

The Ideology Development Practice through Headline Report about 2014 Presidential Election Campaign on the Media Indonesian Newspaper

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Abstract: *This research entitled the ideology development practice through headline report about 2014 presidential election campaign on the Media Indonesia newspaper. This research was motivated by the importance of the role of newspaper as a medium of public information. In addition, it was a media that was dominantly accessed by the public in seeking various informations related to various reports. The report about presidential election campaign became important in the implementation of a direct democratic system that involved widespread public participation in each election of the president and vice president in Indonesia. This reality is an important problem in the present context in which Indonesia is in the process of developing democracy. This study used a qualitative Content Analysis Method. While the analytical approach was the Norman Fairclough version of Critical Discourse Analysis. The result of the study showed that ideologically, the Media Indonesia newspaper has an anomaly. On the other hand, theoretically, external symbols echoed by Media Indonesia newspaper can be ensured to discuss the values of the Pancasila. So that way, this media claimed to uphold the values of the Pancasila by giving space to the opposing parties in it. However, on the other hand, in the practice of management of news coverage, Media Indonesia prioritized the interest of capital owners who are conditional on the values of capitalism. So in the management of media coverage, the practice of the owners of capital domination is so strong. This condition confirmed the hegemony of capital owners working through a group of media management elites (an extension of the capital owners). The imposition of a direct frame mind toward the lower class through overt use of ideological power and necessity. It implied through rules and exclusion expressed through language and discourse.*

Keyword: ideology, news, campaign, and newspaper

1. Introduction

Newspaper is one of the dominant media accessed by the public in searching for various information related to various reports. The report about the presidential election campaign became important in the implementation of a direct democratic system that involved widespread public participation in each election of the Indonesia president and vice president. This reality is an important problem in the present context in which Indonesia is in the process of developing democracy. In the political reality of the 2014 presidential election campaign which was reported in the Media Indonesia newspaper, it was certainly the result of the construction of press people on the media. They also worked in the situation of advancing information technology as an influential factor from the outside to the process and management issues of news from upstream to downstream that they could not avoid. All of that is based on the transparency issue in the news management process in disclosing facts in the news to the public.

As the issue that has been and is being carried out by the management of Media Indonesia newspaper report, it indicates that there is a tendency not to adhere to the principle of independence as an ideology that must be held firmly by any media because the interest of the media owner influence the construction of the news making text process. The suspicion is getting stronger when we find out the owner of the newspaper as well as a politician or founder of a political party. In various developed countries, the process of information liberalization is reasonable because they have consciously entered the stage of global change with the values of modernization as the main factor. Globalization in

the field of information in the mass media world cannot be separated from economic globalization, which mean the development of information is highly dependent on the ability of the power of the capital class. Automatically, these conditions influenced to the Indonesia mass media world.

The phenomenon that arised was that Indonesia Media tended to display the information about the presidential candidates with their reporting face containing more positive elements and negative elements as an inevitable issue of reporting. On the other hand, the pressure of various interests that come from the investor (owner) media into the news management process is getting bigger. While the demand of our national press system to preserve the function of the Pancasila press were also increasingly tight. In other words, there was a conflict between the demand to maintain the existence of the press and the demand to carry out the function of a free and responsible press in accordance with the Pancasila democracy (Muis: 2000).

The report ideology in the mass media wrapped in the presidential election campaign agenda was a part of social change that is increasingly fast and broader. The change in ideology was directly related to the influence of the process of national development by the influence of globalization and this developed information age. In other situation, sometimes the content of information conveyed through the mass media to the public often contradicted the expectation of the public as a result of the pragmatic view of mass media, which inevitably reality that will affect the information development system in Indonesia.

Furthermore, in the perspective of the analysis of the news text related to the 2014 presidential election campaign in

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Media Indonesia newspapers, which tend to be not independent, there were some most basic things, especially the issue Pancasila values that were increasingly left behind the progress of the information. There was a gap in news management that has occurred sharply in the newspaper's practice. Why was that? Basically, the gap phenomenon occurred due to a conflict of interest involving the media working class (editorial team). The newspaper owners who were also the founders of political parties / politicians who influence the management process of the 2014 presidential election campaign report in Indonesia. This matter has caused various interpretation of the news in that newspaper.

The report from the Media Indonesia newspaper, which is part of the Metro Group led by Surya Paloh, known as a Great Indonesian activist, is a supporter of the Jokowi – JK Presidential Candidate. In its reporting, Media Indonesia always established Jokowi's presidential candidate as a leader who was free from human rights violations, has concrete programs and visionary. Referring to the problem description of this background, the researcher was interested in examining more deeply about how to develop ideology through the headline of the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign in Media Indonesia newspaper.

Through the research related to building ideology on headline about 2014 Presidential Election Campaign on the Media Indonesia newspapers, it was expected to provide theoretical benefits that was to develop new models (theories) about the discourse of mass media ideology, especially regarding political campaign. Besides, it could develop communication science especially in the research aspects of print mass media of the content analysis with the Norman Fairclough Version Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Then practically, this research is expected to be used as a reference for the next research. In addition, the expected social benefits of this research are that it can give importance to improving the quality of professionalism for media players, especially Media Indonesia newspaper in reporting political events to the public.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Political Communication

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

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

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

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

Littlejohn (2009) the theory of political communication explains the goal process in which elected leaders, leaders, media, and citizens use messages to build meaning about political practice. When people use power to support public interests, their message and interaction is a strategic media of influencing public policy.

The conceptualization of who has the power and how they operate is prevalent in the theory of political communication. The power consists of the ability of political actors to acquire, maintain and run the authority in government affairs and to influence relations and policies. Political elites (elected officials, party leaders, legislators, and agency directors) have the power to influence large populations because they create laws and behavior sanctions or punishments, they also convey and hold social and economic benefits to citizens and influence mass media sources (Rahman, 2017: 168).

Every democratic process in the Presidential Election will always have the effort to gain public support, especially those who have the right to vote. Democracy itself comes from the words *demos* and *kratos*. That is, the pattern of governance originating from the people. It could also be that the government (President) was elected by the people's representatives. It means, the highest power is in the hands

of the people. Democracy is developed to foster people's participation, not someone or group participation. The role of the people (read: public) is more valued because it plays an important role in making decisions in the public interest. Let's say, in determining a Regional Head, Regent, Governor, and President as head of state in a democratic system must be chosen by the people (Irawan, 2018: 91). The introduction of political figures as personal and institutional and / or political coalitions will be built along with the introduction of political ideas, to get acceptance in the eyes of the voter public. Through a democratic system, each individual has the same "one person, one vote, one weight" political rights depends on the majority of the people who have the right to vote and come to the election by legally choosing the presidential candidate. The presidential candidate pair will fight over the same target, that is the voting community (Rahman, 2018: 167).

2.2. Pers Ideology (Mass Media)

Based on the author's view that every media has an ideology espoused mainly by media owner. According to Syaifuddin, that in mass media companies also contained ideological values that represent the ideology of the owners / owners of each media. Ideological values intended can be practiced and developed through policies implemented in the editorial management system of the media. It means that the ideological values of media owners become an important part of several interests that are the targets / targets to be achieved through the process of text construction in the task of reporting / disseminating issues by the media. (Syaifuddin, 2013) Ideology and mass media are a unity that is inseparable from one another. Thus, to see differences in the press system in full perspective, people must look at the systems of society in which the press functions. It Cover the nature of human beings, the nature of society and the state, the relationship between humans and the state, the nature of knowledge and truth. So in the end, the differences between press systems are philosophical differences, and the philosophical and political foundations or theories behind the various presses in the world are different today (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. 1986: 2)

In this regard, there are four theories which form the basis of the press. First, authoritarian press theory according to Fred S. Siebert, historically and geographically, this theory was most famous among other theories. This theory is automatically used by almost all countries, especially when society and technology are advanced enough to produce what we call "mass media" in communication. Second, the Libertarian press theory. This theory is part of libertarian doctrine, also the development of philosophical principles that produce the basis of the socio-political system structure in which the mass media operates. Liberalism, as a socio-political system, has a framework for other institutions, also determined by the principles underlying the society in which the press is a part. Third, the press theory of the Communist Soviet (Wilbur Schramm). In essence, this theory addresses the different of views to understand the theory of Soviet mass communication with the United States, that is a). We must remember that the basic different between Soviet tradition and America is the difference in view between Marx and Mill. Both of them think of as much as possible

for many people goodness. But Marx intends to improve human life by enhancing actual society, intending to use humans as a machine to improve society so that their people will increase. Instead Mill intends to improve the community by increasing humanity first. So in these two traditions we see two parallel but conflicting concepts. Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm. 1986: 9, 13, 83,121, 169, 170.) Fourth, Theory of Social Responsibility (Theodore Peterson). This theory talks about the right of the public to know and the responsibility of the press to the public always tracing into their conversation. Such press thoughts and activities show a change in traditional libertarian theory, because this theory never speaks of the public's right to obtain information or about the necessity of publishers to accept moral responsibility. Fifth, the Pancasila Press theory. The Pancasila Press is a healthy, free and responsible press. Or the press that is oriented, behaved, and act based on the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The Pancasila press is a distinctive feature of the Indonesian press system.

2.3 The Discourse and Sign in Newspaper

Some relative important definitions relating to discourse are as stated by Cook, discourse is the use of language in the context of communication, both verbally and in writing. Likewise, the thing expressed by Halliday and Hasan that discourse is a semantic unity, and not a grammatical unit. Unity which is not because of its shape (morpheme, word, clause, or sentence). Connection of Halliday and Hasan, there are two things that can be studied in connection with the unity of language proposed by the two scientists. First, abstract elements are used to teach language and to find out how the rules of language work. Second, the elements used to communicate. When referenced by the cook's opinion that says, "This is the latter kind of language in use, for communication is called discourse ..." then the language for communication is what is called discourse. Other terms used in this study are more likely to use the concept put forward by Gee, which combines linguistic elements together with nonlinguistic elements to portray activities, views, and identities. (Badara, 2015: 17)

Furthermore, HoetaSuhod distinguishes the notion of discourse and text based on De Saussure's view that distinguishes langue and parole, according to him discourse is an abstract theoretical construct whose meaning is studied in relation to the context and situation of communication. What is meant by context is the element of language referred to by a speech. Thus, discourse is in the langue level, while the text is the realization of a discourse and is at the parole level. (Badara, 2012: 17). Newspaper, through the news discourse can determine something whether it is bad or good in the community. The process of marginalization through discourse takes place naturally, as is, lived together. The audience in this case is the reader, does not feel fooled or manipulated by the newspaper news discourse that marginalizes certain parties. This form of marginalization of certain parties can be done through emphasizing how certain actors are positioned in the text. This position can be compared as the form of a person or group subject. One party has a position as an interpreter while the other party becomes the object being interpreted. Such a position is not

only a journalistic technique but also deals with news politics. Therefore, the positioning of actors in newspaper news discourses is closely related to ideology. It happens because the positioning of one group basically makes one group have a higher position and the other group becomes an object or media of marginalization. (Rachmadi, 1990: 6).

In addition, the marginalization process, as stated above, can be compared with the vocabulary used. This is in accordance with the basic argument as stated by Roger Fowler. He explained that certain linguistic choices of words, sentences, propositions, carry certain ideological values. The word is seen not as something neutral, but brings certain ideological implications. (Rachmadi, 1990: 7). According to Berger, for the sake of the speaker (communicator) the sign functions: (a) to awaken (sense) the listener to do something he stated to then think about it, (b) to express his feeling (feeling) or attitude towards an object, (c) to notify (Covey) the attitude of the speaker to the audience, and (d) to show the purpose or outcome desired by the speaker or writer, both consciously and unconsciously. (Rachmadi, 1990: 13).

For the benefit of the listener (communication), the sign functions: (a) shows (indicating) the center of attention, (b) characterizes, (c) makes him/her aware of the problem (realizing), (d) gives positive or negative valuing, (e) influencing the audience to maintain or change the status quo, (f) to control an activity or function, and (g) to achieve a purposing goal to be achieved using these words. As for finding an ideology sign, it is necessary to know the context in which the sign is located and according to the culture of the user. It is because a sign can change its meaning according to the context. Both sentence, time, place and culture context. A symbol will change its meaning even in a context (time or place) that is relatively the same but in a different context of culture (civilization). (Rachmadi, 1990: 14).

2.4 Mass Media and Language in Reality Construction.

Every effort to describe the conceptualization of an event, situation, or object is an attempt to construct reality, because of the nature and fact that the work of mass media in this case is a story telling of events, so the main activity is constructing various realities to be reported. Newspapers / media compile the reality of various events that occur to become meaningful stories or discourses. Thus, the entire contents of the media is a reality that has been constructed in a meaningful form. (Rachmadi, 1990: 9).

Language is the main element in the process of reality. It was discussed by Berger and friends. They state that the construction process of reality begins when a constructor conducts objectivity to a reality, that is, doing perceptions of an object. Furthermore, the result of meaning through perception is internalized into someone's constructor. In that stage, conceptualization of a perceived object is carried out. The final step is to externalize the result of the internal reflection process through statement. The tool for making these statements is nothing but the words of a concept or language. In line with that, Tuchman said language is a conceptualization tool and narrative tool. Once the importance of language, there is no news or science without

language. Furthermore, the use of certain languages (symbols) determines the format of the certain narrative (and meaning). (Rachmadi, 1990: 9).

2.5 The View on Critical Discourse Analysis

From linguistic history, human by media of signs, can communicate with each other. Many things can be communicated in this world. (Sobur, 2003: 15). According to Badara (2012: 29), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) investigates how the use of the language of existing social groups fight each other and submit their own versions. Some characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis summarized by Eriyanto are as follows: a) Actions. Discourse is understood as an action, discourse is associated as a form of interaction. Discourse is not placed as in closed and internal spaces. Discourse is seen as something that aims, whether to influence, argue, persuade, refute, react, etc., b) Context. Critical Discourse Analysis considers the context of discourse, such as setting, situation, events, and conditions. Discourse in this case is produced, understood, and analyzed in a particular context. Referring to Cook's view (Badara, 2012: 30), discourse analysis also examines the context of communication: who communicates with whom and why; in what kind of audience and situation; through what medium; how are the different types of communication developments; and relationships for each of them, c) History. Placing discourse in a particular social context means that discourse is produced in certain contexts and cannot be understood without including the accompanying context. One important aspect to be able to understand a text is to place the discourse in a particular historical context, for example, a socio-political situation, the atmosphere at the time of the event is analyzed, d) Power. In the critical discourse analysis also considered the power element in the analysis. Every discourse that appears, in the form of text, conversation or other forms, is not seen as something natural, fair, and neutral but is a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the key to the relationship between discourse and society. For example, male power in the discourse on sexism or corporate power in the form of the domination of upper-class entrepreneurs to subordinates, d) Ideology. Ideology has two contradictory meanings. Positive, ideology is perceived as a worldview that states the value of certain social group to defend and advance their interest. Negatively, ideology is seen as a false awareness, that is a need to commit fraud by distorting people's understanding of social reality.

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

2.6 Political Discourse and Representation in Mass Media

The concept of political discourse is widely used in political communication research related to mass media messages. To explain the meaning of "political discourse" as a term or concept can be translated etymologically from two words that form into one concept or understanding. (Badara, 2012: 74). Political discourse, according to Syaifuddin, is as communication of ideas about politics, both oral and written, which are official and orderly for the purpose of power (hegemony). In this sentence, it implies that affirm the meaning of "political discourse": First, all regular writings such as political news, political articles and political editorial are structured systematically and logically, which has unity and integration coherence in the editorial or the sentence. (Badara, 2012: 75).

Political discourse is communication in a complex process, in which it involves / is related to the thoughts and citizens attitude and interest, organizational group, election activity, and lobbying as the answer toward how to obtain, process and maintain power (hegemony) for the maker of the political discourse. it means, communication involving political messages is as "political discourse", political discourse was essentially a political reality constructed by the creator / media to influence political audiences with the aimed of political imaging, hegemony and accumulation of interests. (Badara, 2012: 76). Editorial kitchens that have a routinuity of doing news production is not free from certain power. Those who work behind editorial kitchen are people who do not have independence in determining where public opinion is directed through reporting. Media owners are the main parties who have full authority in determining representation in news. In a critical study, the intended media owner is a representation of a capitalist group that has economic, political, ideological and idealistic interests which are very dominant of the reporting business. The power of the media owner who carries great interest is seen as a very fundamental factor in understanding the existence of certain dominant groups in the news management.

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

Based on various results of research in the field of communication, the content of media greatly influenced the way of the public/ audience thinking. According to Firmansyah, "explicitly, the result of these studies were that we could shape public opinion through the information we provided. When political forces want to discredit the opponent's political image, what needed to be done is enough to overwhelm. It also happened when the political want to form a positive image of the public, it is enough to overwhelm the mass media with positive things from a party or candidate. The bad information and news will be easily spread through sms, the internet, and other forms of reporting. Where the mass media coverage was very effective in shaping public opinion for a certain matter, so that mass media played a very important role in politic today. Increasing the bargaining position will depended on how much we can influence public opinion to be able to side with us. (Eriyanto, 2008: 28-29).

2.7 Critical Theory

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

Critical theory can be understood from four assumptions that are different from other communication theories. First, Critical Theory was historical, Two, Critical Theory was compiled on the basis of the historical involvement of its compiler, Three, Critical Theory contained a critical suspicion of the actual society and tries to uncover the ideological guise it has. Four, Student action in Germany in the 1960s was triggered by the condition of democracy on campus which they considered as undemocratic. In addition, the mass media / newspapers or magazines in Germany at that time did not favor the politic of the students. Five, critical theory was intended as a practical theory of struggle.

By referring to the typical character of critical theory, criticizing ideology in the process of changing society in a system such as criticism must be done comprehensively and holistically with all the advantages and disadvantages inherent in the system if. For instance, there is a process of human slavery, a life that not independent of their social reality, there is injustice and irrationality in human. Critical theory aimed to open up the slavery process, liberate human, create a life of justice and rationality. That was, the creation

of a better and more balanced human life for their need. (Eriyanto, 2008: 56)

3. Research Methodology

This study is used a qualitative Content Analysis Method. While the analytical approach was the Norman Fairclough version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this research was in the realm of the critical paradigm. The critical philosophical assumption is that seeing reality is based on competition for power, identity, history and ideology. Thus, the presidential election campaign was a battle of discourse of each candidate. Through mass media representation appears to establish the ideological discourse that will be built. Representation in the mass media, especially in newspapers, was inseparable from the influence of history, political economy, media and ideology. For this reason, understanding social reality requires a theoretical framework but not to be deducted, but to gather the concept in explaining the phenomenon of media coverage written in Media Indonesia and Seputar Indonesia newspapers headlines in the 2014 presidential election campaign. So the research was used the Political Economy of Media theory, and representation, while Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis was used for discourse analysis. The subject of this study is the headline of the political campaign news in two newspapers that were Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia newspaper as many as 6 news owners / actors (editors) and the representations of the audience / media readers. While the object of research was political ideology and economic reporting on the news headlines of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential election campaign published during the campaign period of the intended Presidential Candidate. By taking experience from what Syaifuddin said in his research, the data collection techniques that will be used in this study were as follows: Text Analysis, Depth-interview, Library study and documentation, and Observation. Then Fairclough's data analysis technique understand Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) related to research on tension between two assumptions about the use of language, that language composed and was socially structured by Titscher, Mayer,

Wodak, & Vetter. (Titscher, et al. 2009: 242). The assumption is based on Halliday's "systemic functional linguistic theory," that each text has an "ideational" function through representation of the experience of representation and representation of this world. In addition, the text produced social interaction between participation in discourse, and thus also displayed interpersonal function. Finally, the text also has a textual function, that the text brought together the separate components into a whole and combine with situational context (Fairclough, 1995: 61).

Intertextuality technique. The result of this analysis was in the form of meaning, representatio, and the influence of media political force in the 2014 presidential election campaign. In drawing conclusion, researcher used interactive model as stated by Miles and Hiberman (2004). The analysis process flows from the initial stage to the final stage. Components of data analysis (which includes data reduction, data presentation and conclusion) were interactively interconnected during and after data collection. The researcher would draw conclusion by staying open and skeptical. As long as the research taken place, any conclusions that were set would continue to be verified until truly valid and solid conclusion are obtained.

4. Result and Discussion

This discussion would revealed more about the ideological discourse of the Media Indonesia newspaper in the reporting of the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election Campaign. From the 15 headlines of Media Indonesia newspaper reports, researcher found 6 headlines related to ideological discourse. Furthermore, in the sub-section of this discussion, researcher would divided the six headlines into three major themes. Furthermore, the researcher would present the next explanation about the ideological discourse on the headlines of the Media Indonesia newspaper.

For more information on ideological discourses on the Media Indonesia newspaper headlines, researcher would present them in the table below.

Table: The Ideology Discussion of Media Indonesia Newspaper

<i>Date./TittleHeadline</i>	<i>Media Indonesia Headline</i>	<i>Discourse</i>
June 6, 2014 <i>BabinsaDirect Citizens to Choose Prabowo(1)</i>	The media constructed an opinion that the <i>Babinsa</i> apparatus was not neutral and acted to frighten the citizens so they chose the Prabowo-Hatta candidate.	The construction of text relating to the use of state apparatus, in this case, Babinsa (Village CounselingCenter) by the Prabowo-Hatta presidential and vice presidential candidate.
June 7, 2014 <i>The Massive Engagement of Babinsa (2)</i>	The media indicated that the involvement of <i>Babinsa</i> supporting Prabowo-Hatta occurred in many places, not only in Jakarta.	
June 12, 2014 <i>President Chosen Must Free of HumanRight Violance (5)</i>	Media Indonesia connected Prabowo with the human rights violationscases in the past, especially when identified Prabowo's character constructed by the media, has temperamental character. In contrast, Jokowi constructed as a soft person.	The construction of text relating to past human right violation and the abduction of pro-democracy activists by President PrabowoSubianto
June 20, 2014 <i>Prabowo was an Initiator of abduction (10)</i>	Journalists constructed the news based on Wiranto's opinion which stated that abduction activists werePrabowo's initiative, while ABRI never gave abduction orders.	
June 27, 2014 <i>Prabowo is Pro with Authoritarian Regime (12)</i>	Based on the result of interviewing Prabowo with Allan Nairn, reporters constructed Prabowo as a pro-authoritarian / anti-democratic, inconsistent and temperament figure.	The construction of text based on past interviews between Prabowo and a foreign journalist, Allan Nairn, where the content state that Prabowo is a docile pro-authoritarian and anti-democracy.
June 28, 2014 <i>Refuse Authoritarian Leaders (13)</i>	The practice of discourse carried out by journalists came from the Quotation of Prabowo's interview with Alan Nairn 2001 regarding a benign authoritarian system. This term was constructed by journalist as an anti-democratic attitude, so that it was rejected by various groups.	

This discussion would revealed more about the ideological discourse of the Media Indonesia newspaper in reporting the 2014 Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election. From the 15 main news report from Media Indonesia newspapers, researcher found 6 titles related to ideological discourse. Furthermore, in the sub-section of this discussion, researcher would share the six headlines in three major themes.

Based on the result of the study showed that the ideological discourse of the Media Indonesia newspaper were: first, the construction of the text relating to the use of state apparatus in this case Babinsa (Village Development Center) / military by the Prabowo-Hatta presidential and vice presidential candidate; second, the construction of text relating to past human right violation and the abduction of pro-democracy activists by President PrabowoSubianto; third, the construction of text based on past interview between Prabowo and a foreign journalist, Allan Nairn, where the contents mention that Prabowo was a docile pro-authoritarian and anti-democracy.

To explore more about the practice of Media Indonesia newspaper discourse in connection with the event of the 2014 Presidential Election theme, researcher tried to reconstruct the Babinsa and military institutions and their role in society, including the interests of using these institutions as part of instruments of political struggle. Based on the analysis, the researcher saw the connection between the practice of discourse on Media Indonesia newspaper which featured the theme of Babinsa with the theme of the abduction of pro-democracy activists by President PrabowoSubianto and the theme of constructing President PrabowoSubianto's docile pro-authoritarian and anti-democracy. The next discussion on the three themes related to the meaning of symbols and the function of political communication as opinion former.

"Babinsa Directs Citizens to Choose Prabowo" June 6, 2014 edition and "The Massive Engagement of Babinsa" edition June 7, 2014, according to the headline of Media Indonesia newspaper. In the practice of discourse, the use of words / texts 'Babinsa' referred to the military / TNI figure, this was reinforced by the artistic appearance of the news which present an illustration of a male figure with military attributes he used. The used of language in the headline title also has relevance. Even with publishing in two consecutive editions, Media Indonesia want to emphasize the continuity between the first title and the second title. The use of text in headlines including the artistic display on the pages of the Media Indonesia newspaper was the realization of a discourse. Based on De Saussure's view, this text is called parole. While in the language level, if we examine the text construction in relation to the context and communication situation, we find the text of the headline conclusion is that Prabowo mobilized Babinsa / military apparatus to direct citizens to vote him in the 2014 Presidential Election.

The use of the text 'Babinsa' also has its own communication context and situation. Babinsa and the military have been a tool of power to oversee and limit the movement of civil society participation in the past. In the context of the 2014 Presidential Election, Media Indonesia

constructed a text that raised the role of Babinsa that had happened in the past. In the next two headlines that were on June 12 and June 20, 2014, Media Indonesia constructed a text on the theme of human right violation and the abduction of pro-democracy activists who had been accused of PrabowoSubianto presidential candidate. In a headline entitled *"President Elected Must Free of Human Right Violence"* (12/06/2014), the use of word and sentence structure in his reporting was very clear, saying Prabowo made a number of mistakes. One of the quotes was the following sentence: In the four-page documents mentioned some Prabowo's mistakes, including his involvement in the abduction of pro-democracy activists.

While the headline of June 20, 2014 explicitly gave the title *"Prabowo Initiator of Abduction"*. The initiator according to the Online Indonesian Dictionary released by the Ministry of Education and Culture (kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id) means: who has an initiative; who initiated it. It was clearly understood that the aim of Media Indonesia entitled the headline was to construct a story which stated that the abduction of pro-democracy activists was Prabowo's initiative, while ABRI never gave abduction orders. The accusation was clearly seen in the production of the following texts: *Wiranto stressed that the abduction was initiated by former PangkostradPrabowoSubianto*. The media separated Prabowo's activities from TNI institutions in the text: *Wiranto asserted that the kidnapping of activists from December 1997 to February 1998 was not in accordance with the policies of the leadership*. And again he affirmed the abduction by Prabowo in the following text: *Wiranto said Prabowo had violated the law because the abduction was carried out on personal initiative*.

Media Indonesia through its practice of discourse could determine whether something was bad or good in society. From the headline discussion above, it is very clear that the direction of the practice of discourse is seen by the editorial policy of Media Indonesia. The main theme carried out to shape the perception of the public and direct public opinion is related to past human right violation and the abduction of pro-democracy activists who have been accused of the PrabowoSubianto candidate. The use of the language and the wording that form the sentence was clearly marginalized PrabowoSubianto. The audience has a position as a temporary interpreter. PrabowoSubianto is the object to be interpreted. Determining the position of actors in the discourse practices carried out by Media Indonesia has a close connection with the ideology of the newspaper.

The next two headlines, June 27 and June 28, 2014, the constructed theme was that Prabowo was a pro-authoritarian docile and anti-democracy. The construction of this headline was based on the result of interview with foreign journalists, Allan Nairn with PrabowoSubianto in the past. Allan Nairn called Prabowo inconsistent because of his statement when the 2014 presidential election campaign was the opposite of what was said in the past interview. On the headline entitled *"Prabowo Pro Authoritarian Regime"*, (27/06/2014), based on the excerpt of the interview mentioned above, Media Indonesia constructed Prabowo as a pro-authoritarian / anti-democratic figure, inconsistent and temperament. This was shown in the text which cites the statement of political

psychologist HamdiMuluk, "... according to the result of interview and witness, Prabowo was temperament". The other text in the report wrote as follows: "Prabowo, according to Allan, also stated that Indonesia needed a benign authoritarian regime".

Furthermore, the headline entitled "Refuse Authoritarian Leader" (28/06/2014) was 'an affirmation of the position of political ideology' of Media Indonesia. The practice of discourse carried out by journalists came from the excerpts of Prabowo's interview with Alan Nairn in 2001 regarding a benign authoritarian system. This term was constructed by journalists as an anti-democratic attitude, so that it was rejected by various groups. This headline strengthen the construction of the previous text. If the title of the headline was brought closer, "Prabowo Pro Authoritarian Regime", (27/06/2014) and "Refuse Authoritarian Leader", (28/06/2014), the construction of the text can be interpreted as such: *Reject Prabowo because of pro authoritarian regime or because Prabowo pro authoritarian regime, it must be rejected*. There was a meaningful consistency that further strengthen the construction of reality toward the formation of public opinion on the PrabowoSubianto figure. This construction positioned Prabowo as an object that was interpreted by the public as a barrier to democracy.

As Nimmo (2003) point out, politicians communicate as representatives of a group and politicians' messages are to propose and protect the objectives of political interests. It means that political communicators represent the interests of the group, so that if summarized, politicians seek influence through communication (Nimmo, 2003. p. 73). Likewise, the Media Indonesia newspaper, the owner Surya Paloh who was also the chairman of the National Democratic Party and the supporter of the Jokowi-JK candidate. It could be understood if he as a political communicator, Surya Paloh, through Media Indonesia played an important role in the process of forming public opinion about his affiliation Prabowo who was a retired TNI and military (in this case Babinsa). The aim was to direct public opinion that Prabowo used method that are contrary to the principles of democracy by using Babinsa to frighten citizen into choosing Prabowo-Hatta candidate.

The text is formed through a complex practice of discourse. Based on the discussion of descriptive analysis of the text in a number of headlines above, the researcher intended to confirm the construction of the text with the practice of discourse conducted by the media / journalist. This confirmation related to how the text production process occurred in media institutions, where there are important and interrelated aspects when the media will produce a discourse in a media. These aspects include: 1). The individual side of the journalist himself. 2). Relationship between journalist and the structure of media organization; 3). work practices / work routines from news production ranging from news searching, writing, editing until reporting in the media.

Through in-depth interviews with a number of sources from the editors of Media Indonesia newspaper, researcher argued that most of the important position in editorial management have professional trip with the Media Group or Surya Paloh. Elman Saragih, has known Surya Paloh since 1986 together

at Priority Newspaper. His closeness with media owner was reflected in his involvement since the formation of the National Democratic Party (NasDem Party) founded by Surya Paloh, as well as being the core team when the Media Indonesia newspaper owner participated in the Golkar Party Convention to look for Presidential candidate. GaudensiusSuhardi, for 28 years joined the media conglomerate owned by the chairman of the Nasdem Party, and is currently a member of the Editorial Board of Media Indonesia. Hilarius Usman Gani, an alumnus of the Indonesian Christian University law faculty since the beginning of his career as a journalist, has always been in professional relations with the Media Group. While Teguh, began his career as editorial secretary, then became head of the government division until now.

In Media Indonesia newspaper, this partisanship manifested in the practice of news discourse in which the title and content of the news tended to attack and overthrow political opponent of candidate supported by capital owner, while at the same time supporting and praising the candidate they supported. The title of the news by the newspaper Media Indonesia was very hard to attack the political opponent of the presidential candidates. The researcher took the following example (some other examples have also been discussed by the researcher at the beginning of this sub-section): on 20 June 2014 with a headline entitled "Prabowo Initiator of abduction", where the construction of the text read "Wiranto confirmed that the abduction was initiated by PrabowoSubianto" and "Wiranto said Prabowo had violated the law because the abduction was carried out on personal initiative". Then the June 27, 2014 headline entitled "Prabowo Pro Otoriter Regime" with the construction of the text quoted a psychology expert HamdiMuluk as saying: "... according to the result of interview and witness, Prabowo was temperament". While in other part the report wrote as follows: "Prabowo, according to Allan, also stated that Indonesia needed a benign authoritarian regime".

Based on the discussion above, the researcher saw a contradiction between the ideology conveyed by a group of elite managers of Media Indonesia (Editorial Board) with the practice of media Indonesia discourse in which the Editorial Board also contributed in it. The Media Indonesia newspaper claimed that the institution was as a press that has a national political direction that fight for the interests of the Republic of Indonesia, the 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and Unity in Diversity in order to achieve people's welfare in accordance with the ideal shared. The Media Indonesia newspaper called itself a media of national struggle that uphold the journalistic code of ethic, has a commitment to honesty and the value believed in in the practice of reporting.

Referring to the normative media perspective as McQuail perspective (2011), the characteristics of the Media Indonesia newspaper as acknowledged by internal source indicated that the Media Indonesia newspaper adhere to the Social Responsibility ideology in order to fulfill the information interest of the public (Public Interest). But on the other hand, this media does not prioritize the right to freedom of broadcasting which is accompanied by obligation to the wider community that exceed personal

interests. The idea of positive freedom that is described involved several social goals, not found in the editors of this media in news management. This media does not have the responsibility of maintaining high standard by self-regulation, because government intervene is not involved.

The characteristics of Media Indonesia newspaper, based on the narratives of internal sources - mentioned earlier - adhere to the values of professionalism. The main focus is to serve the public's needs for information and comment and provide a platform for expressing different views for the audience. This is in accordance with Elman's opinion that even though Media Indonesia support the Great Indonesian Coalition, this media can not blind the eyes and ears toward the opponent groups that called the Red and White Coalition.

In the Researcher's view, based on the narrative of internal sources found at the level of the text discourse, it was very different from the practice of discourse carried out by this media. The presentation of the title with the construction of the content of the news which vulgarly attacked the political opponent of the owner actually appeared more as the main menu of news coverage of Media Indonesia, as an example of the news above. In the operationalization of such media, the researcher argued that the practice of press work adopted by Media Indonesia is a model of Liberal Pluralism (liberal-pluralist or market). This model is based on the Libertarian Theory as described in the other sub-sections above. The author identified the press freedom of the Media Indonesia newspaper as the freedom to operate publication tool for their individual interests and needs, and define public interest as what is attractive according to capital owners and not attractive to the public. The public domain is served by the operation of a free market the idea of capital owner. The ultimate goal is to serve the interest of capital owner through a process of fighting discourse.

The anomaly from the practice of the press work of the Media Indonesia newspaper is that when the market model or pluralist liberal press system was embraced by prioritizing the interest of capital owners, at the same time there was a very strong domination of capital owners toward the practice of the press. This dominance actually gave birth to authoritarianism in Media Indonesia newspaper institution. In this phase, the Media Indonesia newspaper is under control of the economic and political action of the capital owner.

From the discussion above, it can be concluded temporarily about the ideology of the Media Indonesia newspaper seen from a Theoretical perspective. From the point of view of Critical Theory, that the symbols echoed by the capital owner of this media to the external claim to be the Pancasila Press. it mean that the Media Indonesia newspaper claimed to uphold Pancasila values, but it was different in the practice of the news discourse. In the planning of ideology, the media coverage was pro to capitalism but was wrapped up in the issue of Pancasila by making changes / restoration in various fields to achieve a prosperous society.

In the management of news, the capital owners carried out the process of forcing a frame of mind (domination /

hegemony) directly against the weaker class (editor) through the use of blatant ideological force and necessity, through the setting of rules and exclusion expressed through language and discourse. This is what gave birth to an authoritarian system in the body of this media institution. In addition, Media Indonesia newspaper identified press freedom without the government's intervention.

In term of the social responsibility of Media Indonesia newspaper, the idea of positive freedom did not involve social goals. The media was responsible for maintaining high rule standards with self-regulation, but government interference was not involved. This freedom of broadcasting media was not accompanied by obligation to the community that exceed personal interest.

In term of professionalism in the work of editor, the Media Indonesia newspaper was not the successor of the struggle for freedom and democracy in the past, and was not the best guarantor for the benefit of the reader. This media also rejected universal rationality. It has the consequence of ignoring Pancasila values in the news practice. In the practice of newspaper ideology, Media Indonesia behaved anomaly / two-faced; capital owners sell symbols of change / restoration to achieve a prosperous Pancasila society, but in practice the management of news of capital owners was very authoritarian and capitalistic.

From the perspective of the Mass Society Theory, Media Indonesia newspaper cannot be expected to be critical in reporting or provide an alternative political choice to readers because the owner of capital are the founders of the 2014 presidential and vice presidential political candidate. Media Indonesia newspaper which was a potential tool for manipulating readers, but through its content this media also helped readers to be able to survive in difficult situation. Finally, the Media Indonesia newspaper has a tendency to form accommodation to readers in dependence on their political interest on the authority.

In the management practice of newspaper, Media Indonesia reporting prioritized the interest of capital owner. The capital owners did the domination / hegemony to the reporters launched through a group of elite media managers (an extension of the power of capital owners). This media defined the importance of readers as what was interesting according to the capital owners and journalists.

5. Conclusion

Based on the result of descriptive analysis at the text (micro) level, interpretive analysis at the level of discourse practice (mezzo), and explanatory analysis at the level of socio-cultural practice (macro), it can be concluded that ideologically the Media Indonesia newspaper was anomalous. On the other hand, theoretically external symbols echoed by Media Indonesia newspaper can be ensured to discuss the values of the Pancasila Press. That was, this media claimed to upheld the values of the Pancasila by giving space to the opposing parties in it. However, on the other hand, in the practice of management of news coverage, Media Indonesia prioritized the interest of capital owners who are conditional on the values of

capitalism. That was, in the management of media coverage this practice of domination was so strong by the owners of capital. This condition confirmed the hegemony of capital owners working through a group of media management elites (an extension of the capital owners). The imposition of a direct frame of mind on the weaker class through overt use of ideological power and necessity, through rules and exclusion expressed through language and discourse. This is what gave birth to an authoritarian system in the body of this media institution. Based on these two conclusions, the researcher suggested that the Media Indonesia newspaper would organize the management of the media and immediately return to hold on to the spirit of the National Press Law and the Journalistic Code of Ethics as the main foundation consistently in management of news and text construction operational. Then, the Media Indonesia newspaper should avoid hypocritical attitudes while avoiding an attitude of hypocrisy towards the community of readers (audiences) in the reporting business. In addition, Media Indonesia newspaper is advised to implement media business management in a professional, rational and proportional manner, not through capitalistic business management. The attitude of the media as intended by the author was very important in order to provide positive energy for the future of Indonesia that is better than the present condition.

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