Transformation of print media in the digital era: media convergence of Kedaulatan Rakyat

Qholiva Yuni Fadilla [a,1,*], Filosa Gita Sukmono [b,2]

[a, b] Communication Department, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Jl. Brawijaya, Kasihan, Bantul, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55183, Indonesia
[1] qholivayunifadilla@gmail.com; [2] filosa@umy.ac.id
* corresponding author

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ABSTRACT

In Indonesia, mainstream media industries are facing numerous challenges in applying media convergence, including the media that has been established for years, such as Tempo and Pikiran Rakyat, which have experienced the hurdles and even less optimum in adopting media convergence. Meanwhile, Kedaulatan Rakyat, as the oldest local print media company in Indonesia, also converged and transformed its institution through media multiplatform diversification to answer the challenge of industry 4,0. The research aimed to interpret and describe the media converge conducted by Kedaulatan Rakyat. The research method used was case-study and with in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation as the data collection. The research found that Kedaulatan Rakyat tried to answer the development of technology by adopting media convergence. The convergence applied was newsroom 3.0 or integrated newsroom. However, Kedaulatan Rakyat exercised an inaccurate strategy in executing its newsroom convergence 3.0, namely by preserving conservative traditions. After abandoning newsroom convergence, Kedaulatan Rakyat performed content-sharing activity and deep and shallow strategy. However, couple with the landscape of journalism of Kedaulatan Rakyat that had not met the criteria of multi-tasking and role distribution among media, the new activities also did work optimally. In light of that, the preservation of conservation traditions in media companies should be considered as a bar of media convergence adoption.

1. Introduction

Following the latest trend of technology, many media industries are applying and developing media convergence to create innovation. In northern America, for example, nine of ten televisions have applied multiplatform media convergence, involving both print and digital media and radio [1]. Apart from the common adoption, media convergence also affects many aspects of the traditional news industry. In Spain and South Africa, media convergence is responsible for changing the way journalists work to prioritize digital media [2] [3]; and in the UK, media convergence gets print media and television consumption to abate [4]. The major role of digital technology in disseminating news is the main factor of this transformation.

In Indonesia, media industries are still striving to apply convergence media in the newsroom practice [5]. This is because most of the regulation uphold by the national mainstream media companies, ranging from MNC Group, Kompas Gramedia Group, Visi Media Asia, Jawa Pos Group, Berita Satu Media Holdings, Media Indonesia Group, to CT Group are still orienting to a conception

of media platform that has different and independent newsrooms [5]. Tempo Inti Media, a media company that has been established since March 6, 1971, and famously known out of its Tempo Magazine, is an excellent example. Although this company used to conduct media convergence by adopting a newsroom integrated model or newsroom 3.0 [6], because of issues relating culture and workload, the idea was abandoned. A de-convergence, or a brand-new business model strategy that demerges newsrooms or ceases vertical convergence [7], turned to be necessary action executed by Tempo towards the convergent platform [8]. The shift assisted Tempo in focusing on developing the structure of each platform independently, which for them may be deemed favorable. The applications for Koran Tempo (Tempo's Newspaper) and Majalah Tempo (Tempo's Magazine) are the results of the new strategy [8].

Likewise, a local newspaper in Bandung called Pikiran Rakyat, the oldest local newspaper in West Java (first published in March 1966), also does not adopt media convergence maximally. A study tracking down the diffusion process of media convergence in Pikiran Rakyat showed that, although this media has applied multiplatform media convergence, with fairly planned stages, ranging from awareness, evaluation, trial, to adoption, and cast a team for convergence, consisting of 11 staff to create the road map that would contain a list of media platform which would be developed, the outcome was not optimum owing to the insistence of this company in prioritizing print media [9]. The optimization of the two media companies mentioned is not too surprising since developing a platform for media convergence is not merely concerning technological capability but also information transformation (knowledge and capability), incentive, inter-actor negotiation, and media politics [9].

The situation explained above raise a vital question for the discourse concerning media convergence in Indonesia: if Tempo and Pikiran Rakyat, aged 48 and 53 years in 2019, respectively, are still struggling and even less optimum in applying media convergence, can it represent the ineffective and incapability in adopting media convergence by national Indonesian old and well-established media company? Although the conclusion mentioned seems promising, to answer the question, Kedaulatan Rakyat (abbreviated KR), the oldest local newspaper in Indonesia that was established on September 27, 1945, becomes essential to consider.

KR is a media that initially only had one platform, namely, a daily newspaper. Based on the description of the development of media adoption above, KR has developed a multiplatfom media. Not only that, to borrow the term of Jarvis (2010), this media originating from the print industry is able to define itself from its medium, namely, developing digital platforms and maintaining the existence of print media [10]. However, in its development, of course this media has a strategy and challenges in implementing media convergence. Of course KR is not expected as predicted by Meyer (2009) in which in 2043 the printed media will experience death [11]. In addition, this company also has not done any research to investigate newspapers with this same issue. An investigation on KR's media convergence, therefore, as did this research, will help to answer whether traditional newspaper company in Indonesia is capable of transforming its value to adjust with new technological advancement, which requires not only knowledge and capability of technology but also incentive, ego management in the newsroom, and regulation in the multiplatform workspaces. Also, it can illuminate the factors that prevent the adoption of media convergence in the media company if it is not successful.

2. Theoritical Framework

As to media convergence itself, it was bred by the development of technology that is capable of creating a new space that ignores the border between the print platform, radio, television, and the digital [2]. Convergence, thus, in this term, refers to a combination of media technology, communication network, and computer [12]. What makes this convergence special is that not only does it act as a form of innovation, media convergence is also potential in terms of economy, social, and politics to encourage the media industry to head to a new direction in terms of integration, synchronization, and conglomeration [13] [5]. Convergence is a process that involves media, forms of communication, and communication network [14], and for that reason, media convergence blurs the distinction between one-way and interactive media [15]. Media convergence enables the type and service of mass media, which by far is different and distinguished, to amalgamate and be complex [16] [17]. Also, audiences can have more choices and varieties because of the prevalence of radical management, supply, distribution, and information process in the form of text, audio, and visual [18] [19].

As to the activity, the media industry that adopted media convergence typically follows five form activities commonly called continuum convergence [20]. The stages start from (1) Cross-promotion, or cooperation between two media to provide space to introduce each content; Another stage is (2) Cloning, or multiplying content of media before published in other media without alteration in the information. The third is (3) Coopetition or partnership and competition on converging media at the same time. (4) Content sharing, or news-gathering activity and content distribution between two media before repackaging or profit-sharing, is generally performed by media operating under the same institution. The final continuum is (5) Full convergence meaning that media which operate under a bigger institution cooperate collaboratively to collect, produce, and distribute content to maximalize the characteristic of each media. Media that has not achieved full convergence is assumed in the process of attaining full convergence [2].

The influence of media convergence towards the landscape of journalism breeds a concept called journalism convergence [21] [22]. This journalism model is divided into threefold [18]. The first is newsroom convergence or activity in which the journalists from the different newsrooms merge to conduct its task for multiplatform media. Another model is called news-gathering convergence. In this model, journalists are required to be capable of making news to be capable of working multi-tasking through special training. In other words, the journalists should be capable of making news with different possibility platform, ranging from text, audio, visual, and audio-visual. For example, the journalist is not only demanded to report and record pictures but also edited it in the form of audio-visual. The other model is content convergence or news display in the form of multimedia. It can be a combination of text, pictures, audio, visual, podcast, and slideshow. In this convergence, journalists and editors cooperated to be content producers.

3. Method

The research used an interpretative paradigm and qualitative-descriptive as the method. The data was collected by conducting (1) in-depth interview, (2) observation to the office center of KR which was located in Pangeran Mangkubumi Street No 40-46, Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta, 55233, and (3) documentation research on documents from KR itself and online data collection. Furthermore, the informants were decided based on a purposive sampling technique. The data then were analyzed through a process, starting from data collection, data reduction, data display, to conclusion drawing [23]. The informants' roles can be seen in Table 1 below

Table 1. The Criteria of the Informants

| Informants	Roles
Okto Lampito	Editor-in-chief Kedaulatan Rakyat
Agung Purwandono	Editor-in-chief krjogja.com
FX Harminanto	Journalist krjogja.com

4. Results and Discussion

In 2012, KR answered the development of technology through media convergence, an attempt which results in an unclear distinction between one-way media and interactive unclear [15]. Multiplatform media of KR, ranging from the print media of KR, online media krjogja.com, and KR Radio 107,2 FM merged into a common editorial workspace, namely newsroom, with one editor-in-chief. After the merge, journalists and news produced turned to be more interactive, and distinction among platforms started to disappear.

> *It used to be tried, to be one; the name was newsroom* (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

Transformation in the editorial structure to be a newsroom is the method of the industry to address the development of technology [24]. Newsroom is a type of media convergence that has journalists gather with different editorial rooms to complete its task in multiplatform media [18]. Newsroom convergence in Kedaulatan Rakyat encouraged all journalists in the newsroom to produce multiplatform news and be distributed through the same newsroom. Journalists, consequently, should be capable of being multi-tasking to produce news that can be distributed in multiplatform media that

is owned by Kedaulatan Rakyat. Furthermore, not only journalist and news, regulation and work pattern between multiplatform media of Kedaulatan Rakyat was likened and integrated. It made the border between KR's print media, online media krjogja.com, and KR Radio 107,2 FM disappeared, mainly in terms of regulation, news, work pattern, and human resources. Against that background, the convergence of newsroom in KR can be categorized newsroom convergence model 3.0 or integrated newsroom, or newsroom that provides contents for all platform and establish integrated work pattern, starting from planning to production [25]. Newsroom convergence applied by Kedaulatan Rakyat in 2012 can be seen through figure 1 below:
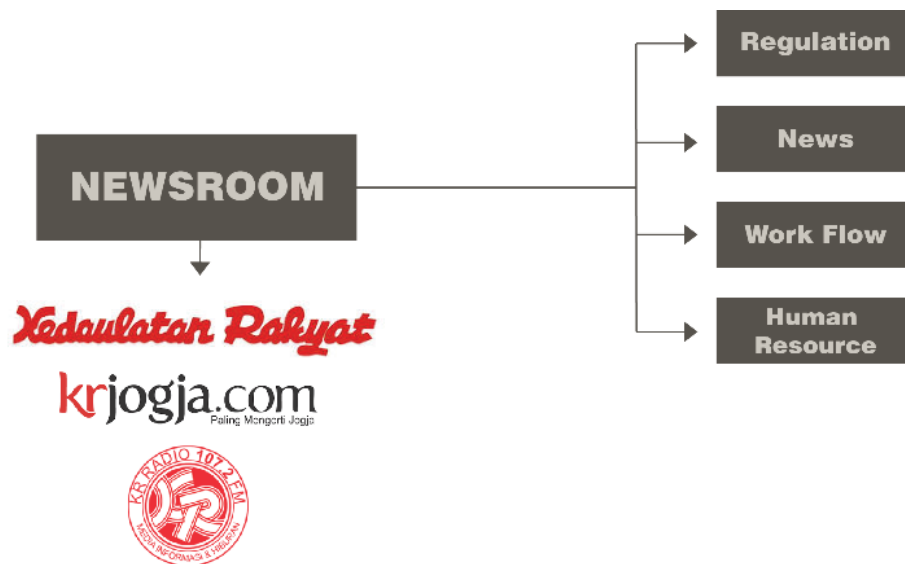
Fig. 1. Newsroom convergence in KR

The convergence of newsroom of KR was strongly entangled with the landscape of journalism. The journalists that initially worked in its media platform and for its media product were demanded to be multi-tasking during their duties in the newsroom. They should be capable of managing news for not only one platform but also a multiplatform of Kedaulatan Rakyat, coupled with skills in organizing almost any type of news, ranging from print, online, audio-visual, to audio in each coverage. The landscape of journalism of Kedaulatan Rakyat during their adoption on the convergence model of the newsroom can be seen in figure 2 below.
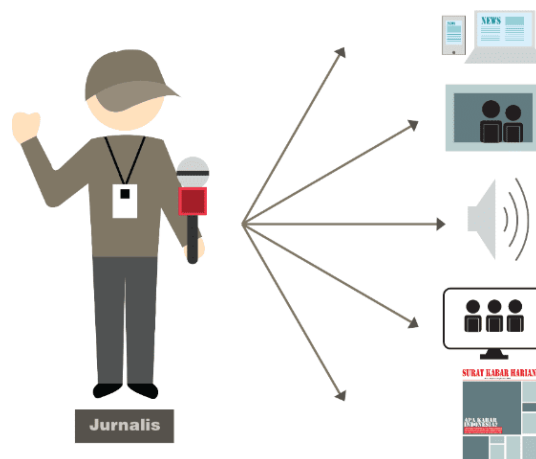
Fig. 2. The landscape of journalism of newsroom Convergence in KR

However, newsroom convergence adopted by KR did not last long. Although the institution, editor, and the journalists had understood the ideal circumstance and outcome, the newsroom faced insurmountable challenges and obstacles, which not only came from technological factors but also internal factors. The editor-in-chief of krjogja.com shared the story and the factors:

Let's assume that the print media has 50 journalists while the online has 20. What should be done in the newsroom is that all journalists make news and the role is distributed. These jobs are for print and these for online. It should have been like this, the ideal one. However, some factors make the ideal circumstance cannot be realized. (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

It is not only about technological factors but also the mindset that asserts that print news is more complicated than online. Consequently, many hoaxes contaminating online news and social media appeared, leading to a dilution of trust. For me, online media that still use journalism work is journalism work. It is a mindset. All divisions suffer from it, mindset. For example, print media journalists normally write news for the day after. So, although they do reportage in the morning, the deadline is in the evening, at some point they can procrastinate. It grows to be their habit and mindset. In online reportage, they feel difficult to get the grips with the situation. They are accustomed to procrastinating, from the news, the research, the title, the lead, and so on. Again, it is about mindset, and about the will to change. As to technology, they have assimilated it. Technology has been admitted not to be rejected (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

Another challenging factor during the adoption of newsroom convergence in KR was the role of print media that is still profound compared to other media. The editor-in-chief admitted that this problem was relatively similar to what was faced by another local print media in Bandung, namely Pikiran Rakyat. With the obstacle, it is almost impossible to retain the newsroom convergence.

The obstacle is similar (to Pikiran Rakyat). At that time, the influence of print media was still strong in convergence (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

… So, the challenge is immense and unfeasible to tackle (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

In general, the KR's adaptation process of convergence newsroom did not run optimally. The researchers found that, as stated by Jenkins (2006), Dwyer (2010), and Fidler (2003), that media convergence is not only a matter of technological application but also a sustainable and revolutionary transformation in culture, social aspects, and economy to encourage new technological development, the problem faced by KR was not technological, but more of in terms of culture, economy, and social, namely work culture of the journalists and editor and the role of a print platform that was too dominant [17] [26] [13]. These two problems were the source for which newsroom convergence in KR was not optimal. The work culture defined here is the work habit of journalists and editors. Before applying media convergence, the journalist of print media in KR had been accustomed to making news collected in the evening. KR's journalists were used to collect the news in the evening after finishing all the coverage on that day. This habit turned out to be a problem when the institution applied newsroom convergence. When newsroom convergence was executed, all journalists were demanded to gather news immediately after the news has been finished collected. The journalists were required to be able to manage the news and send it directly to the newsroom to be edited and distributed in the newsroom. KR's journalist, which had not gotten to grips with the brand-new work pattern in and for the newsroom, instead of changing, kept their old work patterns before the newsroom convergence applied.

Moreover, the habits mentioned were also performed by the editors of KR who were accustomed to finishing work after all the news on that day had been collected. The editors of KR had a work pattern to edit news in the evening. It became a problem when newsroom convergence was executed. Indeed, not only print media of KR, the journalists, and editor of krjogja.co were also afflicted with the same issue when the institution applied newsroom convergence. They had not attuned themselves with work patterns of newsroom convergence. Work culture is not the only problem KR had to face. The media management of KR also had an unfair system that made the role of print media more significant compared to other media under KR's organization. It is unfavorable since the strategy that should be applied when an institution adopts newsroom convergence is equality in the role. All media

platforms merged into a multiplatform media should have the same strong role so that convergent media that is created is not only unique in terms of news and information but also radical. However, KR also did not tackle the problem to ameliorate the issue. It showed that KR, as the oldest local print media in Indonesia, still preserved their conservative traditions, although KR had tried to embraced the development of technology and adapted to newsroom convergence, in which journalists were demanded to work and be multi-tasking with all media platform. The newsroom did not work optimally since KR still retained the work culture and the old system.

Journalists and other newsrooms consider a new culture (cultural resistance) to be the biggest challenge to media convergence [27]. Media convergence requires journalists to work together and collaborate, while media organizations have different cultures. Meanwhile, the formation of a new culture, namely cross-media in the era of media convergence, tends to be difficult to establish [28]. The different media platforms in a media organization have different cultures, which can lead to conflict, misunderstanding, and resistance to changing ways of working [29]. Reluctance to collaborate between media platforms which results in cultural clashes [30] [20]. Another factor that causes this is due to internal competition in the newsroom [28]. New media culture can also affect the quality of journalism by undermining the flow of accurate information [7].

Knowing that they cannot handle the problems, KR abandoned their newsroom convergence. It led them to two consequences. Firstly, the journalists that used to attempt to synergize themselves in collecting and distributing news through multiplatform media returned to their previous platforms, with the previous editorial structure. Secondly, media that had been integrated vertically during the newsroom convergence time were transformed horizontally. While in vertical multiplatform media, journalists are supposed to be multi-tasking since the process of news collecting and distribution happens in the same newsroom, in horizontal multiplatform media, conversely, the demand of multi-tasking was omitted, and the journalists should only be capable in meeting the requirement of their platform. That transformation rendered the multiplatform structure of KR getting each platform to be independent. The editorial address of KR's print and online media, as well as its human resources and regulation, reflected the separation. While the editorial address of KR print media was in the western part of the office center of KR, which faced Pangeran Mangkubumi street, the office of krjogja.com was in the northern part of the office, in the first floor. The differences in editorial address also demonstrated that the multiplatform media of Kedaulatan Rakyat had worked based on the initial platform.

Yes, for a while, journalists in print media and online media are separated (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

Fig. 3. Editorial office of krjogja.com

Fig. 4. Editorial office of Kedaulatan Rakyat Print Media

The problem in applying newsroom convergence encouraged KR to create another new strategy in reestablishing the answer to adapt to industry 4.0. The news strategy that is developed by KR was realized after the institution evaluated their not optimism in applying newsroom convergence. The new method was done by developing more flexible and fluid material. In other words, print media Kedaulatan Rakyat and online media krjogja.com shared their contents. Based on the statements from the editor-in-chief of KR and krjogja.com, the material that was shared by the platforms was content of the news by repackaging the news to distribute to media that has its different characteristics.

Referring to continuum convergence, this activity can be categorized as content-sharing or activity for collecting and distributing content between two media or more to conduct re-packaging [20]. Usually, content-sharing is conducted by media operating within one ownership.

> *Yes, for now, it should be suitable. That situation indeed is needed to be fitted. Although convergence is a necessity, we are still striving to develop it. We also are evaluating the process* (Okto Lampito, Editor-In-Chief Kedaulatan Rakyat, Interview, November 7, 2019)

> *Yes, that was in 2012, and now everyone is returned to its platform. However, the material is more flexible. For example, material from print media can be used for online, and material from online can be retrieved from print. The journalists send news for online and print media according* (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

The path chosen by KR led them to a concept of de-convergence, a brand-new model focusing on efficiency by discriminating between newsroom or ceasing vertical convergence [7]. Typically, de-convergence takes places in a media company that release, sell, or separate a part of the company [27]. The de-convergence of KR dispensed multiplatform media that had been integrated vertically from newsroom convergence and restructured the platform horizontally. Unfortunately, the content-sharing activity of KR was not always followed by news re-packaging. The researchers found news with titles that were almost identical, namely "Tebing Longsor Terjang Rumah 1 Tewas Tertimbun, 2 Luka-luka" (a landslide stroke houses, 1 killed buried and 2 injured), and "Tebing Longsor Terjang Rumah, 1 Tewas Tertimbun" (a landslide stroke houses, 1 killed buried) on Tuesday, 17 December 2019, which turned out also having the same pictures and content; not to mention that the name of the journalists also the same, namely (Art/Tha). The title is an example of the result of the content-sharing of the media platform mentioned.

> *So, we still have the radio and online. The print media is ready to share the content with the radio and online. Likewise, the journalist of print media often benefits in the forms of news from other media in KR. The activity is content-sharing like this* (Okto Lampito, Editor-In-Chief Kedaulatan Rakyat, Interview, November 7, 2019).

> *If online journalists did not come and the print media came, we would take the news from the print media journalists. As simple as that. If the inverse is the case, the print media journalists did not have material, but the online has, we take the news from the online* (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

> *So, for news, we get also from the reporters of print media of KR. The person in charge of managing it is the editors. So, he is responsible for changing the way of the news delivery, such as the title, so it will not be identical. Online media, out of the characteristic of the reader should also give information that is different* (Agung Purwandono, Editor-in-chief krjogja.com, Interview, November 4, 2019).

Okto Lampito also revealed that one of the strategies applied by KR was by creating news content that was shorter for krjogja.com and deeper and included the detail in print newspaper. The editor-in-chief stated that "one of the strategies is to make the print media deeper and detail while online shorter and more succinct" (Okto Lampito, Editor-In-Chief Kedaulatan Rakyat, Interview, November 7, 2019). The researchers' name this strategy deep and shallow. However, deep and shallow activity was not consistently applied. The researcher often found during the online data collection that news on krjogja.com was even deeper and more explanatory, compared to the coverage in print newspaper. One of the examples is coverage regarding tourists that violate the rules of Keraton Yogya (Yogyakarta Kingdom Palace).

Fig. 5. News in krjogja.com
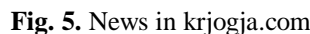
Fig. 6. News in Kedaulatan Rakyat print newspaper

Fig. 7. News in Kedaulatan Rakyat print newspaper
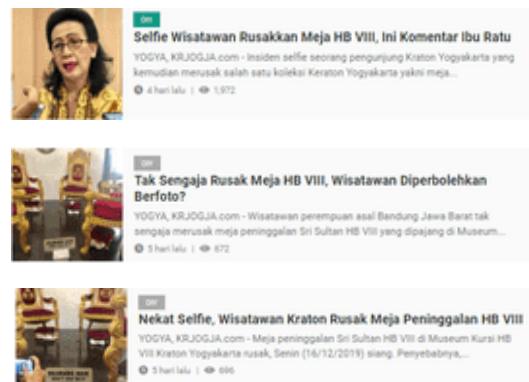
Fig. 8. News in krjogja.com

In the print media, Kedaulatan Rakyat described the chronology of the tourists violating the rules by harming the property used by Sri Sultan HB VIII (Yogyakarta King the Eight) unintentionally. In the print media, only one lead that was published in the next publication. On the other hand, krjogja.com reported the news with three difference angles of leads, which was a news regarding tourists that unintentionally harmed the property of Sri Sultan HB VIII, a reportage concerning the rules regarding the permission of selfie around an area that has been placed a caveat, and a coverage on the comment of the queen of Yogyakarta, GKR Hermas. This finding depicted that re-packaging and deep and shallow activity of Kedaulatan Rakyat did not work optimally.

Regarding the landscape of journalism convergence, the work pattern of journalists in KR was distributed based on its platform or editorial; not only the journalists, such as FX Harminanto as the informant of the research, the editor-in-chief also confirmed the statement. The activity of organizing media products is highly entangled with the landscape of journalism convergence [21] [22]. The landscape of journalism is defined as the activity of journalism, including the pattern and capability.

> *Print and online media in KR have their independent editorial. For the print media, there is Koran Merapi, Minggup Pagi, and KR. For online is krjogja.com, and there is also KR Radio* (FX Harminanto, the journalists of krjogja.com, Interview, 5 November 2019)

To answer the development of technology that is being more digital, the journalists are not only demanded to master one skill, but also to be multi-tasking [22]. By multi-tasking, the journalists are necessitated to be experts in collecting facts, marshaling content, managing pictures and voices, as well as sending news to the various platforms [6]. Apart from writing news for print and online media, multi-tasking journalists should also be capable of organizing visual news or audio-visual news, such as recording and editing video, taking pictures and sending it directly to the different platform, ranging from print to online media, and television and radio [22].

> *The editors have dozens of plans, fitting the needs of the consumers. Reading news in this era is different, so multi-tasking is necessary. Not only relying on the capability of writing but also taking pictures and videos, editing, and social media. We should synergize for that (for multitasking capability)* (FX Harminanto, the journalists of krjogja.com, Interview, 5 November 2019)

The editor-in-chief of KR, Okto Lampito, observed that in print platform, the journalists of KR should be capable of being multi-tasking, although they can merely have one tendency of skill that they prefer to develop for a platform, "They should be multitasked although they can have one tendency of skill," (Okto Lampito, Editor-In-Chief Kedaulatan Rakyat, Interview, November 7, 2019). he said. However, based on the researchers' observation, the journalists of KR working in the print platform can only write and take pictures for print media. It proves that the demand for being multi-tasking, as stated by Okto Lampito, had not conducted optimally. The landscape of journalism of Kedaulatan Rakyat can be seen in figure 12 below:
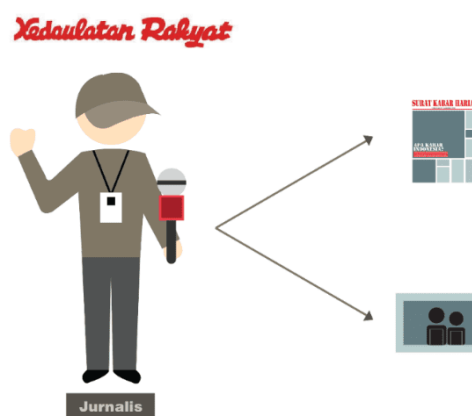
Fig. 9. The landscape of journalism of KR print media platform

Meanwhile, the journalists of krjogja.com had realized that multitasking is a vital skill to adapt to the new digital era. FX Harminanto said that, as a journalist, his capability should not only limited to writing news and taking pictures. Also, it was told that in the online media platform of KR, the hires were not only more active but also able to learn more. For him, "In the online, the colleagues are more youthful. It makes collaboration easier. In online, I would say that everyone has been well-rounded" (FX Harminanto, the journalists of krjogja.com, Interview, 5 November 2019). Furthermore, although recording for and editing video are essential, based on the FX Harminanto observation, in krjogja.com, there was a special division for editing video. Krjogja.com did not only produce writings for the online platform, but also social media, such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and even YouTube. It is in line with the statement from the editor-in-chief of krjogja.com that media product distributed through media social is the outcome of journalism work. With that in mind, the journalists of krjogja.com had more various skills, ranging from writing, recording to editing videos and pictures. The landscape of journalism of krjogja.com can be seen from picture 13 below:
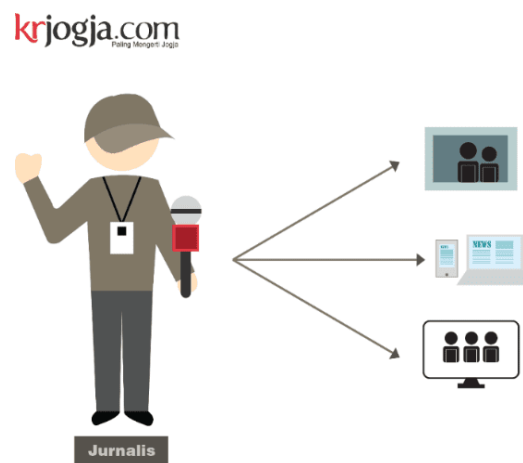
Fig. 10. The landscape of journalism of krjogja.com

Based on research done by Tapsell (2014) and Resmadi and Yuliar (2014), the tendency in the landscape of journalism can cause some troubles. In other words, the tendency of the journalist to work in a platform with limited capability may halt them from surviving in the digital era [5] [9]. Moreover, many journalists of KR was not able to be multi-tasking. It is different from the journalists of krjogja.com that were capable of mastering skills and adapting to technology through online platforms and different media channel. This implies that the ability of the journalist in KR and krjogja.com were not equal, between the print media and online media. Nevertheless, in general, referring to the definition of multi-tasking uttered by Quinn & Filak, even the journalists of krjogja.com did not meet the definition as multi-tasking journalists that work in a multiplatform way.

5. Conclusion

The researchers have shown that Kedaulatan Rakyat attempted to answer the development of technology through media convergence. Media convergence applied was newsroom 3.0 or integrated newsroom. It made the distinction between KR's print media, online media (krjogja.com), and radio (KR Radio 107,72 FM) in terms of regulation, news, work patter, and SDM, blur. The landscape of journalism attempted was to apply multi-tasking skills in the newsroom. It was satisfied by not only managing news for one platform but also for multiplatform media. The journalists were demanded to be able to manage print and online media, as well as visual and audio-visual coverage. However, the strategy of KR in applying newsroom convergence 3.0 was not correct because of the priority in conserving conservative tradition. Those traditions were the work culture of the journalist and editors and the dominant role of the print platform. The researchers conclude that KR is still applying tradition considered conservative although KR had adapted to technology through newsroom convergence in which the journalists were necessitated to be multitasking. But each platform had the same role, owing to the work culture and old system that was preserved by Kedaulatan Rakyat, the newsroom attempted did not work optimally.

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