CONSTRUCTING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES'S IDENTITIES THROUGH SLOGAN IN BANNERS

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengenai apakah identitas yang ingin ditonjolkan calon presiden Republik Indonesia. Data yang di ambil adalah ujaran-ujaran pada baner-baner kampanye yang tersebar di Semarang dan yang bersumber dari internet.Dalam penulisan karya tulis ini, penulis tertarik untuk meneliti makna implikatur dari ujaran-ujaran dalam baner-baner kampanye para calon presiden dan wakil presiden melalui pengkajian makna eksplikatur dan konteksnya.Tujuan penulisan penelitian ini adalah mendapatkan pola identitas yang ingin ditonjolkan oleh pasangan Prabowo-Hatta dan Jokowi-JK serta dengan ujaran macam apa yang mereka pakai dalam menarik para pemilih agar tergerak memilih salah satu pasangan kandidat. Data yang dipakai berupa ujaran yang terdapat dalam baner kampanye calon presiden dengan perbandingan antara Prabowo-Hatta dan Jokowi-JK adalah 9:9. Metode yang dipakai dalam penelitian ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif.Metode untuk mengumpulkan data adalah metode simak bebas libat cakap dengan teknik catat..Dalam menganalisi data, penulis menggunakan metode padan dengan teknik identifikasi, teknik translasi dan teknik referensial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa untuk mendapatkan makna implikatur dari ujaran pembuat teks, diperluakan dua tahap penelitian terlebih dahulu, yaitu menganalisis makna ekplikatur dari ujaran-ujaran tersebut dan mengaitkan dengan konteks mengapa ujaran tersebut dibuat.Hasilnya, makna implikatur dari ujaran-ujaran tersebut akan mengarahkan pembaca pada identitas yang ingin dibangun oleh kedua kandidatselama periode kampanye kepresidenan dan bagaimana penyikapanantar-kandidat terhadap pesaingnya.

Kata kunci: *wacanapolitik, implikatur, eksplikatur,konteks, pemilupresiden,Jokowi-JK, Prabowo-Hatta*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

There is a periodical political event in Indonesia every 5 years which is usually called *PEMILU (Pemilihan Umum)* The main thing that has attracted the writer's attention towards

2014's general election is the *PILPRES* (presidential election). Thispresidential election has "unusual"phenomenon because there are two main candidates from PDIP and GERINDRA.They are predicted by many political experts as a new hope in political condition in Indonesia. They are Joko Widodo and his vice-president candidate, Jusuf Kalla, as the representation of PDIP, and Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa, as the representation of*Koalisi Merah Putih*.During the campaign periods they are allowed to promote their vissions and missions which will be applied during their period of ruling the nation. There are many media which they use to deliver their interests and identities, for example posters, banners, pamphletes, newspapers, websites, electronic forums (e-forum), magazines, and even televisions channels. One of the interesting media that will be analyzed by the writer is their banners which contain slogan, certain phrases, and certain background images for both candidates.

1.2. Research Problem

There are two problems in this research paper. The first problem is how the candidates use certain linguistic expressions to show their identities through the banner. The second problem is what kind of identities constructed from linguistic expression used by candidates.

1.3. Objectives of the Study
The purpose of this research paper is to uncover the implicit identities of the presidential candidates. The objects in this research are the banners of Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-JK. Those are the media to promote their identities's identities.

1.4. Previous Study
There are seven previous studies that will be reviewed by the writer.

The first one is *"Cerminan Basic Emotion dalam Slogan Pemilu"* (Yanti, 2009). The second one is "From Dictatorship to Democracy: Metaphors in the Indonesian Political Transformation towards the Political Discourse Practice in the Media" (Ritonga, 2012). The third one is *"Konstruksi Capres/Cawapres dalam Media Massa: Studi Analisis Wacana Kritis Terhadap Politik Editorial Surat Kabar Kompas dan Rakyat Merdeka dalam Kampanye Pilpres RI 2009"* (Syaifuddin, 2013). The fourth is "Representation and Symbolic Politics in Indonesia: An Analysis of Billboard Advertising in Legislative Assembly election of 2009" (Leiliyanti, 2013). The fifth is "Popular Mandate and The Coming-of-Age of Social Media's presence in Indonesia Politic Post-Reformasi" (Chen, Priamarizky, 2014). The sixth is *"Iklan Politik, Popularitas, dan Elektabilitas Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2014"* (Suryana, 2014). The seventh is "Indonesia's 2014 Election: How Jokowi Won and Democracy survived" (Mietzner, 2014).

1.5. Writing Outline

CHAPTER I   INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the background of the study, research problems, objectives of the study, previous studies, and writing outline.

CHAPTER II .   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
This chapter deals with the main and supporting theories used   in analysing data in this research paper.

CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHOD
This chapter presents the type of the study, method of the study, and techniques of collecting data and analysing data.

CHAPTER IV   DATA ANALYSIS

The writer analyses the data in order to achieve the purpose of the study. Those analysis include the phenomena of political discourse analysis and its used media, explicature, context of the data, implicature, and social implication based on the result.

CHAPTER V   CONCLUSION

The last chapter provides conclusion and summary of the research study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1. Identifying the Meaning of Utterance in the Form of Explicature and Implicature

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995:182) 'explicature is a combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features'. He stated that the smaller contribution of the contextual features, the more explicit the explicature will be, and inversely, if the contribution of the contextual features is bigger, the less explicit the explicature will be. This will give an effect in a person when he makes inference within his state of mind towards certain information, since 'explicit content of utterance is a set of decoded assumption' (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:182).

Based on Sperber and Wilson (1986:261), there are three sub-tasks of comprehension process. The first is "constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicit content (or explicature) via decoding, disambiguation, reference resulution, and other pragmatic enrichment processes". The second is "constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumption (or implicated premises). The third is "construction an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implication (or implicated conclusion)".

Therefore, the definition of implicaturecan not be separated from the explicature since "explicature and implicature (i.e implicit premises and conclusions) are derived at by a process of mutual parallel adjustment with hypothesis about both being considered in order of accessibility (Sperber and Wilson, 1986:264)..

2. 2. Concept of Context

According to Widdowson (2007:19) context is a situation of the actual circumstances (including time, place, and shared knowledge) owned by P2 (partner or text receiver). This context should be relevant in order to achieve the same perception between text producer (P1) and text receiver (P2). Besides, context is also an abstract representation of state of affairs in someone's mind constructive from both immediate situation and previous situation (Widdowson, 2007:19).

2. 3. Concept of Identity

According to Bamberg *et all* (2010:1) identity is not merely the definition in traditional way i.e. what the definition of identity *is*, but rather 'as a negotiation among social member's subjects within the social context and as a form of objectivity and a sense of self'. It means that identity is a kind of social construction which is addressed by each social member's subject towards the other members. This process does not apart from 'how the process of constructing meaningful units' occurs. He also added that this analysis will include the

circumstances which surround the social member's subject. This circumstances or situation can be defined as the context of what has been said, how the situation was said, and why the situation may have been said which may occur in any time and any places.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHOD

3.1. Research Types
This research is classified as descriptive qualitative research. This is because the objective of this study is to identify the identities constructed in order to persuade the voters. This research also can be classified as qualitative and explanatory research. Furthermore, the writer quantifies the existence of the data to show the tendency in using the linguistic expressions while forming the identities of the candidates.

3.2. Data and Population

The data in which the writer took are the linguistic units or the expression within the banners on year 2014 which were held during the beginning year of 2014 until the end of June 2014.

3.3. Method of Collecting Data
In collecting the data, the writer sees that the data are able to be found by library research. This means that the writer uses non-participant method (Sudaryanto, 1993:134) because there is no direct-involving research that is done by the writer or in other words, the writer has no contribution in the forming of lingusitic expression used by the candidates.

In order to obtain the banner, there are three techniques for each source. The technique in collecting the data is by taking the picture, transcribing, downloading and translating.

3.4. Methods of Analyzing Data.

Technically, the writer will analyze the data by using three steps of analysis in order to obtain the identity from 2014 presidential election's candidates. The first step is identifying explicature in which the writer will describe the explicit meaning of the utterances in the banner. In the second step, the writer will provide the relevant context which becomes the background the data produced by the text producer. The third stepis inferring the implicature. This step determines the result of data analysis on how to interpret the uncommunicated information towards the text receivers. After the whole process of identification is done, the writer will classify the data into several groups which will lead us to the intended identity of the candidates

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

The following table is the linguistic expressions from both presidential candidates, Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-JK that represent the identities of both candidates.

Category	Prabowo-Hatta	Jokowi-JK
Constructed Identity	- Powerfull and unifier image (A1, A4, A5, A8) - Agent of change (A2, A3, A6) - Capable leader/ independent leader (A7, A8, A9) - Muslim leader (A3, A6)	- Populist leader and New hope leader (B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B8) - A leader with close relation with his people (majority of his banners)
Strategy to attack other candidates/g overnment	- Attacking other candidates who may not as religious as PH (A3, A6)	- Attacking the current governmental bodies (B6)

The data above are the result of analysis after finding the explicit meaning of the data, the contexts, and the implicit meaning. After finding the three aspects of analysis, the writer tries to manage the categories to ease the reader to determine the identities of the presidential candidates. Here, the writer will provide the example on how she obtains the identities by relating the explicature, the context, and the implicature of the data. The below analysis is the example to determine the first constructed identity of Prabowo-Hatta, that is "powerful and unifier leader" image. This image is as the result of the classification poin A1, A4, A5, and A6. Therefore, the writer takes data A1 and A5 as the example.

> POWERFUL
> IMAGE AND
> UNIFIER LEADER

DATA 1. The banner above contains an utterance in the form of simple declarative sentence that is loyalitasdankesetiaanhanyauntukmerahputih. The explicit meaning of the utterance is 'there is a compound subject *loyalitas* and*kesetiaan*, and predicate complement hanyauntuk*merah - putih'*. *Loyalitas* and *kesetiaan* are kinds of human's attitude, while *merah-putih* is a metonymic meaning referring to the nation of Indonesia.

The context of this data is the situation of presidential election's campaign. The nature of campaign is promotion in order to be elected. During the campaign, it is common thing to come up with self-promoting to obtain the vote from Indonesian people. Because it is in democratic system, where every governing position is detemined by the number of voters. The number of voters are very crucial to obtain a seat in parliament. Therefore, those are the contexts which become the background why the data were being created.

Implicature is the information that is still hidden. The loyalty and trustworthy mentioned in the banner may refer to the character owned by PH. Such character is chosen as identity constructed to introduce the president candidate. As we know, there is shared knowledge that president and vice president must have good character.

The implicatureis that may be PH are the candidates who have good character, loyal and trustworthy. Such character may be owned by the other candidates. That is why the text producer uses other linguistic expression containing conventional implicature: *hanya*. Using the adjunct, the text producer may intend to inform that the loyalty and trustworthy are only for merahputih (the metaphorical meaning of Indonesia). It means that the text producer may guarantee that PH are only loyal for Indonesia, not for other nation. Such characters and the the usedof "hanya" may implicate the exposure of the text producer to depict the quality of PH to lead Indonesia in such loyal and trustworthy way. In further possibility, the text producer may want to tell the text receivers that this candidate will concern and manage this country well.

DATA 2. The banner contains utterance in the form of noun phrase that is*1 Indonesia, 1 bangsa, 1 bahasa, 1 Prabowo-Hatta.* The explicature from this utterance is there is noun number one (1) which followed by other nouns *Indonesia, bangsa*(nation), *bahasa*(language), and Prabowo-Hatta.

The context of this text can be related to process of identification from Garuda symbol towards Prabowo-Hatta. This identification is created in order to give the public access to remember the candidate during the presidential election. This referential process is commonly found when the political campaign occurs. Process of identification is important because it can infiltrate the text receiver's shared knowledge upon something familiar with this candidate, such as the terms of *satu Indonesia* (one Indonesia)*, satubangsa*(one nation)*, satubahasa*(one language), and *satuPrabowo-Hatta*(one is Prabowo-Hatta). If the text receiver's minds have already infiltrated, it will be easier to attract the public's attention to vote for this candidate. In longer term, the text producer believes that Prabowo-Hatta may be able to manage the number of voters by continuously promoting themselves by using their specific wordings.

1 Indonesia, 1 Bangsa, 1 Bahasa here may refer to the unity of Indonesia as a multicultural country which is also a multi-ethnic, multi-local language and multi-religion country. The terms *1 Indonesia, 1 Bangsa, 1 Bahasa*may symbolize the unity of Indonesia under the leadership of Prabowo-Hatta. The implicature meaning of this utterance that the text producer wants to inform towards Indonesian people to vote number one (1). The repetition of number one (1) used to ease the public to remember this candidate during the voting period. The symbol of Garuda (the symbol of Indonesia) which is placed on the right side of the banner may refer to process identification by the text producer to ease the public to memorize this candidate. Besides, the utterance above also has other implicature meaning that is Indonesia has long history of horizontal conflicts covering ethnic, race, and religion friction.

Not only that, vertical conflict towards the government body has also become a circumstance for several years until now. That is why under these conditions, the text producer believes that Prabowo-Hatta may be able to manage them and improve Indonesia into a better place. In short, this candidate may want to inform the text receivers that under their leadership, the NKRI *(Negara kesatuanRepublik Indonesia)* will be better. While other implicature may say that this text producer wants to attack other candidate by implicitly saying 'other candidates may not bring the unity of NKRI *(Negara kesatuanRepublik Indonesia)*. In other words, the text producer may want to create an identity that this candidate is the agent of unifier towards Indonesia.

The constructed identity owned by Prabowo-Hatta is that the text producer wants to create such powerful image for this candidate. This can be taken from poin A1. The powerful here means that this candidate is capable of being loyal only for this country. Since powerful is often depicted as unshaken standpoint, the powerful here refers to the power of PH to only concern towards Indonesia, not for other country. If we look at PH's vision and mission journal, their works are more into endeavour the local potential without doing many work collaborations with foreign countries. In return, the sovereignty of Indonesia may be able to be kept since there won't be many feedback given towards other countries.

The poin A5 tells more about the unifier image of PH. Unifier here refers to the image of PH as leader who may be able to revive the condition of Indonesia. The text producer describes the utterance within poin A5 as an exclamation utterance towards Indonesian people to hear the call from this candidate. This

candidate wants to revive Indonesia into the better version based on their vision and mission. But this revival can not be done if only PH that are working. In order to achieve it, the text producer informs to vote for PH to work together in reviving Indonesia. That is why, the image that wants to depicted is a unifier leader who can work cooperatively with his people.

<div style="border:1px solid black; text-align:center">

POPULIST LEADER AND A 'NEW HOPE' LEADER

</div>

After the constructing identity of Prabowo-Hatta, now we will go to the ones of Jokowi-JK. The identities of Jokowi-JK which are depicted above are mostly the images of populist leader. This populist leader-identity can be found in number B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, and B8. Therefore, the writer will take poin B1, B2, and B8 as the examples of analysis.

DATA 1. The banner above contains an utterance in the form of noun phrase that is *JOKOWI – JK: MATA HATI KITA*.The explicature meaning from this utterance is 'there is compound subject *JOKOWI – JK* and object complement *MATA HATI KITA*'.Jokowi-JK is the main subject of this baner, while matahatikita is a kind of metonymic meaning referring to a new hope.

The context from this banner is the presidential election campaign which showing the text receivers about the character of Jokowi-JK. The political parties which is represented by this candidate is PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Movement Party) and mainly supported by NasDem (national democratic party), PKB (national revival party), and Hanura party. We have a shared-knowledge that these parties adhere democratic value. PDIP won

the election for being able to meet people's expectations. That is why PDI-P would only be run for the couple who really know the problems of the people in Indonesia. When we talk about*matahati,*it means the deepest and the truest of human desires.

The implicature from this banner is the self-branding of Jokowi – JK for presidential candidacy. The portraying image from this candidate is 'a new hope' which means they will bring new hope when they lead Indonesia as president and vice president. In other words, there are some constructed indentities that the text producer wants to show. The first constructed identity is the displaying character as an indifferent leader towards Indonesian society. In the manner of speaking, by showing the utterance Jokowi – JK*matahatikita*, it has meaning that this candidate may have created policies by using the perspective of common society not from the group of executive people. The second implicit meaning is this utterance may contain a character of a new-hope leader who can be channelling the aspirations of the Indonesia society. This may lead to the attacking of other candidate that they will not be able to channel the aspiration of Indonesian society as Jokowi – JK.

DATA 2. The banner above contains an utterance in the form of simple declarative sentence that is *pemimpinrakyatlahirdarirakyat*. The explicit meaning from this utterance is 'there is compound subject *pemimpinrakyat*and predicate complement *lahirdarirakyat'*. *Pemimpimrakyat* is a kind of term to mention a leader who leads his people, while *lahirdarirakyat* is a kind of term to mention the origin of the leader himself.

The text producer informs the text receivers that is the picture of Jokowi-JK. This banner also contains the picture of the flag of Indonesia and an utterance *pemimpinrakyatlahirdarirakyat*. However, the text receivers have already known who they are. That is why we need to understand the context of this circumstance. The context from this banner is 2014's presidential election campaign. As the nature of campaign, self-promotion is prominent. This self-promotion is created to promote this candidate during the election in order to be elected by the Indonesian voters.

The implicature meaning from this utterance is the president who comes from ordinary social status while *lahirdarirakyat* may refer to the character which the candidate want to depicted with. *Pemimpinrakyat yang lahirdarirakyat* may refer to the populist leaders who are close to his people. This interpretation is obtained by the society from the repetition wordings used by this candidate during campaign. These wordings lead to the identity forming that sticked towards this candidate. In the manner of speaking the text producer may want to attack other candidate for not being able to be populist leader as Jokowi – JK. This will have implication that a non-populist leader may not be able to recognize the needs of the vast society of Indonesia.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1. Conclusion

The conclusion of this research is finding of the identities owned by the 2014 presidential candidates, Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi JK. Before the identities are found, the writer has to analyzed the linguistic expressions on the banners provided by the candidates through explicature point of view. Beside discovering the explicit meaning of the data, the writer needs to understand the context on why the data are made. After relating the explicature meaning and the context of the data, the witer has to determine the implicit identities of the candidates by collecting the result of analysis into two categories. The first category is the constructed identity. Within this constructed identity category, the writer found there are five identities from Prabowo-Hatta and three identities from Jokowi-JK. From Prabowo-Hatta we can find powerful image, unifier image, capable/independent leader image, agent of change image, and Muslim leader image. From Jokowi JK we can find the image of populist leader, 'new hope' leader, and an image of a leader that has close relation with his people.

After finding the constructed identity, the writer also found the second strategy that is attacking strategy. This strategy can be found from both candidates although the target of attacking is different. For Prabowo-Hatta, the object of their attack is the other candidate, which is Jokowi-JK. It is said that Jokowi-JK are not as firm as Prabowo-Hatta in leading Indonesia and so on. The other attack is related to the rumour that Jokowi has just converted his religion to Islam right before his candidacy as president. This will have huge impact towards Indonesian people whose majority are Muslim if the rumour is real.

This is rather different from with the object of attack by Jokowi-JK. This candidate has just attacked the current government employees that are having unappropriate characters as higher ups.

5.2. Suggestion

The study of linguistic expressions within banners especially presidential election campaign banners are still need many discussion since the writer only focuses her work on finding the identities of the candidates by using explicature, implicature, and political discourse theory. There are still many sectors which can be discovered by the next researcher in relation to the implicature and political discourse since these studies are very close to our live. Lastly, the writer hope the next researchers may uses her data to conduct another topic of study to enlarge the contribution within linguistic studies.

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