Representation of Marhaenism Ideology in Joko Widodo's News Photos in Online Media

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ABSTRACT: Photography is a form of nonverbal communication in visual form, and an intermediary medium to interpret something, a form of expression, and to create, produce, and change meaning or reality. On this basis, this study examines the representation of President Jokowi's photographic text in online media news. The purpose in the photography represents the similarity of meaning patterns to photography in the era of President Sukarno, who always carried the ideology of marhaenism, which took the concept of creativity. Through qualitative text analysis on photography in online media, we will examine the image of the marhaenis ideology that underlies President Jokowi's populist concept. The purpose of this study is to disassemble the representation of the meaning of the ideology of marhaenism in Joko Widodo's photo in Online Media and to examine the design of an image that is full of imagery meaning in influencing choices in the presidential election that has been held and won by Jokowi. The theories used in this research are social semiotics (Theo van Leeuwen and Gunter Kress) and gestalt theory. The approach in this research is qualitative text analysis with exploratory type. The method used is the method of critical social semiotic analysis. This research data was obtained directly from the observation of the research object by downloading, observing, and analyzing photo data of Joko Widodo and Sukarno, which had visual similarities in online media. Next, the researcher observes, records, the signs, analyzes, and discusses the selected photos. The results of this study indicate that Joko Widodo has since started his presidential candidacy campaign until now with the help of the success team or communication team or consistently reproduces images from Sukarno's photographs. Sukarno's picture and the concept of marhaenism have been adopted, produced, and harmonized with Joko Widodo. Joko Widodo, through his photo, managed to bring back memories of the steps of the proclaimer of the Republic of Indonesia Sukarno and the ideology of marhaenism he created.

KEYWORDS: Social Semiotics; Photography; Marhaenism; Sukarno; Jokowi.

I. INTRODUCTION

Each photographic work has its advantages, depending on the functional value of photographic work. A photographer is not only responsible for depicting visual reality, consciously or not, but also gives a touch of ideology by involving conflicts of social interest and personal character. "When the camera that is used represents the human eye taking pictures, surely the reality or knowledge is subjective" (Ajidarma, Seno Gumira 2002).

Photography is a form of nonverbal communication in visual form as well as an intermediary medium to interpret something, a form of expression and at the same time to create, produce and change meaning or reality. This may happen because the photo works as a representation system. Photos can be used as a tool to express thoughts, concepts, and ideas about something. Its meaning depends on how the sign represents it. By observing the signs in the photo, the values contained in it can be found.

The process of interpreting a photographic work is ultimately recorded as a memory. The form of memory is like what Annette Kuhn said: "Memories in a photograph do not arise from the image itself, but are born from an intertextual discourse that moves between the past and the present, the viewer and the image, between the cultural context, and the historical moment". (Ichsan 2005, p. 7).

Photographic work is a combination of imagery that was born from a discourse struggle between the photographer's various ideologies and the realities of the setting of a successful team who used it for practical purposes.

Joko Widodo, who is better known as Jokowi, has gained the sympathy of the public since becoming the mayor of Solo with a policy of having lunch together to address the problem of relocating traders with a populist solution, then running for and being elected Governor of Jakarta and then running for President of the Republic of Indonesia and finally became President for 2 terms until now. Various portraits of Jokowi adorned various online media with populist images in the process. Jokowi in supporting the promise of his populist program is supported by photographs that impress the people which are expressed in morphology, way of

dressing, gestures, and postures with settings that have values in common with people's daily lives. Jokowi's presence with the concept of populism became an interesting topic when viewed from the context of visualization. The review can be started from the images that have been created. Referring to Roland Barthes (2010, p. 19) who said that the image or image according to ancient etymology means imitation (imitating). The imitation process is presented through a process or medium called photography. From many documentations about Jokowi, the image of Jokowi's figure is more or less a reproduction of the image depicted from the photograph of the figure of Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia. From a very relaxed and simple demeanor, a figure who is close to the common people, his style of dress, the way he welcomes guests from other countries to the marhaenism ideology he created.

 The visual perception that is formed in the community from seeing the photo works is that Jokowi's figure is similar and is a representation of Sukarno, even more, utopian that Jokowi is the present Sukarno.

 Sukarno's figure is closely related to the ideology he put forward, namely marhaenism. Marhaenism is a term that comes from Marhaen, a farmer he met in Bandung. After learning about the condition of the farmer, Sukarno assumed that a destitute farmer was also a commoner in Indonesia. The concept of marhaenism is broadly the principle and struggle to save the lives of the oppressed marhaen. Marhaenism has a goal to eliminate imperialism and colonialism.

 Jokowi's political image is created, built, and strengthened through serious and continuous political communication. This is closely related to political socialization in the political system. Rush and Althoff (2003, p. 25) write that political socialization is the process of introducing a person to the political system and how that person chooses perceptions or responses and reactions to political phenomena. Political socialization is determined by the social, economic, and cultural environment in which the person is located and the interaction with the individual's experience and personality.

 Political image has the power to motivate actors or individuals to do something. It can influence public opinion while spreading a certain meaning. A good political image will have a positive impact on voters so that they can vote in elections (Makkuraga 2020).

 Based on this description, research was conducted on how to represent the ideological meaning of marhaenism in Jokowi's news photos in online media?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

 Communication is the delivery of information from one place by transferring information, ideas, emotions, skills, and others using symbols such as words, figures, and graphics as well as speech and writing (Mufid 2005). Communication is the process or act of conveying verbal and non-verbal messages from the sender (sender) to the receiver (receiver), through a medium (channel) in the form of written text, photos, images, sounds, and so on that can experience interference (noise). In this definition, communication must be intentional and bring about change.

 Language is a symbol or symbol used to carry certain messages in the communication process. The closer the common understanding of the communication symbols used, the more similar the meaning and message of communication will be. Words (language) have no meaning, but it is humans or people who give meaning to the language or the words that sound (Devito 1997, p. 490). In communicating, there are at least two people who provide meaning in communication, namely the sender or communicator/message sender and the receiver or communicant/message recipient.

VISUAL MESSAGE MEANING

 Language (symbol) is concrete, while "meaning" is abstract. Therefore "meaning" can hardly be defined. Interpreting a "meaning" is only based on concrete language. In the process of communication, language and meaning are inseparable units. What often happens in communication is the ability to understand language (symbols) but do not understand the meaning in it. Or, even if you get an understanding, it is a new meaning, even different between the participants of the communication.

 Based on the method of delivery, communication is divided into verbal communication and non-verbal communication. Verbal communication is communication in the form of oral (Spoken Communication) while nonverbal communication is communication in written form (Written / Printed Communication).

 Photography is a form of nonverbal communication which is the art of drawing and perpetuating an object using a tool called a camera. (Bull 2010, p. 5) Photography has developed rapidly until now with various types of digital cameras. People are given the convenience to capture various moments seen by the eye and record the existing reality.

 In a book entitled "Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man", Marshall McLuhan states that "The Medium is the Message". This statement means that a message lies not only in its content but also in the changes produced by the media. The form of the media is attached to the message, creating a symbiotic relationship in which the media influences how the message is perceived. Messages will be created if the media is used optimally. Because the media form patterns in human activity. The dynamics of the media that are so high supported by information technology play a major role in shaping image culture and taste culture (Mulyana 2014).

 Photographic work is simply a medium for recording images. Media photography is not static only on a tool. Photographic works can be utilized optimally in human daily activities such as documenting events, recording pictures of views of a beautiful place, to

capture memories with someone or several friends, then the photographic work can be interpreted as a medium that has a message. Photography can be seen as visual literacy, the image can be read, the image is a way of language (Messaris 1994).
 Photography works can be said as a medium of visual communication because it shows the actual reality, without any intention of exaggerating and vice versa. In visual communication, there is photographic communication which in its delivery uses its language, namely the language of photography (Aditama 2015, p. 21).

REPRESENTATION
 Stuart Hall stated, "Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language" (Hall 2003, p. 17).
 Stuart Hall divides the process of representation into two things, namely mental representation (mental representation) and language (language/sign). Mental representations exist in concepts in our heads. In mental representations, we combine reality with the concepts we have. Through real things that we see, we can create concepts about them without actually being in that situation or seeing the object being discussed. The impression we get depends on the subject that defines a product. The second level in the representation system is language. All concepts in mental representations need to be in the form of language so that we can relate them to reality and obtain meaning. The construction of meaning must be related to the context. In this way, representation cannot be separated from the social reality that surrounds the subject and object. Concepts (in mind) and signs (language) are an important part of the process of construction or production of meaning.
 According to Eriyanto (2001, p. 113), there are at least two important things related to representation; first, how a person, group, or idea is displayed when related to the existing reality; which means whether it is displayed under existing facts or leads to being made bad so that it gives the impression of showing the bad side of a certain person or group. Second, how to execute the presentation of the object in the media. The execution of the representation of the object can be realized in the choice of words, sentences, accentuation, and reinforcement with what kind of photo will be used to display a person, group, or idea.
 John Fiske (1997, p. 5) argues, representation is several actions that have to do with camera techniques, lighting, editing processes, music, and certain sounds that process conventional symbols and codes into representations of reality and ideas that will he stated.
 Representation is closely related to meaning and language in a culture. Representation means using language, signs, pictures to say something, to describe something so that it has the same meaning.
 Representation is an important part of the process of production and exchange of meaning between members of society in culture, representation involves the use of language, signs, and pictures that have a certain meaning.
 In semiotic theory, representation is the process of physically recording ideas, knowledge, or messages (Danesi 2010, p. 3). This can be interpreted as the use of signs (images, sounds, etc.) to re-present something that is imagined, perceived, felt in a physical form.
 Representation is something that is present but shows that it is something outside of itself that he is trying to present, the presenter does not refer to himself, but others (Mulyana 2014).

IDEOLOGY
 Ideology according to the meaning of the word is the pronunciation of what is seen or the expression of what is formulated in the mind as a result of thinking (Sukarna in Darma 2014, p.179). There are many meanings of ideology, but in general, ideology is a system of values or beliefs that are believed to be true by people or groups. Ideology gives a picture of a world to its adherents and provides a correct understanding or value about the world it should be. Ideology can be seen as a system of thought, a belief system, or a system of symbols related to social action and political practice.
 According to Karl Marx ideology is "false consciousness", awareness that refers to high moral values while at the same time masking the fact that behind these noble values are hidden the selfish interests of the ruling class. Ideology is teaching that explains a situation, especially the structure of power, so that people think it is true and legitimate. Ideology is a system of ideas that are sparked in communication. (Sobur 2001, p. 61).
 Ideology is a central concept in critical discourse analysis, because texts, narratives, and others are forms of practice or depictions of certain ideologies (Eriyanto 2001, p. 13).
 Ideology has many types such as Communism, Anarchism, Nationalism, Capitalism, Democracy, Marhaenism, Socialism, Liberalism, Conservatism, Nazism, Libertarianism, Monarchism, Fascism and so on. There are two main functions of ideology, namely as shared goals or goals to be achieved by the community, and as a unifier of society and as a procedure for resolving conflicts that occur in society. (Ramlan Surbakti 1999).
 The phrases of ideology type are synonyms of ideological expressions to mention the fundamental theoretical principles that underlie the politicaleconomic-cultural scheme system contained in the ideology.
 James Lull argues that ideology is an expression to describe the values and public agenda of nations, religious groups, political candidates and movements, organizations, and so on (Lull 1998, p. 2). While according to Gramsci ideology is more than just a system of ideas, ideology is not an individual fantasy but is embodied in the collective way of life of society. Ideology is not

something that is in the air, ideology provides various rules for practical actions and human moral behavior, uniting understanding between the conception of the world and norms of behavior (Simon 2000, p. 84).

In the book "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", Louis Althusser (1970) states that ideology is not just a set of values, but is a process of application, including actions (mental and physical) taken to impose on others. Then he added that a message is an ideology itself, There must be no myth from outside. An image can conveyor make its own desired reading, and hence, its preferred meaning. When the photographer raises the camera, the photo is not only framed by the rules of composition but a set of rules created by the photographer's culture and beliefs. For audiences, photography provides access to something that other people want audiences to see. As Gramsci points out, ideological "common sense" forms a hegemonic structure in which we accept a ruling set of ideas as just, even if we directly suffer as a consequence of those ideas. Hegemony is the way those in power use their power to control public perception to ensure they will stay in power. In the case of the art of photography, those with power and wealth, not only tell us what is worthy or valid but make us believe that they are right.

The makers of the dominant ideology become the "information elite" where they carry out relentless manipulation of the intonation and public image, constructing a strong dominant ideology that helps support the material and cultural interests of its creators, in this context reflecting the media landscape (Mulyana 2014).

SOCIAL SEMIOTICS

Social semiotics has different meanings and characteristics from semiotics even though they both use the word semiotics. The keywords of semiotics are sign and code, while in social semiotics is the use or sign-making (Kress 2003, p. 40). Humans are sign-makers. Communicating is the process of constructing and making signs, either written or visual, to convey ideas.

Social semiotics (social semiotics) was born from the thought of the English linguist M.A.K. Halliday (1925-2018) was later developed by his colleagues and students. Social semiotics is a method used to see how sign makers (language users) use available semiotic resources to convey something to others (Eriyanto 2019, p. 1). According to Van Leeuwen (2005, p. 3), social semiotics is a systematic method for collecting and finding sources of semiotics and their application in certain historical, cultural, and institutional contexts. The focus of social semiotics is on the practice of using language, how language users choose and make signs to convey meaning to others.

The study of social semiotics is essentially centered on two things. First, identify the semiotic sources used. Second, critically questioning why this semiotic source was chosen from many others and what the impact of the meaning that emerged from the selected semiotic source was.

Social semiotics studies the use of signs, how these signs can be used in everyday life. A sign cannot be separated from the social context in which the sign is located (Andersen et.al 2015, p. 2-3). These things apply to written language and visual language. Social semiotics focuses on visual image grammar (visual grammar). One sign will be associated with another sign. The merging of one image with another will also bring up the potential for various and unlimited meanings.

The keyword to understand social semiotics is semiotic resources (Van Leeeuwen 2005, p. 3). This term was first introduced by Michael Halliday when explaining the position of grammar (grammar). Grammar is not a code of rules for producing correct sentences but is a source of semiotics used by a person in producing meaning (Halliday 1978, p. 192).

Halliday's idea can not only be used in the field of language but can also be used in all fields. Sources of semiotics are actions used to communicate something, whether produced psychologically (gestures, voice intonation, facial expressions) or technology (with pencils, ink, paper, computers, machines, and so on) (Van Leeuwen 2005, p. 3). The point is that the source of semiotics is everything (senses, tools, and technology) used by sign users to communicate something.

The source of semiotics is the core of the study of social semiotics. Researchers look for semiotic sources used by someone, then investigate how these semiotic sources are used to produce certain meanings (Jewitt & Oyama 2001). Social semiotics researchers find and record (inventorizing) and then describe the use of these semiotic sources (Van Leeuwen 2008, p. 6). Sources of semiotics have a very large number and are almost unlimited. However, in practice, when communicating, not all semiotic sources are used. The study of social semiotics is also related to the choices taken in semiotic sources by language users. This research refers to the opinion of Kress & van Leeuwen (2006). The expert gave the term representation for ideational, interaction for interpersonal, and composition for textual.

Image is a communication medium that has three metafunctions, namely representation which means the image is used to convey the physical/biological reality (ideas or ideas) that the image-maker wants to convey, interaction, namely as a communication medium, the image presents interactions between participants in the image and between speakers. (image-maker). Generally, it can be observed by seeing whether the participants invite the audience (who is looking at the image) to interact (eyes gaze towards us or their backs to the viewer) or not and compositional which means the image organizes the components in the image so that these components are coherently integrated into a single image. Compositional can be in the form of coloring, placing participants in pictures, lighting, and so on (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 43-46).

At the level of representation, images are used by someone to show something that is happening around him (experience) to the audience (others). The experience conveyed to the audience (representation) is divided into two forms, the first is narrative

representation, which means that the image is used to show an activity/activity or action (doing) (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 59). There are three aspects in narrative representation, namely the actor who does something, the activity carried out by the actor, and the goal of the activity carried out by the actor. The second form is a conceptual representation, meaning that the image does not show activity, but conveys a concept (Eriyanto 2019, p. 73).

What distinguishes between narrative and conceptual representations is whether the picture shows an activity or not. The way to identify an image showing activity or not can be known by what is called a vector (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 59). Vector is a sign that is in an image that stands out and shows a direction, it can be finger-pointing, eye gaze, or other sign (Eriyanto 2019, p. 73). The vector defines the process that you want to display in an image. Vector places participants in the image as actors (doing something) and targets (objects of action). Participants can be humans or inanimate objects.

GESTALT THEORY IN VISUAL PERCEPTION

Gestalt is a psychological term that means "a unified whole". Gestalt theory contains the process of unifying and organizing different components to form visuals or patterns that have elements of similarity and become unity. Max Wertheimer in 1912.

Gestalt theory is widely used in the design process, photography, and various other branches of art because this theory explains a lot about how visual perception can be formed. This study concentrates on the use of two grouping principles used in photography, namely:

A. Proximity

Proximity is a gestalt principle related to distance. In the proximity principle, a visual (both elements and objects) is perceived as a group when they are placed close together. The closer two or more elements are, the more likely they are to be seen as a unit or pattern. The elements can be similar in size, shape, color, texture, position, direction, movement, or meaning.

B. Similarity

In the principle of similarity, an element/object is perceived as a group if the elements/objects are arranged side by side with similar/same elements/objects. Visual elements that are similar in terms of shape, size, color, and movement, tend to be seen as related. The principle of similarity is commonly used to create a repetition pattern that for many people makes the eyes feel comfortable. Often we see photo objects that are placed (composed) between the plane lines.

C. Memory Traces Theory

The theory of memory traces was introduced by one of the figures in the flow of gestalt psychology, Kurt Koffka. A memory imprint is an experience that imprints on the brain. These memory traces are systematically organized according to Gestalt principles and will reappear if we perceive something similar to the memory traces earlier. Time travel affects memory traces. Time travel can not weaken but will cause changes in the trail, the trail tends to be refined and refined to get a better Gestalt in memory.

III. METHOD

This study uses a social semiotics approach to visual grammar experts Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. Image in social semiotics is seen as grammar.

This study identifies and describes the source of semiotics in the image, and then critically questions the background of the grammar of the image under study. In visual grammar, one sign is always associated with another sign. Merging these signs will create the potential for various meanings but must follow certain rules so that the arrangement of signs has meaning and can be understood by other people. How images (photos) that look informative and neutral articulate and disseminate discourse as an ideological position as in editorial and propaganda texts.

The approach in this research is qualitative with exploratory type. Qualitative research is research that intends to understand phenomena about what is experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions and others holistically, and by way of description in the form of words and language, in a special context that is natural and natural. by utilizing various natural methods (Moleong 2017, p. 6).

Explorative research is research that tries to explain or describe a phenomenon in which the researcher does not yet have a direction or an explanation map of the existing phenomenon (Kultar Singh 2007). Exploratory is a kind of data collection to answer questions that are of interest to researchers.

Researchers use the type of exploratory research to get to know and know more about social phenomena or phenomena that are very little understood and develop initial ideas about them and continue to refine research questions that can be asked in future research. This type of research deals with the "what" question. To answer "what" to provide an in-depth understanding of an object. Exploratory research is preliminary research to get an overview of the research topic that will be studied further (Morissan 2017).

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

To obtain supporting data to explore how the representation of the marhaenism ideology in Jokowi's news photos in online media. The value of marhaenism is described as a meeting between Soekarno, who was then 20 years old, and a farmer. Sukarno was enlightened about the teachings of marhaenism when Sukarno was walking in the village of Cipagalo, Mengger Village in South

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Bandung. Sukarno met a farmer named Marhaen, who even though he owned and also managed his rice fields, and all existing farming equipment was also his personal property, his economic situation was still poor.

Although some observers and researchers said that Sukarno's meeting with the Marhaen farmers was only in Soekarno's imaginary form, at least the description of the event showed Soekarno's foresight in seeing the social conditions of his nation so that it could spawn a formula called marhaenism.

Marhaenism is Sukarno's thought which is a form of resistance to capitalism, colonialism, elitism, and imperialism in Indonesia. Marhaenism comes from the word marhaen which means people who are oppressed, marhaenist are people who fight for the rights of the oppressed (Sukarno 2019).

Marhaenism is a thought or ideology that defends the marhaen or people who are impoverished by the system. Marhaen is those who are exploited because they do not control the factors of production. Marhaen is poverty itself. This concept may look the same as the concept of Marxism which fights for the interests of the proletariat. Marhaenism fights for all levels of Indonesian society and is the people's way of thinking. Marhaenism is Marxism which is applied according to the situation and conditions in Indonesia (Susilo 2012, p. 87).

Marhaenism is an understanding to defend the fate of the poor, farm laborers or small farmers, and anyone who does not have the means of production.

From the search for data in online media that has been carried out, found pairs of photos that can represent the research theme:

Photo with Farmers

a) Sukarno and Farmers

Figure 1. Photo of Sukarno having a dialogue with farmers on the edge of a rice field between Pare-Pare and Makassar. Source: kumparan.com/Indonesian National Archives.
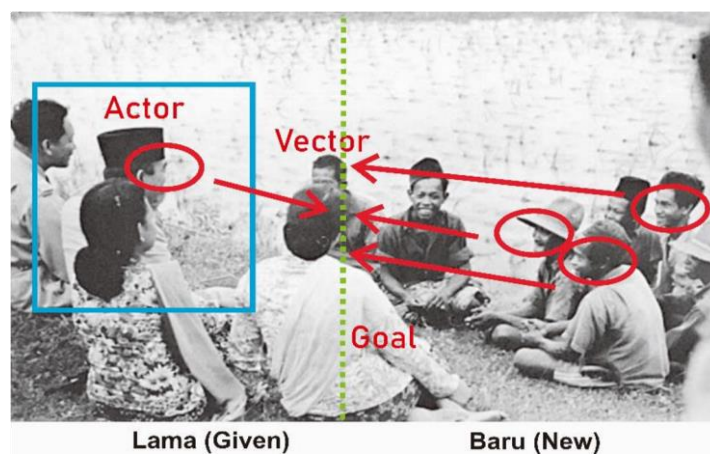

Figure 2. Photo Coding of Sukarno in dialogue with farmers.

This photo depicts Sukarno (left, wearing a white shirt and wearing a cap) talking to a farmer on empty land next to a rice field. Sukarno along with two women and a man is seen sitting with their backs to the camera, facing the farmers in the grass and talking. Farmers look relaxed and smiling.

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 At the level of representation, this photo presents a narrative representation because in the photo there is a vector, namely Sukarno's position with his back to the camera and facing/staring and talking with farmers (target/goal) directing the audience's view (viewer) to a group of farmers. This photo depicts a process and activity that is ongoing or carried out by the actor to achieve the goal. The actor in this photo is Sukarno, the process is facing/staring and talking, while the target (goal) is a group of farmers. In this photo, the actor's position is agentive as well as non-projective because the meaning must be observed from the photo. There was a process of action that had a specific purpose, the target (goal) was displayed (transactional) and received a response (bidirectional) in the form of gazes between participants, where Sukarno and the peasants looked at each other.

 The level of interaction sees how participants are shown in the picture (represented participants) and participants who are actively making pictures or as audiences (active participants). From the aspect of contact, the eyes of the participants in the photo are not looking at the audience (viewer). The actor or the action of the actor is taken (photographed) from behind, meaning to offer the audience to follow or show the activity of the actor (Sukarno) talking to the participant (farmer).

 The closeness that the image wants to show to the public (social distance) is at the social level because the image is taken at a medium distance (medium shot). The picture shows social relations not too close and not too far away. This indicates that the actor in the picture is trying to build a close social relationship with the audience. Judging from the attitude, the angle of the picture from the front shows the relationship between the audience and the participants (subjective) in the picture by inviting the involvement of the audience, the participants (farmers) are part of our problem. Audiences (viewers) are invited to understand, empathize with farmers' lives, and place farmers as important subjects. The position of the audience (viewer) which is displayed parallel to the object by the image-maker shows an equal/balanced relationship. The participants in the picture and the audience have the same position.

 The compositional aspect looks at the organization of information in the image as reflected in how the image aspects are integrated into the composition of an image. From the composition, this photo is polarized with the old (given) and new (new) polarization types. Images in photos can be divided based on the horizontal axis, namely the left and right parts. With a minimum of salience on Sukarno.

 Viewed from the aspect of the frame (framing), the elements in the image are connected and form a unified meaning. The unity of meaning that I want to emphasize is that the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, sits at the same height, on a grass mat, talks and listens to the voices of the people, the voices of the peasants who made up the majority of the work of the Indonesian people at that time.

b) Jokowi and the Farmers

Figure 3. Presidential candidate Joko Widodo talks with farmers in the fields, Kauman Village, Ngawi, East Java. Monday (31/3/2014).
Source: liputan6.com/Herman Zakharia

Figure 4. Photo Coding of presidential candidate Joko Widodo talking to farmers.

This photo depicts the presidential candidate Jokowi (white shirt) sitting on the rice field and talking while observing the rice seeds with the farmers, the farmers looked surprised, stopped their activities immediately, and smiled at Jokowi's presence. Meanwhile, residents were interested and watched the moment. Similar to Sukarno's photo, at the level of representation, this photo presents a narrative representation. This photo depicts the activities carried out by the participants. In the narrative structure, the picture consists of three parts, namely the actor (performing the activity), the activity itself (process), and the target or goal of the activity. The actor in this photo is Jokowi, marked by the presence of a hand and eye gaze vector. The activity in this photo is observing and observing rice seeds, while the process goal is rice seeds. In this photo, the process in the photo is agentive and non-projective because the meaning must be interpreted in the photo. The form of the process is an action process that is formed from the vector direction of the hand holding the rice seed. This photo also shows a two-way (bidirectional) transactional process in the form of gazes between participants. The level of interaction sees the interaction between participants in the picture and between participants and the audience. Even at this level, this photo looks similar to Sukarno's photo. Viewed from the aspect of contact, the eyes of the participants in the photo do not look at the audience (viewer). All participants in the picture are shown busy with their respective eyes. The actor or the action of the actor taken (photographed) from the side also means offering the audience to see the situation or condition shown in the photo.

Social distance analyzes the closeness that you want to show the image to the audience (viewer). Does the image want the audience to be close to the participants or vice versa? In this photo, the image is taken at a medium distance (medium shot). The picture shows social relations not too close and not too far away. Judging from the attitude, the angle of the picture from the front shows the relationship between the audience and the participants (subjective) in the picture and attracts the involvement of the audience, the participants (farmers) are part or problem of "us". The position of the audience (viewer) in the image is represented parallel (eye-level shot) with the object by the image-maker showing a balanced relationship. The participants in the picture and the audience have the same position.

The compositional level sees elements or parts in an image put together into a single unit. In the aspect of information value, this photo uses a centered composition with a center shape - with a margin. The figure of Jokowi is an element that is positioned as the center, while elements of farmers and residents are on the outskirts (margin). The participants in the picture, namely farmers and residents, are seen pointing at one point, namely the figure of Jokowi.

The maximum salience aspect of Jokowi is depicted in this photo. This photo means that the photo maker invites the audience (viewer) to direct and then focus on Jokowi. The farmers and residents put their faith and trust in Jokowi who has shown his concern for the farmers (depicted by holding and observing the rice seeds) to lead them. Rice seeds can be interpreted as what will be planted today, will reap results in the future. Farmers plant themselves and farmers will also enjoy the results when harvested. By entrusting the choice to Jokowi as a leader, the Indonesian people will enjoy the results in the future. Farmers and residents give a persuasive effect to the audience (viewers) to feel the same way they feel.

From the aspect of framing, this photo has a maximum connection between elements. The actors, participants, and objects appearing in the photo are interconnected with each other to form a unified narrative. The unity of meaning to be conveyed is the belief of farmers and residents to give their trust to Jokowi. The two photos in this theme show similar aspects of ideas (ideational). Both feature narrative representations. The photo shows active actions (activities) carried out by actors (Sukarno and Jokowi), in Sukarno's photo it shows farmers as the target (goal), while Jokowi's photo shows rice seeds (farmers' needs) as the goal. The vector used in Sukarno's photo is eye gaze, while in Jokowi's photo it is the direction of the hand that leads to the rice seed. The message that the photographer wants to convey is that Sukarno and Jokowi are both depicted as people or figures who care about farmers or small people. They are here to try to understand the needs of farmers, focus on the interests of farmers, and try to solve the problems they face and realize the hopes of farmers and small people. From the aspect of interaction, the two photos also show the same thing. Contact is in the form of an offer because the participant is not facing the audience (viewer). The actors or actions of the

actors in Sukarno's photo are slightly different because they were taken (photographed) from behind, meaning to offer the audience to follow or show the activities of the actor (Sukarno) talking to the participants (farmers). The photographer emphasized that Sukarno was only an "outsider" from the group of farmers, Sukarno's activities of meeting and talking with farmers were important because he was a leader who tried to hear, understand and convey the message of farmers.

 In Jokowi's photo, the actor (Jokowi) is sitting sideways, holding and observing rice seeds while talking with participants (farmers) who are facing the audience (viewers). Some of the farmers seemed to be observing the rice seeds that Jokowi was holding, while others were looking at Jokowi. This means that the audience (viewer) seems to be offered to observe Jokowi's activities who are observing rice seeds and talking with farmers. The photographer emphasized that Jokowi is in a different group from the farmer group. Jokowi's activities to meet and talk with farmers are important because he is a leader who tries to hear, understand and convey the message of farmers. Jokowi's activity of holding and observing rice seeds also means that it is time to focus on the needs and interests of farmers.

 The photo maker seemed to invite the audience to observe what Sukarno and Jokowi were doing. These two photos are not trying to solicit public support, on the contrary, they are intended to show evidence of what Sukarno and Jokowi have done in solving the problems of farmers and small people and creating shared prosperity.

  These two photos show social distance in a social form. Taking pictures like this supports the meaning to be conveyed, which is to offer more audiences to observe what Sukarno and Jokowi are doing. The photo does not show a close-up shot because the photo is not intended to solicit support from the public. This shows that the photo maker believes that most of the Indonesian population are farmers, most farmers are poor people because of the system, and that the percentage of poor people in Indonesia is bigger than the rich.

 Taking photos from the front means inviting audience involvement. The photographer's position parallel to the participant's position means that the audience is invited to be involved in the photo, in terms of what Sukarno and Jokowi did. Taking from the front places farmers as "we" part of the audience. The photo maker takes a photo in the same position (balanced) as the audience (eyelevel shot) showing an equal relationship. This means that the photographer emphasized that Sukarno, Jokowi, and the farmers are part of "us", their problems are "us" problems, and emphasizes the audience (viewers) to feel part of the farmers and together solve existing problems for the sake of mutual prosperity. Audiences (viewers) are invited to understand, empathize with the needs, farmers' lives, and place farmers as important subjects.

 From a compositional aspect, there is a difference between Sukarno's photo and Jokowi's photo. In Sukarno's photo, the composition of the old (given) and new polarization shows, while the photo of Jokowi shows the composition of the center - with the margins.

 Generally, the audience (viewers) tend to read the image starting from the left and then heading to the right. The photo maker directs the viewer's eye to follow this easily accepted habit, looking at the photo from the left position and continuing to the right. The left position can also be identified and means something old while the right can mean something new. On the left, the photo shows the figure of Sukarno, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, whom many people already know and know (for a long time), on the right, shows a group of farmers in Sulawesi that many people do not know (new). This photo can also be interpreted as a photo maker emphasizing to the viewer the figure of Sukarno as a representative of the Indonesian people inviting the audience to direct their views, and focusing on farmers, this is following the Marhaenism ideology introduced by Sukarno at that time, namely the notion of defending the fate of the poor, farmers, laborers, and anyone who does not own the means of production. The composition of the center - with a margin in Jokowi's photo means Jokowi is the center element or the center of attention, while the elements of farmers and residents are on the outskirts (margin). The participants in the picture, namely farmers and residents, are seen directing their eyes at one point, namely the figure of Jokowi.

 In the aspect of salience, Sukarno's figure is shown with a minimum protrusion, most of the body is covered by other participants, only the head and cap are visible. This means that what and how the figure of Sukarno is not highlighted/is not important. What needs to be highlighted in the event of the meeting and the ideological meaning contained in the photo. In contrast to Jokowi's photo which is displayed with maximum protrusion. The photo maker wanted to highlight Jokowi's figure by dressing neatly, wearing a white shirt with partially rolled sleeves which contrasted with the peasant clothes. This photo means that Jokowi cares and focuses on farmers and poor people by the ideology of marhaenism.

 From the aspect of framing, both photos have a maximum connection between elements. The actors, participants, and objects appearing in the photo are interconnected with each other to form a unified narrative. The unity of meaning to be conveyed in the photo of Sukarno and Jokowi is that they are willing to talk and listen to the voices of the people and try to realize the hopes of the farmers. Viewed using Gestalt theory and visual perception, the two photos apply the principle of proximity and memory traces. In the photo, the figures of Sukarno and Jokowi are visually placed close to or in a group with farmers, this causes the audience (viewers) to perceive Sukarno and Jokowi as one unit, element, or group. The creator of the picture emphasizes the meaning that Sukarno and Jokowi are part of the peasants, they are representatives or extensions of the poor people by the system.

 Photos of Jokowi interacting with farmers open up memories of the experience that left an imprint on the minds of the audience (viewers). These memory traces reappear visually when the audience sees the photo and perceives it to be similar to the monumental

photo of Sukarno depicted doing the same thing. Furthermore, the public believes that what Jokowi is doing is similar to Sukarno, slowly then consciously or not agreeing that Jokowi is a representation of Sukarno.

 Break Bread
a) Sukarno and the community

Figure 5. Sukarno eating with his wife and the community.
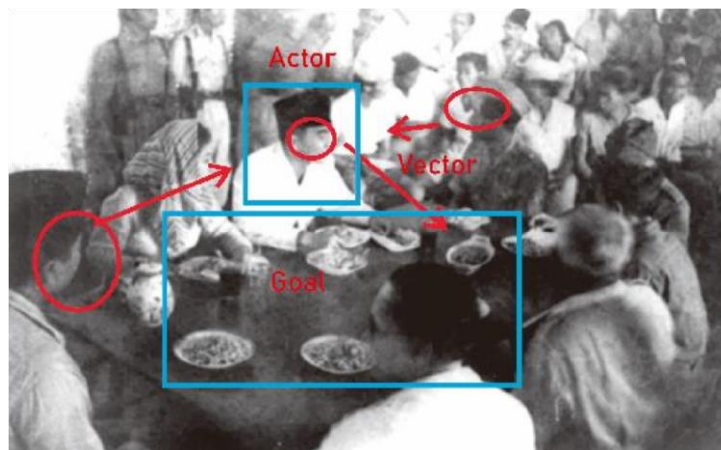**Source: historia. id**

Figure 6. Photo coding of Sukarno eating with his wife and the community.

 This photo depicts Sukarno wearing a white shirt and cap with his wife and the community sitting at same table, there are plates of food and drinks. Sukarno looked at the people and between his hands was a plate filled with food.
 This photo represents a narrative representation with a gaze vector Sukarno looking at the community (goal). The actor in this photo is Sukarno, the process is facing/staring and talking, while the goal is food. In this photo, the actor's position is agentive and non-projective because the meaning must be observed from the photo. There was a process of action that had a specific purpose (transactional) and received a response (bidirectional) in the form of gazes between participants, where Sukarno and the community looked at each other.
 At the level of interaction aspect of contact, the eyes of the participants in the photo do not look at the audience (viewer). All participants in the photo (Sukarno, his wife, and the public) are shown busy with their respective eyes. The actor (Sukarno) or the action of the actor is taken (photographed) from the side. The social distance aspect of this photo is at a social level because the image was taken at a medium distance (medium shot). Judging from the attitude, the angle of the picture from the side shows the relationship between the audience (viewer) and the participant (subjective) in the picture by not asking for or keeping the audience's involvement (detachment) away. The position of the audience (viewer) displayed is high (high angle) compared to the participants in the picture so the audience (viewer).
 The compositional level of the information value aspect of this photo uses a centered composition with a center - no margin. Sukarno became an element that was positioned as the center, while the other elements, namely society, were not the periphery (margin). The maximum salience aspect of Sukarno is depicted in this photo.
 Viewed from the aspect of the framing, the elements in the image are connected and form a unified meaning.

b) Jokowi and the labor

Figure 7. President Joko Widodo has lunch with workers/laborers during a visit to PT KMK Global Sports, Tangerang, Banten, Tuesday (30/4/2019).
Source: liputan6.com

Figure 8. Coding photo of President Joko Widodo having lunch with workers

 At the level of representation, this photo presents a narrative representation. The actor in this photo is Jokowi, marked by the presence of a vector eye gaze and smiling lips. The activity (process) in this photo is talking, and the target (goal) is the workers. The process in the photo is agentive and non-projective. The form of the process is an action (action process) that is formed from the vector of eye gaze to workers. This photo shows a two-way (bidirectional) transactional process in the form of gazes between participants.

 At the level of contact aspect interaction, the participant's eyes in the photo do not look at the audience (viewer). All participants in the picture are shown busy with their respective eyes. The actor or the action of the actor taken (photographed) from the side also means offering the audience to see the situation or condition shown in the photo.

 In this photo, the image was taken with a medium distance (medium shot). The picture shows social relations not too close and not too far away. From the attitude, the angle of the picture from the side shows the relationship between the audience and the participants (subjective) in the picture and does not ask for involvement (detachment) of the audience (viewer). The position of the audience (viewer) in the image is represented as higher (high angle shot) with the object by the image-maker.

 At the compositional level of the information value aspect, this photo uses a centered composition with a center shape - with a margin. The figure of Jokowi is an element that is positioned as the center, while the elements of the workers are on the margins. The participants in the picture, namely the workers, are seen looking at one point, namely Jokowi. The maximum salience aspect of Jokowi is depicted in this photo.

 From the aspect of the frame (framing), this photo has a maximum connection between elements. The actors, participants, and objects appearing in the photo are interconnected with each other to form a unified narrative.

 The two photos in this theme show similar aspects of ideas (ideational). Both feature narrative representations. The photos show active actions (activities) carried out by actors (Sukarno and Jokowi) and show food and labor as targets (goals). The vector used is eye gaze that leads to society and workers. The message to be conveyed by the photo maker is similar to the theme of the previous photo, namely Sukarno and Jokowi are both described as state leaders who care about the people and workers. They want to be present and sit down with the people to understand their needs, feel what is happening and try to solve the problems they face, and realize the expectations of the people and workers.

From the aspect of interaction, the two photos also show the same thing. Contact is in the form of an offer because the participant is not facing the audience (viewer). With this form, the photo maker seems to invite the audience to the situation or observe what Sukarno and Jokowi are doing. In Sukarno's photo, the eyes of the participants in the photo do not look at the viewer. All participants in the photo (Sukarno, his wife, and the public) are shown busy with their respective eyes. The actor (Sukarno) or the action of the actor is taken (photographed) from the side. Jokowi's photo shows the activities of the actor (Jokowi) who is sitting sideways, talking with participants (labor) who sit sideways tending to have their backs to the audience (viewer). This means that the audience (viewers) seem to be offered to observe the activities of Sukarno and Jokowi who are talking to workers. This photo is not trying to solicit public support, on the contrary, this photo wants to show evidence of what Sukarno and Jokowi have done in solving the problems of society and labor.

These two photos show social distance in a social form. Taking pictures like this supports the meaning to be conveyed, which is to offer the audience more to observe what Sukarno and Jokowi are doing.

Judging from the attitude, the two angle photos were taken from the sideshow of the relationship between the audience (viewer) and the participant (subjective) in the picture by not asking for or keeping the audience's involvement (detachment) away. Audience (viewer) only as observers and not a part of the participants in the picture. Taking pictures from the side confirms that what is presented in the picture is "them" not "us" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2009. P.9394; van Leeuwen, 2008. P.139-140). The position of the audience (viewer) in the two photos is shown at a high angle compared to the participants in the picture so that the audience (viewer) seems to be more powerful (superior) than the participants. This means the audience (viewer) who has a higher social class or position to observe the moment. This photo illustrates to the audience (viewers) the figures of Sukarno and Jokowi as actors who feel equal with the participants (society) who may be a part of the audience that marginalizes these community groups.

Viewed from the compositional aspect, Sukarno's photo shows a composition centered at a center without a border, while Jokowi's photo shows a composition centered at the center with a margin. In the photo, it is depicted that Sukarno was enjoying food with the community at one table, while other groups of people seemed to be sitting and doing their respective activities. These other community groups are complementary to the situation or condition that the picture maker wants to show. The message to be conveyed is that Sukarno is part of the community, a leader who can blend in with all levels of society and relate without any barriers and differences. In Jokowi's photo, the composition is centered around the center - with a margin that means directing the viewer's eyes to look at the participant who is most clearly visible and where the workers' eyes are directed, namely Jokowi.

In the aspect of salience, Sukarno and Jokowi are shown with maximum prominence. Sukarno's photo means that the photographer invites the audience (viewers) to direct their eyes to Sukarno, who is wearing a white shirt and hat, who is a populist and simple President. Foto Jokowi means that the photo maker invites the audience (viewers) to direct their eyes to Jokowi. A president who is talking after eating together and sitting with factory workers. Indonesia's number one person shows concern and shares the life of factory workers by eating together in the workers' dining room. Willing to listen to the complaints of factory workers, and show that factory workers are an important profession should not be marginalized.

From the aspect of framing, both photos have a maximum connection between elements. The objects of actors, participants, and objects that appear in the photo are interconnected with each other to form a unified meaning. The unity of meaning that I want to emphasize in Sukarno's photo is that the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Sukarno, can mingle with the people, far from being aristocratic. The unity of meaning to be conveyed in Jokowi's photo is how important the workers (fate) are so that the President wants to sit, talk, and eat with the workers.

The history behind the birth of the photo of Sukarno eating with his wife and the community is a revolution in Indonesian food menus called the "corn eating movement" on July 12, 1964. This movement to replace rice with corn was used as a solution to Indonesia's dependence on rice imports which resulted in Indonesia's shortage of rice supplies in 2013. 1963. This movement is related to the concept of marhaenism, namely self-reliance (standing on one's own feet) which Sukarno loudly echoed. The goal of an independent economy is to be selfsufficient in food or self-sufficient in food.

Viewed using Gestalt theory and visual perception, the two photos apply the principles of proximity and similarity. In the photo, the figures of Sukarno and Jokowi are visually placed close to or in a group with the community and workers, this causes the audience (viewers) to perceive Sukarno and Jokowi as one unit, element, or group. Elements of Sukarno and Jokowi also seem to be juxtaposed with elements of society and labor that are similar in form, this causes Sukarno and Jokowi to be perceived as one group and tend to be seen as relating to elements of society and labor.

ANALYSIS

Representation of Marhaenism Ideology in Joko Widodo's Photo

Representation is an attempt to bring back a version that is built from it. Representation means making or constructing meaning about something to help produce social relations related to domination and exploitation (Burton, 2007: 42). According to John Fiske, there are three processes of representation, namely reality, representation, and ideological. In reality, in this process events or ideas are constructed and associated with material aspects such as clothing, environment, speech, expression, and others. Reality is always indicated by something else. Representation, in this process reality, is described in technical devices, such as written

language, pictures, graphics, animation, and others. Ideologically, in this process events are linked and organized into ideologically accepted conventions.

The representation of the ideology of marhaenism in Joko Widodo's photo is done by attaching symbols that have ideological meanings. In line with Stuart Hall's theory of representation, these symbols are a language that refers to certain meanings that are poured into a medium. The ideology of marhaenism is exploited and represented in such a way that it can dominate the social relations of society. According to Stuart Hall, a situation like this is said to be a representational system that functions ideologically.

Photo of Presidential Candidate Joko Widodo talking with farmers in the rice fields of Kauman Village, Ngawi, East Java is a photo taken when Jokowi was on a trip and a campaign tour on March 31, 2014, is a form of reproduction and representation of the ideology of marhaenism contained in the photo of Sukarno who is having a dialogue with farmers on the edge of the fields between Pare-Pare and Makassar. In the online news site merdeka.com, Jokowi clearly said that what he was doing (talking with farmers) was a form of implementing Sukarno's marhaenism ideology. He assessed that until now there is still a gap between social gap between the rich and the poor, farmers should be given more attention so that the gap does not continue to widen.

In general, the two photos depict Sukarno and Jokowi sitting with farmers and talking. Sukarno's photo denotatively depicts sitting with actual sitting, that is, placing the body or lying on the body resting on the buttocks on the ground. In contrast to Jokowi, who describes sitting in connotation, visually, Jokowi is depicted placing the body by folding both knees, resting on the soles of the feet, with the buttocks not touching the ground or in other words squatting. There was a shift in the visual depiction of Jokowi's photo, this could be possible due to differences in conditions on the ground. However, the shift in visual depiction does not change the ideological meaning to be conveyed, namely, Jokowi sits with farmers and talks with the same high position without any barriers that distinguish between figures and common people.

The photo of Jokowi eating with workers taken the day before the commemoration of International Labor Day or May Day 2019 is also a form of reproduction and representation of the ideology of marhaenism contained in the photo of Sukarno eating with his wife and the community. This photo can be interpreted because the photo maker shows Jokowi's a concern for the economy of the small people, especially labor and labor. Labor is closely related to the ideological concept of marhaenism which is a labor movement that opposes government and company policies that adhere to a system of oppression, a movement against the capitalist system that tramples on labor rights which causes class conflict between workers and owners of capital. Marhaenism is the principle of a movement that wants change, a revolution towards Indonesian socialism, for the welfare of the Indonesian people.

In general, the two photos depict Sukarno and Jokowi sitting at a table with the public and workers and having a conversation. In the photo, Sukarno and the community are depicted around a table on which there are several plates of simplelooking food. In contrast to Jokowi, who is visualized with workers sitting around a table on which there are a few plates and many bottles of mineral water in product packaging from a large-scale factory. The ideological meaning is strongly illustrated in Sukarno's photo, amid simplicity and limitations at that time, Sukarno echoed the Marhaenism concept of food independence and self-sufficiency. In Jokowi's photo, there is a shift in the visual depiction of the concept of marhaenism, the concept of marhaenism has echoed again amid the pressures of global capitalism with various products flooding Indonesia. Jokowi's photo can be interpreted that labor rights must still be fought for while opening the tap for corporate investment to enter Indonesia which aims to move the wheels of the economy.

Choices of Semiotic Sources in Joko Widodo's photo are representations of
Sukarno

Halliday's idea of the source of semiotics can not only be used in the field of language but can also be applied to all fields such as photographs and drawings. Sources of semiotics are actions used to communicate something, whether produced psychologically (gestures, voice intonation, facial expressions) or technology (with pencils, ink, paper, computers, machines, and so on) (Van Leeuwen 2005, p. 3). The point is that the source of semiotics is everything (senses, tools, and technology) used by sign users to create meaning and communicate something.

Sources of semiotics have a very large number and are almost unlimited. However, in practice, when communicating, not all semiotic sources are used. The study of social semiotics is a study of the practice of sign-making, language users use semiotic sources to convey messages to others.

The sign maker (photographer) in the view of social semiotics is the party who actively constructs the source of semiotics by choosing the appropriate moment and using existing technological devices (cameras, lenses, lighting) to produce meaning.

In Joko Widodo's photo, the image-maker has various options to emphasize meaning to the audience. Photos can give different meanings if they are shot in different ways. There is a slight change in the direction and angle of taking photos, participant positions, gestures, and facial expressions, so the meaning that appears will certainly be different.

Sukarno is one of "The Founding Fathers" or the father of the nation who is loved by the people of Indonesia until now, therefore the document about his life journey becomes history that will always live and be remembered in the journey of the Indonesian nation in the future. Anything related or associated with him will always be a special attraction for the community.

Representation Of Marhaenism Ideology   In Joko Widodo's News Photos In Online Media

Soekarno with his leadership style and the concept of marhaenism thinking continues to imprint in people's memories until now, not a few people today expect the emergence of a figure like Sukarno who returns to lead Indonesia, this causes Sukarno and his marhaenism concept to always be a magnet that has an attraction to use for practical political purposes.

In connection with this research study, according to the researcher's view, there is a kind of well-planned effort by the success team, the communication team, the photographer, and even Joko Widodo himself in selecting and creating sources of semiotics that exist to form a self-image and represent oneself as a person. the figure of Sukarno who is a campaign strategy to gain people's sympathy and for the sake of winning the election.

The choices of semiotic sources displayed or created by the photographer Joko Widodo was deliberately selected, reproduced, and then re-presented as a representation of the present Sukarno. The figure of Sukarno represented is modesty, politeness, close to the people, pro to the interests of the poor people, anti-colonialism, and imperialism wrapped in a package called marhaenism.

V. CONCLUSION

Joko Widodo since running for office and starting the campaign until now with the help of the success team or communication team or has not consistently reproduced the image depicted from Sukarno's photograph. Joko Widodo through his photo managed to bring back memories of the steps of the proclaimer of the Republic of Indonesia Sukarno and the ideology of Marhaenism he created.

It is clear that Sukarno's photograph and his concept of marhaenism, which is a record of past steps, have been adopted, reproduced, and harmonized with the times by Joko Widodo (Prof. Peter Mahmud Marzuki, S.H., M.S., LL.M. Professor of the Faculty of Law UNAIR).

The effort to present the figure of Soekarno and the ideology of Marhaenism was carried out through symbols by Joko Widodo as part of the political imagery in carrying out a campaign for the benefit of the Presidential election and was successfully elected as President of the Republic of Indonesia than to perpetuate his leadership by being elected as President until the second term.

From the research that has been done, it can be concluded:

1) Through the analysis of image language, through the medium of photos, Joko Widodo represents the concept of marhaenism ideology with ideological symbols, namely focusing and defending the poor community (the people), narrowing the social gap between rich and poor, caring about the interests of marginalized groups such as workers, echoing back the spirit of being independent (standing on one's own feet) in the economic field, having a concept of national independence that firmly rejects all forms of colonialism and exploitation, especially by foreigners, as well as anti-imperialist.

2) The choice of semiotic sources chosen by sign users to convey the message of Joko Widodo's marhaenism ideology is a very subtle representation of Sukarno in his photographic work. The source of the semiotics was chosen and created to form a self-image and represent oneself positively as the figure of Sukarno, this is a campaign strategy to gain people's sympathy and for the sake of winning the election. Through photos, Joko Widodo's actions can convince the audience (viewers) that what he is doing is a reflection of the concept of marhanism and that Joko Widodo is the Sukarno of today.

3) Photos are more of a discourse field of struggle between the various ideologies of the photographer (image creator). The form of facts produced in the media is more of a vehicle for social conflicts of interest.

4) There is a shift in the meaning of marhaenism in the photos of Sukarno and Jokowi. This shift in meaning occurs due to differences in world conditions in general and Indonesia's conditions in particular. The concept of marhaenism ideology which was originally echoed by Sukarno at the beginning of Indonesia's independence focused on providing an understanding of the struggle against the onslaught of foreign ideologies, economic independence, colonialism, and imperialism, shifted according to the times in Jokowi's photo into resistance to global capitalism and independence towards economic stability. Indonesia. The similarity of the concept of marhaenism ideology contained in the two photos is to focus on the struggle of the social class of the poor.

5) Media is a subject that constructs reality through symbols of meaning made in photos that are complete in view and biased in alignments. Meaning is not influenced by the existing structure but is shaped by the practical meaning that exists in society. A photographic work determines the definition of reality through the selection of the right signs and symbols.

6) The social ideological background and political values that exist in the image maker are very difficult to remove and have an influence on the selection of signs and symbols in the creation of photographic works. The creation process of the perception of reality and its awareness is not based on objective professionalism but is influenced by the existing ideology and hegemony. His freedom in producing work is a series of control and class concepts created by the dominant elite.

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