audiences) because they can enjoy more diverse media content in terms of channels and platforms. Consumers can enjoy the content presented by Kompas Gramedia Group in paper form or accessed via tablet PC. However, on the other hand, it is also necessary to worry that media conglomerates will reach a point where the element of the diversity of media content spread in front of the audience becomes non-existent. This is understandable because sole ownership of the media industry allows concentration on some media content only. Media concentration causes potentially non-diversified content and information. Finally, the Audience only watches or reads one news story broadcast by many media networks.

Up to this point, the harmful effects of the liberalization of information that adore the free market are a real threat to the independence of citizens' right to increasingly reduced information. Media conglomeration is the irony of information liberalization. With the conglomerate of the media, it is also inevitable that the content will tend to be the same, even if only when there is a particular event. With this equalization of media content, audiences will not have the freedom to choose the media content they want. This will also be closely related to the growth of the spirit of capitalism in the media industry and will undoubtedly produce media messages or products oriented toward increasing capital. Evidence

for capital-oriented media products is the large number of commercial advertisements and the magnitude of the influence of advertising in the determination of a program.

Media studies and political scholars (Curran, 2011), in *Rethinking Media and Democracy*, criticized the phenomenon. He believes liberalism encourages the media to commit corruption and biased market mechanisms. Information liberalism is only for elitists. Liberalism and the free market also reduce the turnover of public information and increase the number of people who are not well-informed because of the increasing portion of the placement of entertainment content or human interest and marginalizing coverage of public affairs or programs that educate. This reduces the weight of democracy because control over public affairs is increasingly losing control aspects for the public, and community involvement is becoming smaller and smaller, even though one of the prerequisites of democracy is public participation (Subiakto, 2011).

One example of information liberalization that strengthens market penetration is through the channelization of the broadcasting sector carried out by Kompas Gramedia Group, when this company worked on the broadcasting business through the presence of Kompas TV, one of the 'youngest' children of the media corporation. As mentioned, Kompas TV's cooperation with local television stations has invited debate. As the broadcasting regulator in Indonesia, KPI (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) even issued their legal opinion expressly stating that the cooperation could potentially eliminate local content and violate the democratization of broadcasting. To see the case, a study by Rianto et al. (2012) examined the terms of collaboration between Agropolitan TV and Kompas TV.

Kompas TV's collaboration with Agropolitan TV (Malang), which is a local public broadcaster, is under the ownership of the Batu Malang city Government, choosing to cooperate because it experiences an operational deficit that hinders broadcast production. Previously, the provision for the estimated time on the air was from 6.30 am to 12.00 pm, but budget constraints experienced a cut in broadcasting hours (only 6 hours).

However, since September 2011, ATV (Agropolitan Televisi) has been part of the Kompas TV network and broadcasts Kompas TV programs. According to ATV station manager Wachid Mukaidori, the cooperation with Kompas Tv was motivated by the lack of production budget, which previously all ATV operations financed by the local government reached Rp 1 billion per year. Still, for the last eight years, ATVs have experienced a deficit. Therefore, the rare thing done by the Batu Malang Regional Government is to allow cooperation with third parties so that ATVs can run healthy companies with non-APBD (Budgeting Regional Expenditure Revenue) income (Rianto et al., 2012).

Finally, on October 1, 2011, ATV officially cooperated with Kompas TV. Responding to the cooperation, the East Java Regional Broadcasting Commission (KPID) evaluated the ATV cooperation with Kompas TV. The evaluation was

carried out because it was found that the content of the television program changed from local to national programs. "There are many community reports that the ATV program has changed 100%. Meanwhile, according to the recognition of the ATV board of supervisors and directors, the comparison of the composition of local and national program content will be 30 percent of local events and 70 percent of national events (Rianto et al., 2012).

From this case, it was found that public concerns related to being restricted to local content would be a threat. If this case continues to occur, then it will not be much different; judging from the scope of broadcasts with national private tv broadcast programs already in place, where the majority of national programs are produced in Jakarta, an ideal imagination will "progress". In addition, the meaning of locality in this connection must be viewed as not just locally charged programs but a locality in the place where the television operates. That way, content diversity is guaranteed, and local citizen rights will be protected—quite ironic, local TV but broadcast nationwide. Here are some other local televisions that Kompas TV has acquired, including STV in Bandung, BCTV in Surabaya, and Equator TV in Pontianak. B TV Semarang, Dewa TV , Bali, Makassar TV, MosTV, Palembang.

Conglomerate Kompas Gramedia Group: A Capital Propaganda Strategy

In addition to business in the media sector, Kompas Gramedia Group, in pioneering its industry, continues to carry out invasions in various companies outside the field of mass media starting in the 1990s. This strategy is not solely an ability to create jobs but reflects the nature of the company's capital development characterized by capital accumulation. The process of capital development, which Mosco (2009) calls commodification, is a way of concentrating its capital with the creation of a transformation of values, through dozens of media with various shades of target readers, a difficult to call this problem the ability of the Compass without capitalistic consciousness.

In industrial media, there is a close relationship between commodities and commodification. The media will produce business forms using new technological forms (Kompas has long-distance printing in Medan, Surabaya, and Makassar) and the ownership of the Gramedia book-taking network business, which has succeeded in expanding almost all provincial capitals in Indonesia. The process of commodification in the economic sphere constantly proceeds without stopping. Thus, the Audience for Kompas is an essential commodity.

As a media industry, it has the power to control the user market, such as fostering market monopolies to control and regulate oligopolies by creating advertisements of various types. Book publishing companies: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Elex Media Komputindo Publishers, Gramedia Book Publishers, Grasindo Book Pernerbit, and Kompas Popular Literature Publishers are the main strengths fostered by Kompas.

Includes: Bookstore chain (96 Gramedia bookstores in 25 cities), printing house (10 printing houses throughout Indonesia), Hotel (17 Santika & Amaris hotel chain), Tessa tissue factory (GKU), and event organizers (Dyandra & Radyatama) and Multimedia Nusantara University Educational Institution (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

Table 6. List of Kompas Gramedia Bussiness Unit

Gramedia Book Store	Printing	Hotel	Other Bussines
92	10	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tissue Factory - Event organizer - University

Source: (www.kompasgramedia.com:2017).

Power of Advertising In Kompas Gramedia Group (Second filter)

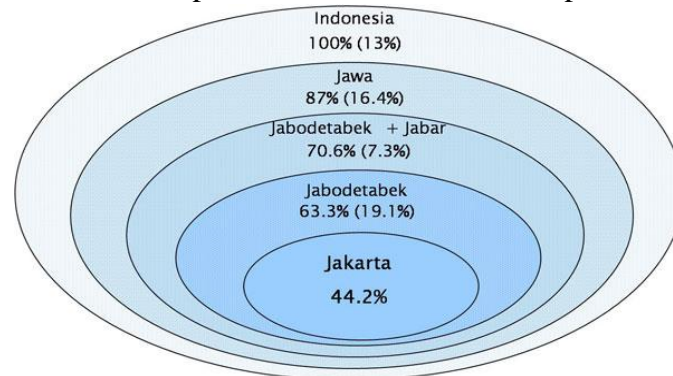
According to Chomsky (2009), advertising as a second layer in the propaganda model has a significant role in forming a strategy for accumulating media capital. He further pointed out that for the media context in the United States, before advertising becomes prominent, the price of a newspaper must cover the cost of advertising in working on the business. With the development of advertising, newspapers that attract advertisements can produce a newspaper at a price below the cost of production. This will put newspapers in a dangerous position when it lacks advertising: prices will tend to be higher, sales will decrease, and they will have a reduced surplus to invest in increasing the selling ability of newspapers (forms, attractive formats, promotions, etc.) (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

For the context of this research, Kompas Gramedia Group, which has a media company posture in almost all lines of the information industry, certainly has good advertising management. In this case, Corporate Advertising Kompas Gramedia Group is responsible for developing the advertising market and product development/advertising packages by making packages from integrated advertising proposals (Integrated Marketing Communication) to optimize all channels owned by the Kompas Gramedia group. (entire media network) Including providing the best after-sales service, especially for the top 12 agencies with the most prominent advertising billing in the Kompas Gramedia group (*Brand Kami*, 2017).

It is not impossible; with the power of the media network owned by Kompas Gramedia, of course, there is still a wide-open opportunity to lift other media advertising revenues under the banner of the Kompas Gramedia group. The role of Corporate advertising is to integrate all the strengths possessed by the Kompas Gramedia group, be it the media business unit or other business units, by cross-selling and integrated marketing communication programs. Not only that, armed with newspaper oplah data by region, it helps the efficiency of publishing advertising products in the compass Garmedia group as a media corporation with a

relatively large number of readers in Indonesia, as explained in the chart below (*Klasifikasi Iklan Kompas*, 2012):

Figure 2. The Kompas Gramedia advertisement presentation regional



The corporation made the Kompas Gramedia Group aware of the current competitive conditions, especially in the advertising unit. In the long run, one strategy to win the competition is the demand for ad units to create creative ad packages and optimize media mixes. So it is possible that later, there will be advertising packages involving Gramedia bookstores, Santika Hotels, or even Graha Kerindo Utama with Tissue “Tessa” Corporate advertising is also responsible for creating new markets, not just sticking to pre-existing needs. In addition, Corporate advertising must be able to translate the needs of advertisers to carry out promotional activities not only in conventional media, such as printing, but also to carry out brand activation for advertisers. Once again, the Kompas Gramedia group has diverse business units and a strong network allowing this to be realized .

Table 7. The List of regular advertising prices in Kompas daily

Advertisement pricing	Color	Min mmk/Size	Pricing
Display	BW	Min. 40 mmk	Rp 88.500,-
	FC	Min. 810 mmk	Rp 128.500,-
Page 3/5 Centerspread	FC		Rp 170.000,-
			Rp 154.500,-
Banner page 1 (per insersi)	BW	7 x 50 mmk	135.000.000,-
		7 x 70 mmk	Rp 185.000.000,
	FC	7 x 50 mmk	Rp 170.000.000,-
	FC	7 x 70 mmk	Rp 234.000.000,-
	FC	7 x 100 mmk	Rp 330.000.000,-

Source: (*Klasifikasi Iklan Kompas*, 2012)

Advertising has played an influential role in increasing concentration even among competitors seeking revenue from advertising. Market stocks and profits from advertising on newspapers and television stations will provide additional

income to compete more fairly and promote more aggressively, buying more marketable features and programs. At the same time, disadvantaged competitors will have to add less effective costs to stem market stocks and reduce revenue. This crunch is often fatal and explains the collapse of newspapers and magazines whose circulation is large and the number of newspapers has decreased (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

The Strong market control in the Kompas-Gramedia Group in fostering advertising agencies. So, advertisers do not have to wait up to half a month to place space in Kompas as before. The growth of newspaper circulation and the expansion of other communication media sectors, such as radio and television, the Kompas-Gramedia Group, are the main elements in involving users of certain products in society. It should be noted that Kompas's advertising revenue for one year, according to AC Nielsen research, is almost Rp 1 trillion (*Klasifikasi Iklan Kompas*, 2012).

Source of Information on mass media in Kompas Gramedia (third filter)

Furthermore, the source of information on this third filter, Chomsky asserts, is that the Mass media is drawn into a mutually beneficial relationship with the ruling source of information through economic needs and shared interests. The media needs a reliable and steady stream of news material. They have urgent demands and news schedules that they must meet. The media's reliance on information provided by governments, businesses, and experts is financed and approved by these primary sources and agents of power.

“The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with potent sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. The media need a steady, reliable flow of the raw material of news. They have daily news demands and imperative news schedules that they must meet (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).”

Looking at what Chomsky said, the mass media needs news sources (sources). For two things: First, the credibility of the news, the more difficult the reference is to achieve, the more prestige a news story will be. Second, the media can claim that the information produced is "objective." At the same time, it also becomes a 'public relations industry' to control the public mind (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

For the context of this study, the author has divided two issues of strengthening sources to confirm the objectivity of the news reviewed by the Kompas daily (print version and digital version), each featuring examples of information related to economic and political issues. For instance, in political reporting related to the government consultation meeting led by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono with the DPR led by Speaker of the House of Representatives Marzuki Alie, Kompas, Wednesday (14/7/2010), which will discuss four main issues. The four main issues are the issue of Government Regulation instead of Law

(Perppu) No. 4 of 2010 concerning the Financial System Safety Net (JPSK), Moratorium on Regional Expansion, border areas, and the National Legislation Program for 2010-2011.

Presidential Spokesperson Julian Aldrin Pasha has confirmed the Agenda of the meeting as a source, but the details of what issues cannot be explained by the Government Speaker, which is conveyed only to the news of the presence of Vice President Boediono and related ministers as well as the Deputy Speaker of the House and other relevant Commission leaders. Thus, Kompas at that time remained the same as the public relations industry, having established itself as an extension of the government through clarification of information from a Julian pasha.

As for economic issues, the involvement of economic observers such as Aviliani is often a reference to Kompas, as in the news of the 'Global Economic Crisis Turmoil,' economic observer Aviliani said the panic attitude of the people aggravated one of the great crises that occurred in the United States. She advocates that there should be no excessive panic. "People, do not panic; please continue the consumption pattern as usual." Do not withdraw money from the bank; leave it alone. The crisis in America is getting worse because people do not trust banks. That panic is damaging to the economy. He also emphasized that the government's policy regarding banking, according to him, is relatively safe. Only he reminded the need for a blanket guarantee policy, which guarantees significant banks.

If you examine the news, the presence of sources is a form of affirmation of how the value of a news story is measured by the recognition/claim of a person who is considered an expert in their field. As Chomsky (2009) says, scientific legitimacy is an effective method of mobilizing public opinion to come to terms with the empty and bland concept of the global economic system. Another reason why a heavy burden is placed on official sources is that the mass media asserts that they are "objective news suppliers. To maintain the image of objectivity and protect themselves from criticism of bias and threats of lawsuits for defamation, they need material that can be described as accurate. It is also partly due to cost issues: retrieving information from sources that are assumed to be sufficiently reliable will reduce the cost of investigation (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

Flak (Enforcers): The ambiguous Controversial Side in the Kompas news

"Flak" about negative responses to media views and programs. It can be in letters, telegrams, telephones, petitions, prosecutions of cases, speeches, laws before Congress, and other documents such as complaints, threats, and punitive actions. It can be organized centrally or locally or consist of individual free action (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

In the Kompas news, one example that highlights the existence of an element of flak can refer to the clarification news of the SBY-Boediono in the 2009 presidential election campaign team through its campaign treasurer, Zainal Abidin,

who protested against Kompas's statement that PT Sohibul Barokah (S.B.) is a company with only two computers.

Zainal admitted that he held a press conference on Thursday (4/6/2009) afternoon, following Kompas.com news about the company (S.B.), which only has two computers but can contribute to the presidential decree of up to IDR 5 billion. According to Zainal, S.B. is a holding company consisting of several companies, namely PT Sospec Inspektindo Internasional, P.T. Pagar Dewa Karya Utama, and PT Tri Manunggal Cipta Abadi. All three companies are shipping companies. "For PT Sospec, surveyors are engaged in oil and gas. PT Trimanunggal serves the needs of ships. P.T. Pagar Dewa in the field of transporters, bunkers, at Tanjung Priok Port".

The consequences of Kompas's reporting, which was considered detrimental to the image of the pair of Presidential and vice Presidential candidates from the Democratic party through Zainal, requested that Bawaslu (Election Supervisory Agency) member, Bambang Eka Cahya, who was reported to have issued the statement, convey an apology through the media. Otherwise, it will report to the police. Meanwhile, Bambang himself had conveyed his clarification directly to Kompas.com on Wednesday night. According to him, the statement did not come now from his mouth. He learned about the existence of a company with assets of two computers (Kompas, June 4, 2009).

It is important to note that in the Kompas report, although the flak machines steadily hit the mass media, the media treated them well. For this case, the media (Kompas) also contributed to reporting the clarification of SBY's successful team, primarily since it was regulated in the code of ethics mechanism. However, unknowingly Kompas had positioned itself to help create polemics solely on the value of controversial news that certainly attracted readers. While on the one hand, the Kompas does not realize that this flak has been used by those concerned. It received good attention, and its propaganda role and link to more extensive corporate programs are rarely mentioned and Analyzed.

Chomsky said a flak production is a form of media propaganda to present the conversion side and attract public attention. Flak's producers strengthen each other and the command of political authority in news management activities. The government is the leading producer of the flak, which regularly attacks, threatens, and "corrects" the media (Herman & Chomsky, 2010).

Anti-Communism (counter-terrorism) discourse is a control mechanism in the daily Kompas

In the last part of this propaganda model, Chomsky said anti-communist ideology is understood as an ideology that helps mobilize public support in countering the "common enemy" of communism, as significant crime has become a negative scourge of the business world, as communism threatens the roots of their class position and superior status. The Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions were

traumatized by the Western elite. The ongoing conflicts and the cruel treatment of published Communist countries contributed to the rise of opposition to communism, becoming the first principle of Western ideology and politics. Such doctrines and common enemies unite the media and public views (Herman & Chomsky, 2010). Presumably, the perception expressed by Chomsky was motivated by the post-second world war political setting marked by the fall of communist power and the disregard of the United States and its allies as the victors of the war.

However, for this study, of course, Chomsky's concerns allowed it to shift, no longer boiling down to the existence of a feared common enemy such as the ideology of communism. Today this last propaganda model is everything that can threaten power. Then perhaps one of them is the global public's concern about the threat of terrorism. So, the fight against terrorism is the dominant international agenda today.

Especially in this last filter, I include terrorism as a substitute for fear of communism. So it can be said that propaganda to construct radicalism as a determinant of terrorism is underway in the Kompas news discourse, where radicalism has always been associated with intolerance and extremism that encourages violence. While on the one hand, pluralism is represented as an ideology that positions every human being as diverse.

In one of the reports published by Kompas, the September 25, 2011 edition, entitled "Terrorism rooted in Radicalism" emphasized that radicalism is a threat" and an obstacle to the course of democracy. One exciting point in the news is the representation of radical groups as "groups that do not recognize the diversity of beliefs and want a single interpretation and groups in the name of religion to combat other religions, including eliminating their adherents.

The news above shows almost no element of dialogue or intertextuality. Whether cited directly or indirectly, the definition of radicalism emphasizes radicalism as something negative. The low intertextuality in the articles published in Kompas, both in the form of news and opinions, indicates a standard orientation towards low differences regarding the issue of terrorism. Meanwhile, the word "pluralism" in various sentences is associated with various terms that resonate positively in society, such as "religious freedom," "religious tolerance," "togetherness," "respect for the values of a peaceful society, democracy, and nationalism are seen as overcoming and preventing radicalism.

In my analysis, Kompas has not seen the extent of terrorism in the global political setting, especially regarding the dominant political economy controlled by developed countries and simultaneously making developing countries an "arena" for market and influence struggles. This factor is essential to examine to see the extent to which the position of the Kompas in the political economy in the power of developed States subordinates developing countries as subjects and objects of "terrorism" discourse.

Media Regulation Aspects

The strengthening of media concentration by a handful of conglomerates did not just happen. One of the crucial factors for conglomerates due to the practice of oligopoly and oligarchy of media ownership is determined indirectly by the existence of regulations. However, the problem is that the dilemma of media regulation in Indonesia lies in the role of the State in controlling the content, ownership, and future of the media industry. This makes many people complacent and traumatized by state power's magnitude. Nevertheless, forgetting that the power of capital has no less power, perhaps even more potent than the power of the state itself. Capital power could collaborate with this type of political power, playing the role of an oligarchy (Feintuck, 2006).

Restrictions on private media infusion, according to Siregar (2006), in any country that adheres to democracy, the issue of private media ownership is restricted because it can threaten diversity. The media can be used to shape public opinion. If only a few people on the existence of the media, it will be easy to use the group to pursue the political interests of the group.

Moreover, what is worth looking at carefully is the ingenuity of financier groups to cover up their capital expansion interests with jargon that ostensibly defends press freedom, defends people's access to information, and defends the process of reform and democratization. This is where countries experiencing transitional situations face the most significant dilemma, where the state's power begins to split or even be replaced. However, on the other hand, the power of capital is more flexible in adjusting to the existing situation.

On the one hand, information monopoly is still widely debated, but having 100 pieces of publishing in 30 provinces in Indonesia is not a healthy sign for developing a more diverse media industry and opening up more readable options to consumers. Significant media groups tend to be tight-lipped on this issue, and the debate over cross-ownership has almost gone unnoticed. Much energy is spent discussing the position and function of KPIs. The Kompas group, for example, tends to be silent on this issue of cross-ownership but on the other hand, Kompas announced that it launched many television stations.

CONCLUSION

This research at least presents a propaganda capital model practiced by Kompas Gramedia Group to build a media business empire almost evenly throughout Indonesia. Arena or regional contestation has become a grab for market share to create new expansion areas, where areas outside Jakarta as the periphery are controlled by information control mechanisms from Jakarta as the centrum.

The case shown in this research has only spoken at the level of 'local' capital interests and has not spoken in the context of 'global' capital that enters the media industry in Indonesia, with all its properties that do not know regional boundaries,

very mobile capital, and also capital that can affect life factors in society, such as economy, politics, culture, and others.

There is still much that needs to be learned about the character of political economy in the media industry. Not only Kompas but also other media corporations. Especially in a situation of post-authoritarian society. At least, this case wants to illustrate that the problem of freedom of the press is not only how it can negotiate with repressive state power but also how it has to deal with the interests of the owners of capital because, after all, the media industry is dealing with other industries. With the matter of image formation, which is mediated through existing media. Then the implications for media workers on the life of the wider community and others still need to be investigated further.

Because the media is no longer just an information ideological machine with a spectrum of social responsibility and political participation in criticizing the authorities' policies, the media has become a machine for printing money and power, just like other business institutions. In particular, business ideology moves coherently with political, socio-cultural, religious, and other ideological interests.

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