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The Analysis of Ideological Practices in *Sindo* Newspaper through the Headline of the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign

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ABSTRACT: The Research Title: "The Analysis of Ideological Practices in Sindo Newspaper through the Headline of the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign". The purpose of theresearch was to analyze the headline ideological discourse on the 2014 presidential election campaign. This type of research is qualitative. The research method is content analysis with Norman Faitclough's version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Research paradigm; critical paradigm with critical theory. Furthermore, the data collection techniques used in this research are Text Analysis, Indepth-interview, literature research and documentation, and observation. Based on the results of descriptive analysis at the text/ micro level, interpretive analysis at the level of discourse practice/ mezzo, and explanatory analysis at the level of sociocultural practice/ macro, the results of this research were obtained, about the ideology of the newspaper Sindo newspaper, theoretically or based on external symbols of this media and based on the acknowledgment of the key informant as the representative owner, it can be ascertained the ideological discourse of the 2014 Sindo newspaper's presidential election campaign is the Pancasila press. However, in the practice of press management the attitude of the owners of capital was very visible in favor of the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair of Prabowo-Hatta. But on the other handSindo Newspaper also gives the freedom to journalists to have slightly different attitudes with the policies of capital owners.

KEYWORDS: *Practice of Ideology, Mass Media, and Presidential Election Campaign*

I. INTRODUCTION

In the current era of openness information in Indonesia, reporting on the presidential election campaign is an integral part of political communication. This has always been the focus of attention of various circles of society. The preaching of the 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.

The 2014 Presidential Election campaign reported in the Sindo Newspaper is certainly a result of the construction of press personnel on the media. They also worked in the situation of advancing information technology rapidly as an influential factor from the outside to the process and management issues of news from upstream to downstream that they could not avoid. All of that is based on the issue of transparency in the news management process in disclosing facts in the news to the public. The advance of information technology is a new civilization which means information. According to Muis, the flow of information from the outside will be more intense and increasingly difficult to filter because the obstacles of space and time are getting thinner. Finally the world becomes more transparent (Muis, 2000: 3).

One of the things that might have happened and at the same time became the source of our fear as the Pancasila community was that in the process and management problems of the 2014 presidential election campaign report on Sindo newspaper escalated the influence of the information flow of liberalization process, which influence had dragged the national press system deep into value of liberalism.

As the issue that has been and is being carried out by the management, the Sindo news indicates that there is a tendency not to adhere to the principle of independence as an ideology that must be held firm by any media because the interests of the media owner influence the construction of the text in the news making process. The suspicion is getting stronger when we find out the owner of Sindo as well as a politician or founder of a political party.

The ideology of the news in the mass media wrapped in the presidential election campaign agenda is part of social change that is increasingly fast and broader. The change in ideology is directly related to the

influence of the process of national development sharpened by the influence of globalization and this information era. In other situations, sometimes the content of information conveyed through the mass media to the public often contradicts the expectations of the public as a result of the pragmatic view of mass media, which inevitably reality as such 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 the newspaper of Sindo, which tends to be not independent, there are actually the most basic things, especially the issue of the press values of the Pancasila that are increasingly left behind the progress of the information. There are gaps in news management that occur sharply in practice. Why is that? Basically the gap phenomenon occurs due to a conflict of interest involving the media working class (editorial team), newspaper owners who are also the founders of political parties/ politicians who influence the management process of the 2014 presidential election campaign reports in Indonesia. C.A. Van Peursen explained, in the current era of globalization, the problem of communication ethics is increasingly dramatic. Human ethics and wisdom are increasingly left behind by the development of information and communication technology. The law of communication is also increasingly transformed into a phenomenon that has more damage than its reward. Because, the function of information and media commodities is increasingly more dominant than social functions (Muis, 2000: 19).

In line with that, Marshall Mcluhan and Eric Mcluhan (Muis, 2000: 19) explain, that the increasingly widespread violations of journalistic ethics lately, and the tendency of mass media to exploit audience's lower taste is increasingly sharp. In this era of information revolution there has been a change in the identity of human values that tend to be radical. The era is more destructive of human values (dehumanization) than a war with modern firearms. From McLuhan's point of view, the reminder of the world of mass media is how important it is to defend human values (audiences) by the mass media in the practice of reporting as the basic essence of the existence of mass media through roles played before the public.

Then, what if the behavior of the mass media in political reporting as illustrated above is seen in certain political events such as the presidential election campaign in Indonesia that took place in July 2014, in which the Indonesian nation held a national celebration, the election of the President and Vice President. As in the political habit that adheres to a democratic system, before the election takes place there is a campaign process of the candidates as one of the important stages of the election to strengthen the support of the prospective voter community.

Regarding to the description of the problem above, the researcher considers the importance of making the focus of research so that researchers avoid various forms of concentration bias during the research process until the preparation of research reports. It can be emphasized that this research focuses on the discourse of media ideology in the mass media coverage related to the 2014 presidential election campaign, by taking the research corpus on the newspaper headline of Koran Sindo. Thus, the title of this research can be formulated as "The Analysis of Ideological Practices in Sindo Newspaper through the Headline of the 2014 Presidential Election Campaign".

II. 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 elections, when there is a political campaign process involving politicians and voters. The other side of Foster explained that political communication is not limited to the election, but occurs all the time. In contrast to the views expressed by Damsar, political communication is the process of transferring messages in the form of data, facts, information or images, which contain a purpose or meaning of sending to recipients which involves the process of interpreting power, authority, political life, government, state, policy, decision making, and the distribution or allocation of power that is running or not yet running (Darmawan, 2015: 115-116).

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

In line with this there are three models of political communication i.e. (1) Linear model. This model considers political communication as a linear process. According to Laswell, communication occurs because five elements are related linearly i.e. communicator, message, channel, recipient, and effective or influence. As a realization of this model is a linear model used by the source, in this case in the form of a political party or political actor, to inform its constituents or voters in every general election. Linear models are closely related to political communication that is monolog (one-way communication). This channel can be in the form of electronic media or print media. (2) Inreactive model. This model shows communicators create and interpret messages with personal experience, more overlapping experiences from communicators, so they

better understand each other. This model also shows encouraging people to understand both senders and recipients of messages to actively participate. (3) Transactional model. This model involves the presence of noise, which is anything that interferes with intentional communication or has a specific purpose. This model also emphasizes that communication is continuing constantly is a changing process. As a hallmark of time, it reminds us of the ways in which people communicate in various ways during the history of their interactions (Darmawan, 2015: 118-121).

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."

Each democraticprocess in the Presidential Election will always have efforts to gain public support from the public, especially those who have the right to vote. Democracy itself comes from the words demos and kratos. That is, the patternof governance originating from the people. It couldalso be that the government (President) was elected by the people's representatives. It means, the highest power is in the hands of the people. Democracyis developed to foster people's participation, not someone or group participation. The role of the people (read:public) is more valued because it plays an important role in making decisions in the public interest. Just say, in determining a Regional Head, Regent, Governor, and President as head of state in a democratic system must be chosen by the people (Irawan, 2018: 91). The introduction of political figures as personal and institutional and or political coalitions will be built along with the introduction of political ideas, to get acceptance in the eyes of the voter public.

Through a democratic system, each individual has the same political rights "'one person', 'one vote, 'one weight'" depends on the majority of the people who have the right to vote and come to the election by legally choosing the presidential candidate. The presidential candidate pair will compete over the same target, namely the voting community (Rahman, 2018: 167).

2.2. Press Ideology (Mass Media)

Literally interpreting ideology is a set of beliefs that are arranged in terms of rules to achieve goals. The term ideology was first used by a French philosopher, Destutt de Tracy, in 1796. Destutt de Tracy used the word ideology to refer to an autonomous field of science, is scientific analysis of human thinking, autonomous in the sense of being separated from metaphysics but also to define "science about ideas". Ideology can be regarded as a comprehensive vision, as a way of looking at everything, as common sense and some philosophical tendencies, or as a series of ideas put forward by a dominant class of society to all members of society (Bagus, 2000: 178).

However, in the researcher's view that every media has an ideology espoused mainly by media owners. According to Syaifuddin, those in mass media companies also contain ideological values that represent the ideology of the owners of each media. Ideological values intended can be practiced and developed through policies implemented in the editorial management system of the media. That is, the ideological values of media owners become an important part of several interests that are the targets to be achieved through the process of text construction in the task of reporting/ disseminating issues by the media (Syaifuddin, 2003: 97).

In the view of Karl Marx, ideology is a teaching that explains a situation, especially the structure of power, in such a way that people consider it legitimate, even though it is clearly invalid. Ideology serves the interests of the ruling class because it gives legitimacy to a situation that actually has no legitimacy.

Ideological criticism is one of the most important contributions of Marx's theory to the analysis of the structure of power in society. The ideological approach states that he wants to realize the public interest even though he serves the interests of the ruling class. Likewise, the demand to obey the law is considered ideological, because the demand is justified by legal justice, even though the law serves the interests of the upper class, while the small people find it difficult to use the law. In this context, actually for the owners of capital who are engaged in the mass media industry, they should be independent in delivering information to the public about discourse or ideas that are used as ideological grounds that contain ethical and moral aspects in formulating laws and arranging government in a country (Suseno, 1999: 122).

Because of that ideology and mass media are a unity that is inseparable from one another. Thus to see differences in the press system in full perspective, one must look at the systems of society in which the press functions. It covers 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 that lie behind various presses in different worlds today (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1986: 2) .

Regarding to this, there are five theories which form the basis of the press. Firstly, authoritarian press theory according to Fred S. Siebert. Historically and geographically, this theory was most spread 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. This theory forms the basis of press systems in various modern societies, even in countries that no longer use them and this theory continues to influence the practices of a number of governments that theoretically approve libertarian principles.

Secondly, 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.

Thirdly, the press theory of the Communist Soviet (Wilbur Schramm). In essence this theory addresses the difference of views to understand the theory of Soviet mass communication with the United States i.e. (a) we must remember that the basic difference between Soviet tradition and America is the difference in views between Marx and Mill. Both think of as much as possible goodness for as many people. 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. (b) Soviet mass communication is basically an instrument that is played to achieve its intended purpose, with the direction of a small group of Promethean leaders. In the American system mass communication is a service and not an instrument, which is used not for the intended purpose but as the voice of the community as well as the needs, interests, tastes, and thoughts of the people, as seen and interpreted by the owners and managers of mass media with the purpose of selling a useful product (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1986: 9-13).

Fourthly, 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.

Lastly, the Pancasila Press theory. The Pancasila Press is a healthy, free and responsible press. Or the press that is oriented, behaved, and behaves based on the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The Pancasila press is a distinctive feature of the Indonesian press system. In the context of the development of the press is the involvement or participation of the press to carry out the function of development journalism (development support journalism) in which the press performs the role of facilitator, liaison, catalyst and interpreter (interpreter) of development. The press is a forum for dialogue between the government and the people in a democratic, open and egalitarian manner so that all decision-making processes apply rationally.

2.3. Mass Media and Language in Reality Construction

The reconstruction of reality is a process of engineering an event carried out by the mass media where language through words or text as the main tool. The process of framing, discourse, compilation of sentences through text that is directed to bring a certain meaning according to the interests of the media is the activity of reality construction.

Language is the main element in the process of reality. This was discussed by Berger and friends. They say that the construction process of reality begins when a constructor conducts objectivity to a reality, which is, doing perceptions of an object. Furthermore, the results of meaning through perception are internalized into someone's constructor. In that stage conceptualization of a perceived object is carried out. The final step is to externalize the results of the internal reflection process through statements. 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).

In mass media, especially newspapers, the existence of language is no longer just a tool to describe a reality, but can determine the optics of media realities that will appear in the minds of the next audience, on the same page Defleur says mass media has various ways of influencing the language and meaning of developing new words and their associative meanings expand the meaning of terms that have replaced the old meaning of a term and a new meaning reinforces the convention of meaning that already exists in a language system. Therefore, the use of language influences the construction of reality, especially the results, in this case the meaning or image. This is because the language contains meaning. The use of certain languages can have implications for the form of construction of reality and the meaning it contains. The choice of words and how to present a reality determines the structure of construction of reality and

the meaning that emerges from it. From this perspective, even language is not only able to reflect reality, but also at the same time can create reality.

2.4. Views on Critical Discourse Analysis

Some characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis summarized by Eriyanto are as follows:

a) Action. 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. (Badara, 2012: 30).

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, 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. 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 the event is analyzed.

d) Power. Every discourse that appears, in the form of text, conversation or whatever, is not seen as something natural and neutral but is a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the keys to the relationship between discourse and society.

e) Ideology. Ideology has two contradictory meanings. Positively, ideology is perceived as a worldview that states the value of certain social groups to defend and advance their interests. Negatively, ideology is seen as a false consciousness, namely a need to commit fraud by distorting people's understanding of social reality (Badara, 2012: 29-30).

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

2.5. Discourse, Political Discourse and Representation Competing in MassMedia.

Discourse Competing. In a political context, the battle of discourse can be interpreted as a campaign involving political parties as the main actors in giving birth to democracy. Especially politicians of presidential candidates, governors, regents, and mayors play their role in campaigning about discourses or ideas to the public through general election elections. Thus the battle of discourse is part of an election campaign that has a fundamental characteristic in the life of political parties and is the basis of representative democracy. Therefore in the context where electoral campaign style is a realization of a changing political communication style and it is important to get some perspective on what this implication is for politicians to become candidates in political positions nominated by political parties. The research of campaigns through discourse clashes has emerged as an important research field in the political science community (Katz & Crotty, 2014: 199-200).

Lipset andRokkan explain the clash of discourse as a result of the emergence of party system diversity and election volatility and it is also far more interesting to examine the parties themselves, not only in terms of their reaction to change, but also in terms of the evolution of the organization and the style of their new campaign through discourse battles or ideas that might occur behind this development (Katz & Crotty, 2014: 201).

Political Discoursein Mass Media. Political discourse, according to Syaifuddin, is as communication of ideas about politics, both oral and written, which are official and orderly for the purpose of power (hegemony). In this sentence it implies things that affirm the meaning of "political discourse": all regular writings such as political news, political articles and political editorial are structured systematically and logically, which has unity and integration/ red thread (coherence) in the editorial or sentence (Syaifuddin, 2013: 75).

Political discourse is communication in a complex process, in which it involves/ is related to the thoughts and attitudes of citizens and interests, organizational groups, election activities, and lobbying as answers to how to obtain, process and maintain power (hegemony) for the maker of the political discourse. Here it means, communication involving political messages is as "political discourse", political discourse is essentially a political reality constructed by the creator/ media to influence political audiences with the aim of political imaging, hegemony and accumulation of interests (Syaifuddin, 2013: 76).

Representationin Mass Media. Speaking of mass media is certainly inseparable from the discussion of the press system which in essence cannot be separated from the larger forms of the system, in this case

the communication system. The press system is a part or subsystem of the communication system. While the communication system itself is part of a community social system. Therefore, our press system cannot be separated from the form of the social system and the form of the existing state government, and where the press system is located and functioning. As stated by Siebert et al, he said; the press system in a country reflects a social system in which the relationships between individuals are regulated with existing institutions and a media system reflects the political philosophy of the country in which it functions. Furthermore Jhon C. Merill states more explicitly, that a media system is as consensus, and then the press system is in one country with another. LioydSommerlad said that as a social institution the press has different functions and characteristics, depending on the political economy system and the social structure of the country where the press is located (Rachmadi, 1990: 29-30)

As Hall said, representation is an important part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does not involve the use of language, signs and images that stand to represent something. But this is far from a simple or easy process, because you will soon find it (Hall,

1997: 15). There are two processes of representation i.e. (1) mental representation, which is abstract (conceptual) because it is in the minds of individuals and society, and (2) representation of language, which is the translation of abstract representations. As a translator of abstract representations, the representation of language serves to connect concepts and ideas about something with certain signs and symbols.

2.6. The Concept of Political Campaign.

Riker's perspective, related to the campaign developed two principles of campaign rhetoric from ownership of the problem. "When one side has an advantage on a problem, and the other side ignores it; but when no party has an advantage, both look for new and profitable issues." This is called the principle of domination and finally the principle of dispersion. The theory predicts that there is an extreme form of the problem of differences in communication strategies.

According to Syaifuddin, entering the second half of the 1970s, interest in researching campaigns was rife again among communication science experts, even eventually emitting new hopes for the potential of campaigns in encouraging social change and its prospects for communication research. Such optimization develops especially after the results of research conducted by Mendelsohn (Perloff, 1993), Warner (1977), A.J. Meyer, Nash, Mc. Alister, Maccobby and Farguhar (Perry, 2002) were published. All the research reports in principle explain that all well-constructed campaigns will have a tremendous effect on the target audience. This period became known as the campaign success period (Syaifuddin, 2013: 85).

Recently communication experts realized that campaign effects were more moderate and influenced by various factors: Firstly, under certain conditions a campaign program had a great chance of success, but in other circumstances the program failed. Secondly, they also understand campaigners in designing and utilizing various existing resources (Syaifuddin, 2013: 85-86). This is entirely in line with Robert's opinion. E. Simon (1990) on Venus, that "the success of achieving campaign goals is only determined by our ability to design, implement and evaluate campaign programs systematically and strategically. Such abilities must be based on theoretical understanding of various dimensions and technical skills in applying them" (Venus, 2004: 4).

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses a critical paradigm. In a critical approach, the aim of research is not just to research the social world but to change it. Social reality for critical approaches is as a form consisting of various layers: empirical, real, and actual. Observation and experience with empirical reality are not purely neutral, and immediately, on the contrary ideas, beliefs and interpretations color or influence the things observed and how to observe them. Thus in observing social reality there is a set of beliefs that precede it. This is because there is a deeper reality that was formed before (pre-structured), not created by humans. (Hamad, 2004: 125).

The type of research is included in qualitative research using the Content Analysis Method. The analytical approach is the Norman Fairclough version of Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, this research is in the realm of the critical paradigm. In this stage, inductive thinking is used and eventually becomes a theory through the process of forming new concepts (conceptual formation) and theory formation (grounded theory) (Hamad, 2004: 46).

The subject of this research is the headline of political campaign news in two newspapers i.e. Media Indonesia as many as 6 news and Sindo as many as 9 news, owners/ actors (editors) of the two media as well as representation of the audience of media readers. The object of research is political ideology and economics reporting on the news headlines of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential election campaign published during the Presidential Candidate's campaign period.

The data collection techniques used in this research were:

a) Text Analysis, which is collecting data on the dimensions of the text/ structure of the text by utilizing linguistic analysis of vocabulary, sentences, propositions, and paragraphs to explain a language text (micro level analysis).

b) Indepth-interview, which is a technique of collecting data by interviewing in-depth the relevant parties as key informants to complete primary data at the mezo level (discourse practice), i.e. 1 Chief of editor and 3 Senior reporters/ reporters of Sindo, and 1 Chief of editor and 2 senior journalists from Media Indonesia newspaper. In addition, at the level of sociocultural practice or macro level, the author also conducted interviews with 6 resource persons who are professionals/ scientists in the field of communication, researchers, national political observers, former Chair of the Constitutional Court and members of the DPR-RI as representatives of the public readers to analyze the discourse of the two media on their social context.

c) Literature and documentation studies, it is a technique of data collection carried out by collecting written materials, reading books (literature), documents, references (references), and others in certain places, in the library, to obtain various theories, concepts, etc. that have relevance to the purpose of this research. This technique is to complement the primary and secondary data at the Sociocultural practice level.

d) Observation, which is a technique of data collection carried out by direct observation and recording on research subjects in order to obtain primary and secondary data in both newspapers (Syaifuddin 2013: 124).

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
4.1. The Ideology Discourse on Sindo Newspaper

In the discussion of the ideological discourse of the Sindo Newspaper in the 2014Republic of Indonesia Presidential Election Campaign, that of the 15 news from Sindo, researchers obtained 8 headlines related to ideological discourse. Furthermore, in the sub-section of this discussion, researchers would divide the seven headlines into three major themes.

Firstly, the theme of text construction that shows Prabowo's superiority over Jokowi, both personally and as a pair of Vice-President and Vice-President. This can be seen in the construction of the text on the June 2, 2014 edition of the Sindo newspaper headline entitled "Prabowo Number 1, Jokowi Number 2" and on June 4, 2014 edition of "Prabowo Relaxes, Jokowi Tenses", on the one hand shows the fact the candidate numbers. But on the other hand the Sindo newspaper is directing public opinion that Prabowo is superior to Jokowi. As is usual in every contest, all participants compete to become champions/ winners.

In the June 14, 2014 edition entitled "Probowo Strategic, Jokowi Technical", Sindo Newspaper further strengthened the construction of the text on previous headlines that showed Prabowo's superiority over Jokowi's. The word 'strategic' in the Large Online Indonesian Dictionary released by the Ministry of Education and Culture (kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id) means related, based on strategy.

Furthermore, the word 'strategy', refers to the same source, including means: the science and art of using all the resources of the nation to carry out certain policies in war and peace; science and art lead armies to confront enemies in war, in favorable conditions; careful planning of activities to achieve specific goals.

Based on the above understanding, the construction of the Sindo Newspaper news simply confirms the meaning that news interests are directed at affirming the superiority of Prabowo's figure as being eligible to be the leader of Indonesia through the 2014 Presidential Election. This meaning shows a very strong Sindo newspaper response to Prabowo at that time.

While in the July 6, 2014 edition entitled "Prabowo-Hatta More Systematic" was an affirmation of the construction of the text previously with the theme of Prabowo's superiority compared to Jokowi, both personally and as a pair of President and Vice-President. This assertion appears in the text: "... besides mastering the material more, Hatta-Prabowo also shows the state of statesmanship compared to his opponent". While Jokowi's side experienced a marginalization where it appeared in the following text: "Jokowi's answer did not reflect an answer to a presidential candidate" and the text "Jokowi is suitable to be a trade minister, not a presidential candidate".

Secondly, it is the theme of the construction of texts on public preferences towards Prabowo based on the results of research by a number of survey institutions and the number of people who clicked on 'like' on Facebook social media. Thirdly, it is the construction of the text in which Wiranto's black campaign that "attacked" Prabowo with activist kidnapping cases and the May

1998 riots would be an advantage for Prabowo because he was considered as the injured party.

The practice of discourse with the aim of constructing the reality carried out refers to Hamad's opinion, that in constructing reality, the media utilizes three components: (1) Using political symbols (language of politics), (2) framing strategies, and (3) Willingness to give place (agenda setting function). All three are what determine the opinion formed (Hamad, 1999).

June 5, 2014 edition, Koran Sindo presented a headline entitled "Jokowi Loses prestige in Jakarta". Prestige according to the Big Online Indonesian Dictionary (kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id) contains figurative meaning which means series; lively (beauty, glory, etc.); prestige. Whereas the word 'swamp' according to the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) has several meanings: 1. power emanating from the sublime nature; nobleness: 2. Influence; 3. influences that emanate from within; authority (https://kbbi.web.id/perbawa).

Through the headline title, Sindo is constructing a discourse that marginalizes Jokowi. The marginalization is done by emphasizing how Jokowi is positioned in the news text. Such a position, according to Rachmadi (1990) is not just a journalistic technique, but also related to news politics (Rachmadi, 1990: 6).

In the news on the 11 June 2014 edition entitled "Most Liked Prabowo", Sindo conducted a framing strategies by positioning Prabowo as one of the most popular figures in the international world along with Barack Obama (US President), Narendra Modi (Prime Minister India), Mitt Romney (politician and former US presidential candidate), and Arvind Kejriwal (politician and former prime minister candidate for India). The name PrabowoSubianto became the fifth political figure in the world who was the most marked by likes of Facebook users.

Then Prabowo Exceeded Jokowi, this is the title of the news on June 27, 2014. In constructing this reality, the Sindo newspaper quoted the famous Australian media, the Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) as saying that Prabowo began to match Jokowi and even tended to be thin based on the results of a number of credible. However, Sindo also seemed to be trying to be neutral by giving space in the news about the response of the Jokowi camp to SMH's quote. Jokowi's camp considers the results of the survey to be engineered by political opponents.

As stated above, these three reports (5, 11, 27 June 2014) are the level of public preference for the figure of PrabowoSubianto as well as the presidential and vice-presidential candidate Prabowo-Hatta. To strengthen the construction of the theme, Sindo Newspaper cited the results of the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) survey, the Australian media's famous Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) about the predictions of Prabowo-Hatta victory and the number of likes by Facebook users for PrabowoSubianto.

Construction of the text of the Sindo Newspaper by quoting the three sources (LSI, SMH, Facebook), is certainly in control and with an interest in convincing the public. Sindo functions as a political communicator whose purpose is to shape public opinion. As recommended by Perloff (2003), choose a trusted communicator. The Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI), known as the leading public opinion research institution in Indonesia, is an independent and non- partisan institution that was established in September 2003. The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) is a newspaper published by Fairfax Media in Sydney, Australia, founded   in   1831,   with   an   average   circulation   of   104,000   copies   in   February   2016 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Sydney_Morning_Herald).

Facebook, at the end of February 2012, the number of Facebook users in Indonesia has exceeded 43 million, the third largest after America and India (Merlyna, 2012). The three institutions become mediums/ tools of Sindo Newspaper in constructing messages with the aim of influencing public opinion. The central point in the construction is the opinion manifested in language as the third discussion of the news with the theme of the level of public preference for the figure of PrabowoSubianto and as the pair of Prabowo-Hatta presidential and vice presidential candidates mentioned above.

Thirdly, it is the construction of the text in which Wiranto's black campaign that "attacked" Prabowo with activist kidnapping cases and the May 1998 riots would be an advantage for Prabowo because he was considered as the injured party. "SerangPrabowo, Wiranto Blunder", was according to the title of the news on June 20, 2014. In the news, journalists constructed a story in which Wiranto carried out a black campaign "attack" Prabowo with activist kidnapping.

This black campaign drew a backlash against Wiranto but on the other hand it became an advantage for Prabowo, who was suggested as the loser. The practice of discourse was considered counterproductive for the Jokowi camp and benefited Prabowo's camp.

June, 28 2014 Prabowo Sacrificed by Generals (headline 13) Journalists construct a discourse in which Prabowo is sacrificed by generals during the May 1998 riots. This construction is based on the opinion of KH Said AgilSiradj, who was the fact-finding team vice president, Maj. Gen. TNI (Ret.) SjamsuDjalal, and opinion quote (late). KH. Abdurrahman Wahid.

The practice of media discourse cannot be removed from the interests of capital owners/ media owners. Discourse is a reality that has been processed through the construction of journalists to form news or opinions in the mass media. Therefore, in addition to the analysis of the text, the researcher also interviewed several internal sources of Sindo, to confirm the results of the research to find out the discourse practice (text consumption) of the Sindo Newspaper.

Sindo newspaper is more forthright in answering this. Regarding the practice of discourse and the alignment of the Sindo Newspaper in the 2014 Presidential Election, the speakers expressed their opinions. Alex acknowledged that the MNC and Sindo (in Alex's terms) "put up a body for Prabowo", and took a critical position towards Jokowi-JK. Quoting Alex's statement. According to Alex, this attitude was carried out by

sticking to the Journalistic Code of Ethics. The Sindo newspaper supports Prabowo and criticizes Joko Widodo by observing the Journalistic Code of Ethics, facts and considering the rule of law.

Regarding the support of Sindo, the same thing was conveyed by JakaSusila. He did not deny that the media he managed sided with Prabowo's side, but the Sindo newspaper never attacked Jokowi with unreasonable issues, like hoaxes. Sindonewspaper continues to promote professional attitudes and maintain independence with balanced reporting, especially in the presentation of headlines every day.   This professionalism and independence is reinforced by Purwanto's statement by acknowledging the existence of a variety of individual political affiliations in the 'kitchen' editor. According to him, because the editorial kitchen is pro Prabowo and Jokowi, the editorial debate arises to make decisions on the political attitude of media institutions based on facts and data.

The speaker and observer of political communication, HeriBudianto, saw that media relations and political relations in the presidential election could not avoid any support. The process will take place automatically due to a conflict of interest of the owners of capital who already have certain political affiliations to certain candidates carried by certain parties. According to him, the media will fully support the presidential and vice presidential candidates who are included in their coalition base. This alignment, according to him, resulted in the media not being objective anymore in constructing reality. The bad news premise is good news is proof that today the idealism of the press is gone. Even though the mandate of the Press Law and Broadcasting Law stipulates that the press must be independent, it must not take sides. But the mandate was then defeated by the dominance of the interests of the owners of capital and business.

However, in conducting studies on Sindo Newspapers related to the dominance of capital owners. JakaSusila as a reporter (worker) in Sindo individually has the freedom to limit herself from being involved in production. This is because Jaka knows Jokowi's family closely and has shared experience with Prabowo. Jaka specifically requested permission from the editor in chief not to participate in producing news of Prabowo's rivalry versus Jokowi's fear of being not objective. Jaka only gives advice to make soft news that doesn't attack one party too much.

Jaka's consideration to remain independent and not attack one party as the headline constructed by the media opposing Prabowo, although not only for idealism but personal reasons for his relationship with Jokowi and Prabowo, shows that the power relations between capital owners, on the one hand, and workers on the other not necessarily give birth to the hegemony of capital owners. In fact, the organizational structure of the Sindo Newspaper, especially in the technical level of the editorial meeting where the ideology of the capital owner is 'disguised' is conveyed, in the case of Jaka it gives individuals the freedom to choose.

Regarding discourse practices conducted politely by Sindo, SutanAdilHenra (SAH) speakers reminded the mass media to carry out the function of supervisors to interpret or give meaning to the political social situation that educates society, becomes a propaganda tool in forming healthy opinions so as to create stability conducive and the community is educated.

Based on the above explanation, from the normative perspective of the press, the researcher argues that the ideological discourse of Sindo newspaper is a practice of a combination of press values of Social Responsibility which represents the public interest and a professional press perspective. In the Social Responsibility press system, the right to freedom of broadcasting is accompanied by obligations to the wider community that exceeds personal interests. The notion of positive freedom described involves several social goals. Responsible media will maintain high standards by self-regulation, but government interference is also involved. There is also an accountability mechanism for the public.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the descriptive analysis, there are several things that can be summarized as follows:1)Theoretically external symbols echoed by Media Indonesia newspapers can be ensured to discuss the values of the Pancasila Press. This media claims 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, newspaper reports Sindo newspaper prioritizes the interests of capital owners. But Sindo never attacks with unreasonable issues or hoaxes. Sindo newspaper continues to promote professional attitudes and maintain independence with balanced reporting, especially in the presentation of headlines every day, 2) On the other hand, the Sindo Newspaper is very visible giving space to the freedom of journalist individuals to have attitudes that are slightly different from the policies of capital owners. This hypocritical attitude is actually driven by the orientation of the economic interests of each party (between journalists and capital owners) who actually cross each other but use each other

Based on the two conclusions above, the writer can provide several recommendations (suggestions) as a solution to the current conditions in the Sindo newspaper, as follows:1)Sindo Newspaper through media management arrangement, it is better to immediately return to consistently holding the essence of the press in a responsible freedom in accordance with the spirit of the National Press Law and Journalistic Ethics Code as

subordinate to sources from all national legal sources namely Pancasila and UUD 45, 2) In order to accelerate the ideals of reform in national democratization, the Sindo Newspaper media should avoid hypocritical attitudes while avoiding hypocrisy towards the public (audiences) in the news effort.

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