

Changes In Organic Composition of Capital Behind Pikiran Rakyat Strategy of Convergence

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Abstract. *This article examines the convergence strategy in Pikiran Rakyat media. The convergence strategy is analysed using the Organic Composition of Capital Theory from Karl Marx (1887). The theory describes the interaction between technological improvement (constant-capital) and labour mobilisation (variable-capital) in the production process, which its primary goal is to generate profits for the capitalist. This article highlights technological change, driven by the tendency of capitalism to maximise profit and its consequences for the journalists. The used method for analysis is case study. Data for analysis are collected from documents, interviews, and participant observations. The result indicates that the improvement of Pikiran Rakyat constant-capital, concerning its convergence strategy, is done by integrating the content of all its subsidiaries through newsroom and e-mail, which have the purpose of disseminating news content to various platforms. There is an increase in the number of contents from these efforts. However, it also has a consequence for journalists and editors who are forced to produce news for various platforms.*

Keywords: *Convergence, Organic Composition of Capital*

INTRODUCTION

Convergence has become a business strategy that is adopted by many media today. Mainstream media companies in Jakarta, such as Media Indonesia Group, Tempo Inti Media, and Kompas, have adopted a convergence strategy in operating their businesses (Tapsell, 2015).

Pikiran Rakyat, a media company that has existed since March 24, 1966, has also changed its business strategy into convergence. Pikiran Rakyat is known as a regional newspaper in West Java Province and had its head office in Bandung, the capital city of West Java Province. Furthermore, Pikiran Rakyat also has district/city-level subsidiaries newspapers, such as Kabar Cirebon,

Kabar Priangan, Kabar Banten, and Galamedia.

After decades of concentrating in print media, Pikiran Rakyat has begun to move towards digitalisation and adopted a convergence strategy by forming various digital platforms in this recent year. Various formed platforms, including online news websites, e-paper, and social media. Pikiran Rakyat is also starting to build a streaming television called PRTV and starting to integrate the PRFM radio line.

The process of convergence in Pikiran Rakyat has taken place since the early 1990s but has not yet reached the stage of its application in the company's business strategy. During the early 1990s, convergence was limited to discourse

that was drafted by a handful of company employees. This was marked by the involvement of the representative of Pikiran Rakyat in attending the World Association of Newspaper (WAN IFRA) forum. It is a forum that discussed issues around journalistic and mass media. Every year since 1993, representatives of Pikiran Rakyat were sent to attend the forum (Resmadi & Yuliar, 2014). In a way, this stage is the era of knowledge transferring about digital media.

The online news channel, PikiranRakyat.com (PR Online), was founded in 1996. However, at that time, the news uploaded in PR Online was precisely the same as the news displayed in the newspaper. In addition, there is no integration of content into the newsroom, as the case at this time, where every newspaper within PT Pikiran Rakyat Bandung subsidiaries can access and distribute the same content. At least in that period, company policy still prioritised its newspaper products. For PR Online, the mid-1990s showed a stagnant and often marginalised journey.

Since 1996 until now (2019), improvements have been made by expanding digital media channels. It is done with one primary purpose, which is to adopt a convergence strategy. There are several digital media channels formed: (1) www.pikiran-rakyat.com, a news portal that provides breaking news, realtime and running news; (2) www.info.pikiran-rakyat.com, an information site that provides West Java directory data, business information and other information related to business activities; (3) Pikiran Rakyat Microsite, which is a website that provides news and information about products in the form of articles, galleries and videos; (4) PR-e-paper, which is an online channel containing a digital edition of Pikiran Rakyat print newspaper. Pikiran Rakyat has also penetrated into visual offerings

through PRTV, which content is streamed through various social media such as YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter. In addition, an e-paper application called MyPikiranRakyat has also been formed (Riyadhiputra & Yusanto, 2019).

From the Marxian political-economy perspective, the convergence strategy employed by media companies today is closely related to the way the social system of capitalism works in creating a source of wealth. In the system of capitalism, the source of wealth is obtained from the extraction of surplus value in the process of production (Marx, 1887). This surplus value is also known as profit (Mulyanto, 2010). Surplus-value is generated from the mobilisation of labour that exceeds the average socially needed time to produce a commodity. This mobilisation of labour has its source from the allocation of capital for labour-power, which in Marx's vocabulary is termed by variable-capital.

In order to see the appropriation of surplus-value or the process, which is called valorisation of surplus value, Marx analysed it in the sphere of production. There are two ways the capitalists valorise surplus-value in the production process, which is by (1) extending labour time above the average socially needed time to produce a commodity or (2) the use of technology developed in the society which could make the labour process becomes more intensive and productive.

The first method, the extension of labour time beyond its average socially needed time, is called the valorisations of absolute surplus-value. The second method, through the use of technology that functions to accompany labour process, is called the valorisation of relative-surplus value.

What distinguishes the valorisation of relative surplus-value from absolute surplus-value is that the surplus-value could be appropriated

without having to extend overall labour time as in the case of absolute surplus-value. Moreover, the mobilisation of labour could be increasingly massive than before because it is also driven by productive technology.

The process of valorising surplus-value - especially in the case of relative surplus-value - shows the interaction between technology and the process of mobilising labour. Both of these are significant factors in a production process that aims to valorise surplus-value.

Marx (1887) mentioned part of the capital that is allocated in the production sphere, such as technology, raw materials, etc., as constant-capital. It is called as constant-capital because its quantitative value does not increase while being used in the production process. In fact, its value continues to decrease as it is used over time in the production process. For example, machinery will experience a worn-out after it is used perpetually in the factory after a period of time.

Another part of the capital is called variable-capital. This capital refers to the capital allocated to the purchase of labour-power. In the production process, labour-power is the only source who can add value to a commodity. For example, labour-power could be mobilised to transfers the value contained in raw materials such as yarn through a spinner (constant capital) so that it has a new value in the form of a commodity of clothes. Labour-power could also be mobilised to produce commodities above the social average time to produce it so that more value could be created. The role of labour-power as an element of the production sphere who can add value to a commodity becomes the basis of its categorisation as a variable-capital.

Marx (1887) mentioned the relation between constant-capital and variable-capital in the production process. According to him, a change in

constant-capital can affect the amount of labour-power required in the production of commodities, especially if it increases productivity. In other words, a large-scale investment to constant-capital at the same time could result in a reduction of the variable capital component. Nevertheless, at the same time, an increase in labour productivity could be created.

The relation between constant-capital and variable-capital is called the Organic Composition of Capital (Marx, 1887). The organic composition of capital could be enlarged through investments in constant-capital. That means there is an effort to improve the production sphere through the improvement of machinery, factory buildings, engineering, management systems, etc. In practice, the massive allocation of constant-capital enables the efficiency of production. In turn, it affects the amount of capital allocated on variable-capital. In other words, it could become another way to reduce costs for worker wages or the portion of the worker itself in the production sphere. Not only reduce the cost of wages and the portion of the worker but increased investment in constant-capital also at the same time makes productivity become more intense.

Marx saw the Organic Composition of Capital in two points of view: (1) as a process of value creation and (2) as a technical composition of capital invested in the production process. Both of these have close relations in the process of capital accumulation.

From the point of view of (1) the process of value creation, the Organic Composition of Capital shows the ratio between constant capital and variable capital in the process of producing the value of a commodity. As for the point of view (2) the technical composition of capital, it shows its material elements by looking at the function of capital, which is divided into means of labour

infrastructure (constant-capital) and labour power (variable capital). This function is determined by the relationship between the deployment of the means of production and, at the same time, the mass of labour needed in the production process. In the context of this study, the perspective that will be used for analysis is the second point of view, which is the technical composition of capital.

The practical side of the Organic Composition of Capital can be seen from the comparison of the way journalists producing news for print and online media. The development of digitalisation has made the allocation of news for online media could be indefinite because it has unlimited space. Meanwhile, the allocation of news for print media is minimal by the number of pages available. On a regular basis, print media journalists could produce 2 to 3 news a day. While online media journalists nowadays could produce 6 to 10 news a day. Besides that, news that is produced for online media could not only be presented in the form of text, but it could also involving audiovisual elements.

From that comparison, it can be identified that there is an improvement in the composition of constant-capital that has changed the way the news is produced. Some examples of this constant-capital composition improvement could include the development of digitalisation technology, be it digitalisation of content, websites, applications, or management system development, such as integrated newsroom management, in order to support convergence.

From the context of business competition, capitalists tend to enlarge the portion of constant-capital instead of variable-capital. Large constant-capital could increase commodity production and makes production costs cheaper due to reduced allocation of variable-capital. In other words, investment in technology,

automatic machinery, can reduce the costs incurred for workers' wages so that the surplus-value obtained from the production process could be reaped as much as possible.

When convergence is adopted into a business strategy, it will have an impact on the production process carried out by a journalist. In this case, convergence is not merely a matter of technical issue, but it also related to cultural change (Jenkins, 2006; Deuze, 2005). One of the changes from the aspect of the production process is the tendency of journalists to do multiple tasks. The company will force them to be able to disseminate information through various communication channels or presenting the news for multimedia formats (Dickinson, 2015; Nikunen, 2014). In such working conditions, journalists could experience full exploitation by working above regular hours and relative exploitation in the presence of multiple tasks (Pratopo, 2018).

The "de-skilling" process is also considered to occur in the environment of media convergence. That view arises from the fact that there is an increased workload due to news targets demands set by the company management. This causes the working patterns of fact checking and investigation as well as in the specialised print media environment to be increasingly difficult to do (Phillips, 2015).

For some people, convergence does not bring meaningful changes to the welfare of media workers, even though their workload has increased significantly. Indonesian Journalist Alliance Research conducted in 2015 showed a wide gap between the cost of living and the operational costs of journalists in the era of convergence. In addition, journalists also face work contract issues that are considered not to regulate essential matters, such as work benefits, social

security, holidays, and basic salaries (Yuganto, 2015).

However, from the company management perspective, convergence strategy - and within it, the necessity of multimedia reportage - significantly contributes to reducing production costs and creating a more flexible work environment (Phillips, 2015). Multimedia reportage is considered to be in line with the demands of media companies, which tend to produce more news from the same human resources so it can save more production costs (Dickinson, 2015).

The integration and consolidation of the company, multimedia practices, increased workload as well as the degradation of journalist expertise and its unsecured welfare, as explained above, demonstrate the practice of convergence, which is the current trend in media organisations today. The practice of convergence shows that there is a change in the production process due to the emergence of productive digital technology. It also shows changes in the Organic Composition of Capital, where the allocation of constant-capital, such as digital technology, causes changes in the mobilisation of labour.

Based on the background above, this study identifies the relationship between convergence in the media industry and changes in the Organic Composition of Capital, which underlies the operation of the media industry, particularly at PT Pikiran Rakyat Bandung. Digitalisation, as a basis for media convergence, is seen as a productive force that causes constant-capital to change in the portion of the Organic Composition of Capital. Changes in the amount of constant-capital will affect the amount of variable-capital in the Organic Composition of Capital. In other words, from a practical point of view, the mobilisation of journalists' labour as capital-variable will also change as digital technology causes convergence

in the media industry.

This research will highlight Pikiran Rakyat strategy in enlarging constant-capital. In addition, the relationship between the deployment of constant-capital and the process of journalistic labour also will be seen.

METHOD

This article uses Case Study Method. This method is an empirical study that aims to examine contemporary phenomena in their daily contexts, especially when the boundary between phenomena and contexts is not very clear (Yin, 2018). In essence, case studies search for an explanation of a decision or set of decisions: why a decision is taken, how a decision is implemented, and with what results (Schramm, 1971).

Data were collected from three types of sources, which were documents, interviews, and participant observation. The source of the research document is news reportage about Pikiran Rakyat convergence strategy.

Data was also collected by participant observation. In this form of observation, researchers become part of an environment where the research is conducted (Yin, 2018). The researcher is a journalist in Pikiran Rakyat since 2012. During the working period, the researcher also observed the dynamics that occurred when Pikiran Rakyat began directing its business strategy to convergence. Researchers also observed changes in the workings of journalists since the company began implementing multimedia strategies.

In-depth interviews were conducted on May 16-27, 2019. The informants were Hilmi Abdul Halim, Pikiran Rakyat Journalist, and Yusuf Wijanarko, Digital PR Content Editor. In addition to the two informants, other informants were not mentioned.

The analysis strategy is based on

the proposition of a theory (Yin, 2018). In this study context, data collection was guided based on the propositions that are contained in the Organic Composition of Capital Theory. The patterns found in the data are then compared to their compatibility with the propositions contained in the Organic Composition of Capital Theory. Yin (2018: 224) mentions this analytical technique as pattern matching between patterns based on empirical evidence and predicted patterns.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pikiran Rakyat strategies in enlarging constant capital

The starting point for convergence in Pikiran Rakyat is seen in the formation of a newsroom. Thus, an e-mail was created in 2018 to accommodate news stories created by Pikiran Rakyat journalist and to support the newsroom itself. The news that was accommodated in the newsroom e-mail was not only from print journalists, but also came from various media which is part of company subsidiaries, such as PRFM radio, Kabar Cirebon, Kabar Priangan, Galamedia, and PR-Info (Yusuf Widjanarko, 2019, personal interview).

E-mail is the most straightforward technology in the digital and online era that can integrate content from various media under the company. The e-mail also supported the formation of a newsroom directed towards convergence, although e-mail technology has limitations in terms of data storage.

“Data traffic in the newsroom is high-speed, so when e-mail storage is full, old data is erased. So when we need old data, the data has finally been lost.” (Yusuf Wijanarko, 2019, personal interview).

The editors of every media in the subsidiary of Pikiran Rakyat have access to the content in the newsroom e-mail.

This content integration also signifies an effort to distribute content to various media, which is a subsidiary of Pikiran Rakyat. The news produced by Pikiran Rakyat journalist can also be published in Kabar Priangan, Galamedia, www.pikiran-rakyat.com, www.galamedia.com, and other channels owned by the company.

“There is no longer a limit that the product must come exclusively from Pikiran Rakyat print reporters, but it can also from other reporters which is still a member of a subsidiary company. For example, news from Galamedia that is deemed suitable can be loaded, or the incoming PRFM News submissions turn out to be interesting to be printed, it can also be. So, the bulkhead between previously separate newsrooms began to be contained in one large newsroom. From there, we can see the spirit of the converged newsroom.” (Yusuf Wijanarko, 2019, personal interview).

The task force was formed under the name PR Digital Task Force to manage the convergence strategy. Digital PR Content Editor Yusuf Wijanarko said, besides integrating content and distributing it to various media platforms, PR Digital Task Force has its aim for mapping the editorial products of Pikiran Rakyat in a day. This product mapping is considered essential to take the next step, which is the packaging and distribution of content to various platforms owned by the company. Product mapping also has its function to measure how many editors and sales marketing are needed to adopt a convergence strategy (FIGURE 1).

The decision to form a newsroom with the aim of integrating content and managing it reflects Pikiran Rakyat's efforts to add constant-capital. Capital is not always defined as work infrastructure in physical forms, such as machinery technology. Nevertheless, it can also mean the application of management

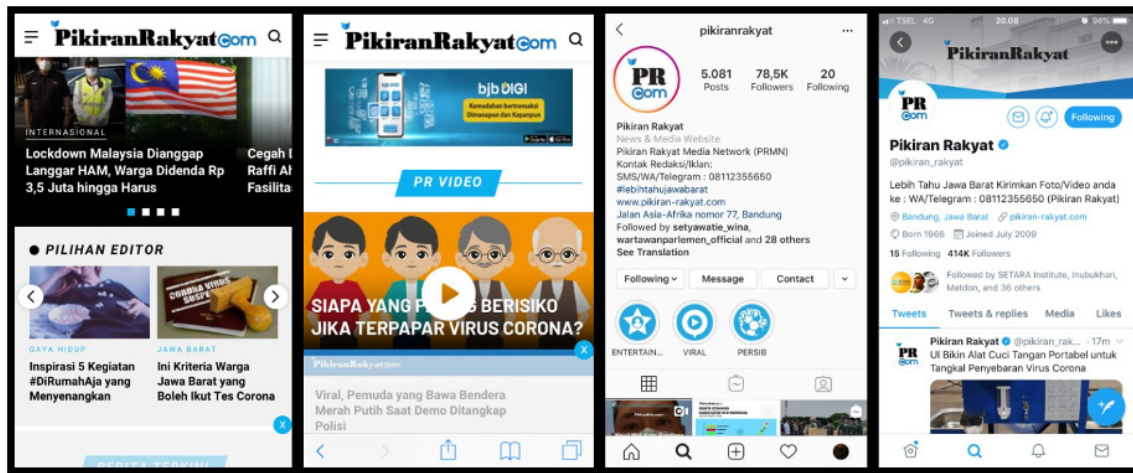


FIGURE 1. Pikiran Rakyat online digital platform for news that was previously sent to the newsroom

techniques and specific work discipline techniques (Mulyanto, 2010).

The main point about constant-capital is that it does not merely become the infrastructure used by workers in producing commodities. Constant-capital also contributes to increasing labour productivity. Theoretically, the improvement of management techniques, as well as technological improvement, can intensify the duration of labour so that the portion of the surplus-value can be obtained more. In turn, increased work intensity can drive profitability to the maximum.

The implications of company management's decision to form a newsroom e-mail have at least resulted in the integration of around 300 news content in a day (Yusuf Wijanarko, personal interview, 2019). The production of the news is far higher than the quantity of news produced when the news content is only produced by a separate channel. For example, when calculating in general, the news produced from Pikiran Rakyat newspaper alone, at least in a day, there are only 120 news produced. The figure was obtained from the calculation of the newspaper pages as many as 24 pages. On each page, it could print five news. That does not take into account the

advertisements that could be installed on each page. If there are advertisements on every page, then the news that could be printed on each page is an average of 3 news. From that estimation, approximately there is 72 news produced every day.

The decision to improve constant-capital through a convergence strategy was adopted because of pressures from changing the media market in the past decade and the climate of competition between the media itself. The condition of the media market in Indonesia is now influenced by the increasing ownership of smartphones and the use of social media among young people. Many media companies have the belief that they need to capture this segment of young people to transform their business towards digital and convergence (Tapsell, 2015).

Regarding the pressures in the media market, Managing Director of Pikiran Rakyat Perdana Alamsyah said that the current press company needs a reliable business process, and it must be supported by business revenue in order to maintain its enthusiasm and activities. According to him, many press companies with its long history of existence have stopped publishing and even closed down because of the lack of it. On the

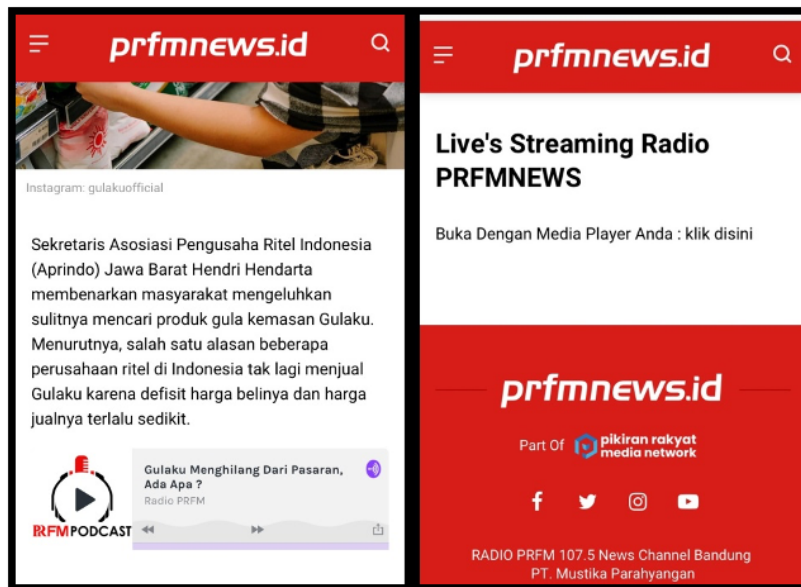


FIGURE 2. Online digital channels form Pikiran Rakyat subsidiaries, PRFM, which is combine text and audio context.

other hand, there are also print media companies which is still insisting on competing and, in the words of Perdana Alamysah, “not hesitate to extinguish the idealism of the press, selling themselves and publishing pages, for the sake of the last breath before finally collapsing” (Nurulliah, 2019).

Perdana Alamysah said that the media industry is in the midst of change, and it gives a new challenge for Pikiran Rakyat. He is talking about the industrial revolution 4.0, where its main signs are the presence of artificial intelligence products—robots, machines, and computer components that can learn and think for themselves. The role of the algorithm changed the conditions of society in the industrial 4.0 era significantly. He said that Pikiran Rakyat must face these challenges (FIGURE 2).

However, some of the employees see the company’s decision to move toward convergence is too late. Digital PR Content Editor Yusuf Wijanarko said that the company’s policy towards convergence was at least 14 years late. He said this by referring to the emergence of the second internet wave in early

2000 (Yusuf Wijanarko, 2019, personal interview).

In practice, constant-capital improvement is a capital intensive activity. Not all media companies have an equal ability to allocate resources, so its constant-capital could e increased. In a climate of industrial competition, efforts to enlarge constant-capital tend to paved ways only for conglomerates, oligarchies, and monopolies (Marx, 1887; Mulyanto, 2010; Tapsell, 2015).

Constant-capital improvement, which is driven by the business competition climate, tends only to benefit large capital companies because the capital invested in it are very expensive. One of the commentators said that the continuous efforts to raise constant-capital eventually would lead an attack straight to the driving force of capitalism itself, which is free competition (Mulyanto, 2010). In other words, the market eventually will be filled with monopoly practice by big capital companies, which is far from the notion of “free competition”. In an environment like that, the choices left for a small capital company is to be swallowed up by large capital companies



FIGURE 3. Pdf version of Pikiran Rakyat newspaper.

or go bankrupt.

Pikiran Rakyat’s position as a regional media and not incorporated in one of the national media conglomerate groups is just like “David versus Goliath” story. The improvement of constant-capital made by Pikiran Rakyat is not as massive as those media conglomerates.

There are at least eight conglomerations of national media groups, such as Trans Corp, MNC, SCMA Group, Berita Satu, Kompas Group, Visi Media Asia, Jawa Pos Group, and Indonesian Television Media (Tapsell, 2017). The eight conglomerate media groups mobilised digitalisation and convergence strategy with very intensive capital. Pikiran Rakyat, as a media company engaged in the regional level of West Java Province, certainly faces competition with those eight national media groups that are also expanding into the regions. However, Yusuf Wijanarko said, Pikiran Rakyat at least still has the

minimum infrastructure to carry out a convergence strategy so that it is expected to survive in competition.

The relation of increased constant-capital with journalistic labour processes

Pikiran Rakyat journalists also experienced a labour intensification as a convergence strategy is being implemented. They not only produce news to be published in newspapers just like before. News that has been written by journalists can now at least appear in four places at once, be it in newspapers, radio, online news sites, or Pikiran Rakyat social media accounts.

One reporter informant mentioned that at some point, they were often asked to do a reportage for PRFM radio. While at the same time, they produce news that will later appear on online sites and the print newspaper (FIGURE 3). Some journalists were even instructed to use their social media accounts to spread news content in audiovisual form.

Hilmi Abdul Halim, a journalist who has been working in the Purwakarta Regency for the past two years, tells about his experience in making news about a festival in Purwakarta. The news he produced about the festival is seen on several media channels owned by the company. He claimed his first goal was only to produce news for print and PR Online. Nevertheless, aside from that two media channels, the news apparently appeared on other media channels without his knowledge.

“At that time, I was checked google. It turned out that my news also appeared on Galamedia online. The news and photos that I sent to the newsroom appeared in Galamedia. However, my name was still included in the news, along with the photos myself take.” (Hilmi Abdul Halim, 2019, personal interview).

The journalist’s working

conditions, as mentioned above, are in line with the tendency in the Organic Composition of Capital when a portion of its constant-capital is enlarged. It has a consequence to intensify the labour of journalists.

Labour intensity, which is increased, does not only experienced by a journalist. But also in the editorial line of Pikiran Rakyat Digital team. Some editors are forced to do marketing and advertising matters besides their primary job, which is managing content for the newsroom. Some editors still cover for print newspapers besides managing the newsroom content.

In some cases, the convergence strategy has led to multiple tasks and overlapping job desk among Digital PR editors. Contradictively, this overlapping work harms productivity levels. Pikiran Rakyat Digital Content Editor Yusuf Wijanarko said. Ideally, a content editor can manage 15 news in a day. However, due to the multitasking matters and overlapping desk job, every editorial team could only manage seven news a day on average (Yusuf Wijanarko, 2019, personal interview). The number of editors was still minimal at the time of the study, around ten people.

Besides, there is still confusion among journalists about the procedure for sending news to print and online media. Journalists generally distinguish news for print and online media. Journalists who have a long history worked for print media generally assume that the news characteristics in a newspaper must be presented in-depth and take into account various perspectives from every source that is relevant and available. They assume the presentation of news for online media should not be as comprehensive as the news presented for newspapers because of its media characteristics that demand immediateness and instantaneous.

However, there is a lack of

agreement among the editorial levels about the delivery of news for various platforms. Some of them think that the presentation of news between the newspaper and online needs to be distinguished. While others consider the presentation of the same news between newspapers and online is not a problem because readers of newspapers and online are considered different. In this way of thinking, it assumes that the different readers of print and online will not read the same news twice.

Regarding the lack of agreement on how things should work, Pikiran Rakyat Journalist, Hilmi Abdul Halim said, the workflow implemented by the company was still not focused. He considers the workflow is still confusing in practice (Hilmi Abdul Halim, 2019, personal interview).

These conditions indicate that there is a workflow that is not yet fully integrated. On the one hand, the lack of capital makes the convergence strategy is not well implemented. Meanwhile, not all journalists are well-conditioned to follow the workflow.

Besides that, the issue of worker welfare also becomes a concern for both journalists and editors. In general, the wages they currently have are not commensurate with the workload they must receive. So far, wages that have been received are, by standard, still considered equal to newspaper workloads, not multimedia.

Regarding this matter, Hilmi Abdul Halim said the level of wages tends to decrease when compared to his tenure, which has entered the eighth year. Along with the importance of expanding media channels, competition among media company, and advertising revenue that is significantly reduced, there are some rewards in the form of payment beyond the regular wages that has been cut off.

Journalists, who produce online

news or photos outside a regular basis, usually get extra paid outside the basic salary they receive. However, such additional fees are no longer available.

“Initially, when I was in first year worked for *Pikiran Rakyat*, the wages I received feels so big. I was fresh graduates back then. Nevertheless, for now, for me, who has eight years working in a company, then married and others, it feels so inadequate. Over time, I always feel it is so extremely inadequate when compared to inflation. “ (Hilmi Abdul Halim, 2019, personal interview).

While wage levels tend to be stagnant, on the other hand, journalists are forced to do multitasking jobs. It has consequences for some journalists regarding the costs they must pay while producing news. As Hilmi Abdul Halim pointed out, working out a convergence strategy means be more frequent using the smartphone and accessing a broadband network, aside from filling gasoline for his motorcycle to be able to reach the field so that the reportage job could be done correctly. Convergence, he said, has an impact on the costs of the daily life of a journalist.

DISCUSSION

The Organic Composition of Capital is the ratio between the constant-capital and variable-capital mobilisation. It has the main target to produce profits for the capitalist. The Organic Composition of Capital will experience changes as new productive forces emerge in the production process.

Digital technology could be a productive force that arises in the media industry today. Media companies, especially those with large scale, can implement business expansion strategies through convergence, which within it, there is a concentration and diversification of media channels (Tapsell, 2017). Likewise, with *Pikiran Rakyat*, which

then expanded its media channels and integrating the content produced by its journalists into the newsroom e-mail. From the perspective of the Organic Composition of Capital Theory, the trend of the media industry shows the tendency of capital investment in productive digital technology or, in other words, investment in constant-capital.

However, the explanation of Organic Composition of Capital does not stop at the picture of increasing productivity through the application of productive technology. The Organic Composition of Capital also provides an overview of its effects on workers. The meaning of increasing ratio in the Organic Composition of Capital for workers is a continuous decline in employment and the level of average wages in specific sectors (Mulyanto, 2012). The explanation for it is that along with the increase in the ratio of Organic Composition of Capital, and there is a higher allocation of capital directed towards the means of production rather than labour-power. As a result, there can be types of jobs that are disappearing replaced by technology. As in *Pikiran Rakyat* itself, at least there were 81 employees being layoffs at the end of 2019. They are part of the management, administration, editorial, and production staff. The company assumes that there are workers who are not essential anymore in the production sphere after the convergence strategy is implemented. In turn, it could affect production costs, which became too large to be bear by the company's finances. Aside from that, there is pressure from advertising and circulation rates, which is continually in decline.

Along with the shrinkage of labour-power due to the pressure in a working environment, which is more filled by means of production such as technology, so does the real wage of workers. It also explains the next aspect of the Organic

Composition of Capital regarding the tendency of the rate of profit to decline because it is only labour-power that become the real source of profit creations (Ibid, 2012). This tendency is also seen in Pikiran Rakyat's profits in the 2018-2019 period. In that period, there was a decline in profits reaching 54%.

While for workers who are still fortunate enough to be absorbed in industry, the intensity of work is increasing because they are dealing with technology that has to produce more commodities than before as its primary orientation, solely so that profits can be further increased for the interests of the capitalists. This increase in work intensity could also mean that workers, such as journalists, are forced to produce information for various converged media channels in the company, and they do so without a significant improvement in the average wage level.

CONCLUSION

The Organic Composition of Capital of Pikiran Rakyat experiences changes in terms of constant-capital and variable-capital when directing its strategy to convergence. Changes in constant-capital are reflected in the improvement of management techniques through the formation of newsrooms and new digital media channels to integrate news content. There is an increase in the amount of content from these integration efforts.

The improvement of constant-capital at the same time resulted in changes to the mobilisation of journalist labour. The intensity of Pikiran Rakyat journalist's labour increases. They do not just send the news to the newspaper as before. They are also required to supply news for digital channels owned by Pikiran Rakyat. News as commodities produced by journalists can be displayed on various platforms, not one platform

as before. However, as the multitasking demands imposed on journalists are increased, there has been no significant improvement in their level of welfare.

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