

Critical Discourse Analysis on PAN Political Banner Campaign Using Fairclough Three Dimensional Model

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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted in order to explain of Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) political banner campaign uniqueness within 2018-2019 campaign periods. This study focused on the linguistic feature which employed and discursive technique in the banner. The data was collected from internet and limited only to banner in West Java province. Fairclough 3D-model is used as framework in this study to see the relation of language and its implication in society. The findings disclosed that the whole banner discourse, including images, design, and language supports the construction of message in the banner. It was also PAN political banner campaign in West Java act as entertainment to the readers.

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INTRODUCTION

According to Eka (2018), the Indonesian political condition is very concerning because of the conflict between candidate number one and candidate number two. These two sides do everything to get support and votes from the people. As one of many political parties that participate in the election, PAN use banner that has a uniqueness to get people's support. Banner is a promotion media that use printed media, the design is usually in portrait or vertical and placed in a place where people can see and read the message (Ahsa, 2019). The uniqueness of a banner design can be an aspect of the success of a banner can be memorable thing (Pitch and Linden, 2014). According to Orana (2018), the success of any visual storytelling or visual marketing strategy relies mainly on what the audience perceives and all the things that can be seen and associated with simple shapes and how the use of these shapes affects the outcome of designer's strategies. Based on the analysis that was done by Pitch and Linden (2014) The uniqueness of the banner also comes from any aspects such as the pose of legislative candidates displayed in the banner. All of the banners in this analysis have the images of legislative candidates, and the pose and positioning of these four banners have a secret message that can be analyzed. According to Zeff and Aronson (1999), Banner has various rectangular-shaped graphic such as skyscrapers (120 x 600 pixels), square (250 x 250 pixel), large rectangle (336 x 280 pixels) and vertical rectangles (240 x 400 pixels). The aspects such as color, animation, and interactivity are usually applied in the banner to capture people's attention

with interactivity element also can be a proof to track user interest. The popularity of banner is due to the flexibility and targetability as a marketing device for a certain brand and product. However, the popularity of banner advertisement effectiveness is still questionable. Based on this theory, PAN has applied a certain design that is considered unique and eye-catching.

This paper investigates the political banner campaign by PAN political parties in Indonesia within 2018-2019 campaign period. Later, the banner will be analyzed as critical discourse analysis using Fairclough Dialectical Relational Approach. PAN political party was established in 1998. Partai Amanat Nasional or PAN is one of many political parties that participates regional election since 1998, the year they were established. This political party upholds people's sovereignty, justice, and the improvement of material and spiritual based on religious morality, humanity, and diversity. Muhammad Amien Rais was the first chairman of PAN and later was changed by Sutrisno Bachir at the second period, Hatta Rajasa at the third period, and Zulkifli Hasan at the fourth period until now. PAN wants to realize prosperity and good and clean government to Indonesia. This party comes with a modern based system and excellent management within. In order to realize those programs, PAN recruits only the qualified cadres that have the same mission with the party. According to the election data from their first or debut on election in 1999 to the latest result on 2014 election, this party got 7,1% or 7,5 million votes in 1999, 6,4% or 7,3 million votes in 2004, 6,0% or 6,2 million votes in 2009, and 7,6% or 9,4 million votes. Strict competition in the election between political parties pushes every political parties cadre to compete for votes. A number of cadres use banner to support their campaign in the election and a number of them only pass the election.

THEORY AND METHOD

Based on the study that was conducted by Zahid Ahmed (2017) is talking about discourse advertisement in Pakistan. The data is taken from an advertisement from Pakistan television. In order to get attention from the audience or people, the way of presenting advertisement is important. Advertising subtly distorts reality and manipulates the people to make them buy a product. The relation between power and discourse can be analyzed through the language that is used in the advertisement. The findings consist of linguistic features, discursive techniques, and influence. The linguistic features that are applied to this study are the use of vocabulary, syntactic pattern, and rhetorical devices. There is also the discursive techniques that analyze the contextual situation, celebrity endorsement, poster-image, and music effects. The last one is influence, it has a purpose to promote a new culture.

There is also a study about cohesion and coherence on the political advertisement of the Indonesian election in 2014 conducted by Yusep Ahmadi (2016). This study analyzed the cohesion and coherence on the political advertisement on television between two political parties, Partai Demokrasi Perjuangan (PDIP) and Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra). Both the advertisement have cohesion and coherence but they have similarities and differences. Cohesion factor in Gerindra advertisement is the use of suffix and repetition, while the PDIP is the use of substitution and conjunction. The coherence can be seen from the relation between each utterance and the relation between parallelism in PDIP and the relation between each utterance and the relation between the solution and the problem. The findings show that the advertisement for both Gerindra and PDIP have similarities and also differences that made them a good advertisement.

There is also a study that was conducted by Azlansyah (2015) about the recruitment of the regional leader of Partai Amanat Nasional in Pekanbaru. This study focuses on the recruitment of the regional leader for 2010 - 2015 period. The data that

was included in the analysis are age, education, and gender of the regional leader or candidates. The identity of the respondents' was used to analyze the practice of regional leader recruitment in Pekanbaru. The identity of the respondent has a function as a proof of the existence and also the contribution of the candidates in that political party. According to the bylaws of Partai Amanat Nasional on article number 23 at the first paragraph, the recruitment of the regional leader is conducted once in five years. Based on the article number 23, in order to make sure the recruitment is conducted well, the recruitment must be attended by the participants, observers, and guests (PAN's superintendent). Although the requirements and the steps to recruit the candidates of the regional leader has stated, in reality, there are candidates that don't fulfill the requirements, but they are still accepted as the candidates or superintendent.

There was also a study conducted by Pitch Sajjacholapunt and Linden J. Ball (2014) about banner design that influencing people gaze and used for advertisement media. This study is conducted in order to know the effectiveness and how to use banner advertisement properly. Not only can gather the attention to people who see the banner, but the unique design of the banner, in this case the figure's pose and placement, will also affect the memory of people who have seen the banner or how long people could memorize it. The combination of eye-tracking analysis was applied on this research. There was also explicit and implicit memory testing to compare the attention toward the banners that have many different types of poses. There were two factors that were analyzed. First, it was about the positioning of the banners whether it was vertical or horizontal. The second one, it is about the presence of facial images within the banners such as no face banner, face with mutual gaze banner, and face with averted gaze banner. Despite the clear definition of the banner's design, this study still does not explain the other pose for the banner figure and only focus on facial pose.

The last study is conducted by Jesper Strömbäck (2007). It is talking about political marketing and professionalized campaigning. According to this study, there are three phases of political campaign communication. Norris (2000, p. 138) has stated that three phases consist of premodern, modern, and postmodern. In the premodern phase, the media that was used are partisan press, posters, radio broadcast. In the modern phase, the media that was used is television broadcast through main evening news. While postmodern era uses television narrow-casting, targeted direct mail and email campaigns. Although the political campaign has changed through the times, it does not mean that the campaigns become more professional. As Lileker and Negrine (2002, p. 102) stated that the term "professionalization" needs to be defined more carefully. In the literature concerning the campaign. The political party only focuses on one strategic goal-electoral victory and being active just in the single area, electoral area. This analysis presents the contemporary concepts of the professionalization of political campaign and political marketing from its suffering of being biased because of certain country characteristics. This study is only based on empirical research observation. It is still lacking in the theoretical study, so, this study needs to combine both empirical and theoretical study to make this analysis can be used for other academic fields of study.

From all four of the journal's summaries stated before, there is no specific research on the function of a banner used by PAN political party as media for getting people's support for the 2019 election. This research will analyze about: What are the language features used in PAN political party' banner? What are discursive techniques employed in the banner?

This analysis aim is to give information about the language used in PAN political party banner during the 2019 election. The research is narrowed down to only the banner used by PAN's legislative candidate in West Java. The banner used as research data is retrieved from the website online and chosen because the banners have a unique design and choice of words.

Method

The researchers collected the data from the internet on 20 days after the 2019 election. The data was filtered and only focused on PAN's legislative candidates from West Java that participated on 2019 election. After filtering the data, the researchers found four unique banners that was used by the legislative candidates. The uniqueness of the banners that will be analyzed includes the visual or design of the banners, and the verbal text of the banners. The next step, the researchers tried to figure out and find the meaning or the messages that the legislative candidate wanted to deliver through the banners. The responses or reaction from people after seeing and reading the banners will also analyzed using 3-dimensional model. When the message from the legislative candidates and the people's responses have been found, the researchers can finally conclude something based on the analysis.

This study is based on the construct of political campaign banner discourse as research variables in qualitative research. The data is taken from four banner of PAN political campaign 2018-2019 campaign period in West Java province. Three-dimensional model is used in this study. The nature of banner can be received as rhetoric as it compromise with language and social settings. This study can be inferred as qualitative study as political campaign banner constructs social interpretation and practices.

The 3D model of CDA consists of three inter - related processes of analysis closely linked with three inter-related dimensions of discourse.

These dimensions are:

- 1) The object of analysis (including visual, verbal or visual and verbal texts).
- 2) The processes and discourse practices by means the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/designing and reading/listening/ viewing) by human subjects.
- 3) The socio-cultural conditions or practices which govern these processes.

(Ahmed, Su and Ahmed, p.155, 2017)

The framework affirms the dependence relation of all three dimensions that inseparable to each other.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

First Layer of 3-D Model

The first layer of three dimensional models is focusing on text analysis. The term text, in terms of campaign banner does not restricted only to linguistic signs. It covers all the visual discourse including signs, logo, colors, and design. The text analysis was conducted to answer Research Question1, on the 'linguistic features' in PAN political banner campaign'. It consists of the linguistic features such as the use of vocabulary, patterns and rhetorical devices selected in the banner to persuade and convincing the reader.

1. Textual

Vocabulary is important to convey the intention of text producer. Linguistically banner use the combination of formal and informal words. Vocabulary is also important tool to show ideology; such as pronouns, emotive lexis, nominal and verb. All of these are essential to depict reality.

1.1. Use of declarative

In this study, political banner campaign contained mostly imperative. The imperative word is mainly in a form persuasion to vote certain legislative candidates.

The following are the examples of declarative in banner.

Table 1: the examples of declarative in banner

Banner	Phrase
1	-
2	Kalau dulu memang zamannya Suharto tapi sekarang zamannya... Suharti
3	Masyarakat Garut Memanggil
4	-

In banner 2, the text producer is using rhythm in text construction. Repetition in this banner is being formed in declarative sentence. Repetition in this text is reduplication. This structure repeating a few words that wants to be highlighted in the same sentence (Nugroho, 2012). In banner 2, however, it is not same exact word; Suharto and Suharti. The uses of word Suharto in this banner evoke the sense of rhyme when it read. The use word *memang* (indeed) show there is justification of the history. Suharto is known for his dictatorship over 31 years in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Suharti is the legislative candidate which is in the banner. The word *dulu* and *sekarang* also held important cues to the reader. It is the comparison of the leadership which occur in the past (Suharto era) and in the present. The present era is symbolized by Suharti that will lead differently from Suharto era.

In the banner 3, the text producer use verb *memanggil* and pronoun *Masyarakat Garut*. The use of such pronoun in intended to covers all layer of society in Garut. The verb itself acts as behavior representation of the society to call out the respective legislative candidate. The use of declarative in the banner is the soften form of imperative.

1.2. Use of imperative

Political campaign banners usually employ positive adjectives. Positive adjectives are connected to the positive aspect of legislative candidate itself or its party. Positive adjective here means the word that shows good side of the legislative candidate. There are no negative adjective in political campaign banner because it relate to negative aspect of legislative candidate competitor which prohibited by Indonesia country and to be considered as black campaign. The positive adjective usually used in imperative form. The examples of positive imperative the data are shown in the table 2.

Table 2: The examples of positive imperative

Banner	Phrase
1	Rebut Kemenangan Saatnya Hijrah!
2	-
3	Mapag Kajayaan Garut
4	Siap Jungkir Balik Demi Rakyat

The word *rebut* in banner 1 here has positive implication. It means to take or grab something that what has been taken by others. Word *kemenangan* means win or glory. Then *rebut kemenangan* can be inferred to grab the glory. The words "saatnya hijrah" have an imperative meaning because the utterance have a meaning of "saatnya hijrah bersama dengan partai kami" this utterances is only show the surface structure and have a hidden imperative meaning. In political campaign banner 3, the text producer is using archaic Javanese word *mapag*. *Mapag* means to come after or to meet or to call. Meanwhile, *Kejayaan Garut* is written in Bahasa Indonesia which if translated literally mean the glory

of Garut. Garut is a town in the West Java province of Indonesia which the location of legislative candidate nominate himself. In banner 4 has multi-interpretation of the meaning. The text producer, legislative candidate, may involve the Javanese archaic word and Bahasa Indonesia word to show that he is a man of culture. Despite in modern era, he wants to show to the readers he still conserve the traditional value in himself. However, it can be interpreted from semantic perspective. The word *mapag* in *Mapag Kejayaan Garut* here act as important role which is show to the readers that Garut is still not yet prosperous. The word “siap jungkir balik demi rakyat” in banner 4 symbolize the candidate is ready to sacrifice himself for people and ready to work hard. The utterances is supported with the image of the candidate is upside down. This strategy both gives a unique visual and also a good message. However not all people can understand the message, especially uneducated/ low educated people. These low educated people can take the meaning literally and think if the candidate will be working upside down.

Second Layer of 3-D Model

Visual in banner is very critical. Visual can assist the textual element in the banner so its ideology can be successfully delivered. Visual here means the design of banner. Political banner campaigns usually employ either usual design or unique design. The catchy design of visuals, images, and funny visualizations are attracting passersby and readers. Banner of catchy design used by PAN legislative candidates are shown in the following table.

Table 3

Banner	Image
1	
2	

3



4



In all the banners taken in this study, the PAN parties have used the unique design to attract the emotional need of the reader. The good design is strengthening to the effectiveness of the banner. It is assisting to enhance the ideology of the text producer. All these banners design is having its own purpose. The colors functions at the memorability part of the reader. The uniqueness helps its reader to remember the name of legislative candidate, so design is enhancing the memorability of its consumers in the banner. The unique design in the banner is amusing, appealing, invoking and fascinating its reader to vote the respective legislative candidate. The unique design in banner tends to stay in reader's consciousness because seeing anti-mainstream banners are more affecting its readers than only textual element.

In visual perspective, the composition of the size and the position of image is crucial. Illustration in the banner used for enhancing the text as eye-catcher. Present day, technology helped various type and form of illustration whether it is hand-drawing picture or photo. In political banner campaign photo is mainly used, especially the photo of the legislative candidate. In the table 3, every banner displays the photo of the legislative candidate. However, the position of the photo is different one to another but they have same aspect. The legislative candidate photos positioned in top of the banner while other object (word, other photo, and symbol) to emphasize the legislative candidate as the main object in the banner.

Third Layer of 3-D Model

Explanation denotes the societal bodies, organizations, institutions and cultural norms that determine the process of "text production" (Ahmed, Su, & Ahmed, 2017). The third layer of analysis dealing with the broader societal currents and trends being affected

by the banners being studied. The 'text is textual in this study as political campaign banner is the subject of analysis. This level of analysis also includes the response of East Java society in Indonesia. The banner is the simplest and practical way to attract readers even in this modern era of technology development. It is simple and very easy, cheap and useful to promote someone or something within society. The situation is that in Indonesia this banner has also proved to be a weapon of political purpose. In recent election there has been an innovation in using banner as a media to promote Indonesia political parties and its legislative candidate which participate election. Firstly banner is not only to promote but also entertain the readers. What makes it entertaining? The answer is a eye-catching design to put the ideology or the purpose of its parties into banner, passersby and readers unconsciously will look the banner. If the banner is carefully observed, it is quite obvious that banners are there only to gather a vote in election and not quality marker of the legislative candidate. It is not compulsory that the banners unique design or catchy slogan will guarantee the legislative candidate eligibility. However, it only attracts the reader attention. If the purpose of these banners is to promote legislative candidate to the voters, it already achieved from language construction. It does not have to be using eye-catchy design. Why not provide more information of the respective legislative candidates' achievement in the banner so mass can be well-informed about the candidate. However, it is intentionally made by the text producer of political campaign banners to take attention of the readers. Furthermore, most of the political banner campaigns include unrelated information that not supports the legislative candidate disposition in politic.

CONCLUSION

This study investigates PAN political banner campaign uniqueness in West Java, Indonesia with a view to inform society of its relation to reality. Introducing legislative candidate through printed media is common, especially banner. However, the practice of introducing can be manipulated in such a way to attract, to inform, and to entertain the readers. PAN legislative candidate political banner campaigns are able to attract the attention of readers. However, not all of the reader will understand the message intended by the text producer. The un-orthodox design and unusual textual message written in banner probably will confuse the reader. Indeed, the banners are unique and different from other but will it affect the vote in election? The political banner campaign analysis resolved the manipulation of visual and textual cannot be separated when interpreting political banner campaign.

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