

**CONNOTATION IN NURHADI ALDO POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ON
SOCIAL MEDIA AS FICTIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: A
SEMIOTIC STUDY**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**BY :
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**STUDY PROGRAM OF ENGLISH
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
FACULTY OF CULTURAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITAS BRAWIJAYA
MALANG
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ON SOCIAL MEDIA AS FICTIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: A
SEMIOTIC STUDY**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

**Presented to
Universitas Brawijaya
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra***

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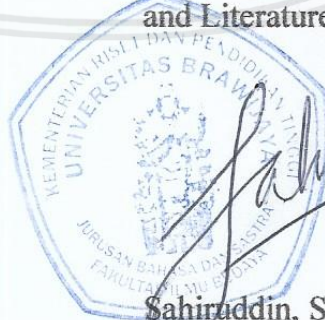
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ABSTRACT

Vieri, F. I. 2019. **The Connotative Meaning of Nurhadi Aldo Political Campaign on Social Media as Fictional Presidential Candidate: A Semiotic Study**. Study Program of English, Department of Languages and Literature, Faculty of Cultural Studies, Universitas Brawijaya. Supervisor: Muhammad Rozin

Keywords: *semiotic, signifier, signified, connotative, denotative*

Throughout the political years, written communication seems to be very frequently used in social media such as political advertisement to gain maximum votes. Since social media is very accessible to users because it only needs simple steps in creating the account, Nurhadi – Aldo exists as fictional political figure found on the social media. It produces some sort of political campaign in the form of pictures and texts which contain some meanings. Therefore, this research attempts to see what meaning is delivered to the readers using semiotic theory and investigate on how counter-hegemony is exercised through Nurhadi – Aldo's political campaign on social media towards the established political party.

This research uses qualitative approach and document analysis to analyse the data. The data were gathered from Nurhadi – Aldo's twitter posts. In dissecting the meaning of the text, the researcher used theory of semiotics proposed by Saussure (1983) and Barthes (1957). Moreover, the researcher also used theory of counter-hegemony by Gramsci (1926) to answer the second problem of the study.

The result shows that every post of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign contains denotative and connotative meanings. Every post is clearly activated as a piece of counter hegemonic idea which is offered to the readers to decode that the consent about presidential threshold, General Elections Commission policy, Parliament, social economic issues only polarizing the candidates and ought to be disorganized.

ABSTRAK

Vieri, F. I. 2019. **Makna Konotatif Kampanye Politik Nurhadi Aldo di Media Sosial sebagai Calon Presiden Fiksi: Sebuah Studi Semiotik**. Program Studi Sastra Inggris, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya. Pembimbing: Muhammad Rozin

Kata Kunci: *semiotik, penanda, tertanda, konotatif, denotatif*

Sepanjang tahun-tahun politik, komunikasi tertulis tampaknya sangat sering digunakan di media sosial seperti iklan politik untuk mendapatkan suara yang banyak. Semenjak saat itu media sosial sangat mudah diakses oleh para pengguna karena hanya membutuhkan langkah-langkah sederhana dalam membuat akun. Nurhadi - Aldo muncul sebagai tokoh politik fiksi yang ditemukan di media sosial. Nurhadi - Aldo membuat semacam kampanye politik dalam bentuk gambar dan teks yang mana gambar-gambar itu mengandung beberapa makna. Oleh karena itu, penelitian mencoba untuk melihat apa makna yang disampaikan kepada pembaca menggunakan teori semiotik dan mengetahui bagaimana kontra-hegemoni dilakukan melalui kampanye politik Nurhadi - Aldo di media sosial terhadap partai politik yang besar.

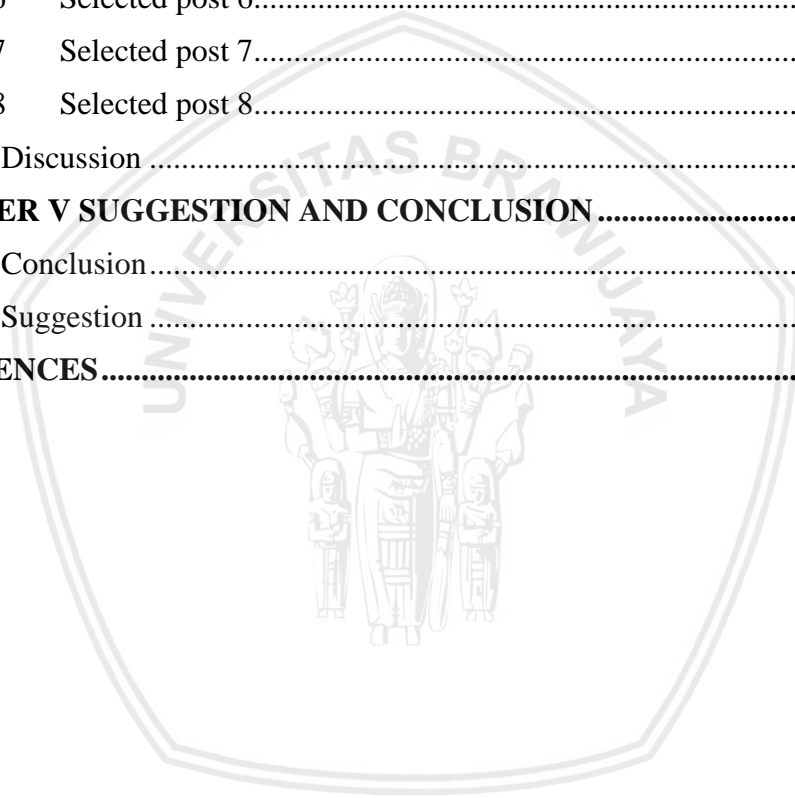
Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis dokumen untuk menganalisa data. Data dikumpulkan dari akun twitter Nurhadi - Aldo. Dalam membedah makna pada teks, peneliti menggunakan teori semiotik yang dikemukakan oleh Saussure (1983) dan Barthes (1957). Selain itu, peneliti juga menggunakan teori kontra-hegemoni oleh Gramsci (1926) untuk menjawab masalah penelitian yang kedua.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa setiap unggahan kampanye politik Nurhadi - Aldo mengandung makna denotatif dan konotatif. Setiap unggahan diaktifkan sebagai ide kontra hegemoni yang ditawarkan kepada pembaca untuk ditafsirkan bahwa persetujuan tentang ambang batas pengajuan presiden, kebijakan KPU, DPR, dan masalah sosial ekonomi hanya mempolarisasi para kandidat dan seharusnya ditolak.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP.....	ii
SUPERVISOR'S APPROVAL	iii
BOARD OF EXAMINERS'S APPROVAL	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT	vi
ABSTRAK.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the study.....	1
1.2 Problems of the study	4
1.3 Objectives of the study	4
1.4 Definition of key terms.....	4
CHAPTER II REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	6
2.1 Theoretical Framework	6
2.1.1 Semiotics	6
2.1.2 Saussurean Model of Sign.....	7
2.1.3 Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Axes.....	9
2.1.4 Denotation and Connotation	10
2.1.5 Meaning of Colors	12
2.1.6 Hegemony and Counter-hegemony	13
2.2 Previous Studies	14
CHAPTER III RESEARCH METHOD	16
3.1 Research Design	16
3.2 Data and Data Source	17
3.3 Data Collection.....	17
3.4 Data Analysis	17

CHAPTER IV FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	19
4.1 Findings	19
4.1.1 Selected post 1.....	19
4.1.2 Selected post 2.....	28
4.1.3 Selected post 3.....	30
4.1.4 Selected post 4.....	32
4.1.5 Selected post 5.....	34
4.1.6 Selected post 6.....	40
4.1.7 Selected post 7.....	46
4.1.8 Selected post 8.....	48
4.2 Discussion	50
CHAPTER V SUGGESTION AND CONCLUSION.....	56
5.1 Conclusion.....	56
5.2 Suggestion	56
REFERENCES.....	58



LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Page
Table 4. 1 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	20
Table 4. 2 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	22
Table 4. 3 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	24
Table 4. 4 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	26
Table 4. 5 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	28
Table 4. 6 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	30
Table 4. 7 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	32
Table 4. 8 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	34
Table 4. 9 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	36
Table 4. 10 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	38
Table 4. 11 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	41
Table 4. 12 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	42
Table 4. 13 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	44
Table 4. 14 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	46
Table 4. 15 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation	48

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
Figure 4. 1 Post on January 16 th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	20
Figure 4. 2 Post on January 16 th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	22
Figure 4. 3 Post on January 16 th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	24
Figure 4. 4 Post on January 16 th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	26
Figure 4. 5 Post on 26 th December 2018 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	28
Figure 4. 6 Post on 26 th December 2018 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	30
Figure 4. 7 Post on 30 th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	32
Figure 4. 8 Post on 24 th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	34
Figure 4. 9 Post on 24 th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	36
Figure 4. 10 Post on 24 th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	38
Figure 4. 11 Post on 17 th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	40
Figure 4. 12 Post on 17 th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	42
Figure 4. 13 Post on 17 th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	44
Figure 4. 14 Post on 2 nd January 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	46
Figure 4. 15 Post on 5 th January 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)	48

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses about the background of the study, problems of the study, objectives of the study, and definition of keyterms.

1.1 Background of the study

During political years, written communication as the activity to deliver meaning seems to be very frequently used. Many political parties produce political ads or campaign through social media to communicate their interest in order to gain maximum votes to win the election. Success team of one candidate creates images of their candidate in such a way to be easily remembered as having good leadership's vision and mission. For instance, political campaign on social media such as instagram and twitter are used by candidates to deliver their vision and mission.

Regarding political campaign on social media, Kress and Leeuwen (1996) state that visual language is now controlled by mass media as global technological empires and computer-imaging technology. People easily use the media to deliver their opinion about certain topics in a lot of ways such as visual images merged with words. The use of such media is also accesible since it only needs simple steps in creating the account.

Nurhadi - Aldo is one of phenomena found on the social media. Nurhadi - Aldo is a social media account that promotes Nurhadi as the presidential candidate and Aldo as the vice presidential candidate for the next general election 2019.

They have political campaign on the basis of pictures on social media. The researcher expects pictures of political campaign on Nurhadi - Aldo's account contains some meanings that could be analyzed using semiotic theories in order to see what meaning is delivered to readers. This research attempts to investigate the Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign as an act or form of counter-hegemony toward established political party.

Furthermore, semiotics approach would be such an appropriate tool to breakdown the meaning. Semiotics is defined as the study which concerns with meaning of the sign. Eco (cited in Chandler 2007) states that 'semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign'. This can be interesting since sign is always present in daily social life. Sign could be anything as long as it has meaning for somebody. Moreover, Saussure (cited in Chandler 2007) called it as 'semiology' which studies the role of signs as part of social life. In addition, Charles Sanders Pierce an American philosopher of pragmatism calls this study as semiotics. Surrounded with visuals, images and signs, an analysis on visual images comes from its reader to take meaning by signification. Eco (1985) proposed that signs correlates with what it stands for on the basis of a rule or convention.

Complexity of images through media in social life has brought the critical comment in many field. Images exist as a medium to distribute them. Within images, meaning of messages will vary in one's comprehension. Obviously, Semiotics provides interpreter such a tool in examining the meaning of messages. It can be used to understand meaning because it deals with sign. Additionally,

semiotics enables the interpretation of underlying meanings within the media output and how the decoder accepts, rejects, and defines those meaning. Then, political campaign which is an effort to get sympathy in order to influence the decision of voters employs means of communication such as images or pictures to deliver the messages. Thus, semiotics approach will be appropriate in understanding the meaning behind political campaign.

In this research, the researcher tries to analyze the meaning behind the signs of Nurhadi - Aldo's picture of political campaign as fictional presidential candidate because this phenomenon exists during political year in Indonesia. This phenomenon seems to be interesting because Nurhadi - Aldo is only fabricated and fictional presidential candidate. Therefore, the researcher wants to know how could Nurhadi - Aldo as the fictional presidential candidate deliver meaning in its account with the result that many people follow them through the analysis of semiotics.

Therefore, this research is expected to provide some significances since a lot of previous studies discuss about advertisements and movies. Practically, this will help the readers to understand more about meaning in interpreting any political context such as the poster of campaign. Furthermore, theoretically, it will give a precedence on how to conduct semiotic analysis on the fabricated political figures so that this theory can be the reliable reference to the object which needs deep inquiry since it analyzed any part which is possible to be meaningful for somebody.

1.2 Problems of the study

Based on the background above, this study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are denotative and connotative meanings of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign on social media as fictional presidential candidate?
2. How is the counter-hegemony exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign?

1.3 Objectives of the study

Related to the problem of the study above, the researcher is attempting to answer the research questions and is aiming the purposes below:

1. To describe the denotative and connotative meaning in Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign.
2. To describe the counter-hegemony exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign.

1.4 Definition of key terms

1. Semiotics : The study of how meaning created and interpreted through signs. (Chandler : 2007)

2. Political Campaign: Political campaign means a race between candidates for elective office, or other organized effort towards a particular election result, including for ballot initiatives. (Northeastern : 2017)

- 3. Nurhadi - Aldo** : Account of fictional presidential candidate which promotes Nurhadi as the next president and Aldo as the next vice president on social media. (Wahid and Medistira : 2019)
- 4. Instagram** : Social media based on picture and video sharing platform. (Moreau : 2019)
- 5. Denotative** : The first order of signification which is connotative meaning which has been through the process of naturalization. (Barthes : 1974)
- 6. Connotative** : The second order of signification. Meaning which produces the illusion of denotation because connotation seems obvious to individual interpreters. (Barthes : 1974)
- 7. Signifier** : The form which the sign takes or so called “sign vehicle”. (Chandler : 2007)
- 8. Signified** : The concept of what signifier represents. (Chandler : 2007)

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter mainly discusses about theoretical framework and previous studies.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical frameworks include semiotics, saussurean model of sign, paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes, denotation and connotation, meaning of colors, and hegemony and counter hegemony.

2.1.1 Semiotics

Chandler (2007) states that semiotics is about the study of sign, anything possible that sign stands for something else such as gesture, words, images, sounds and any other form that senses take. Umberto Eco (1967) also states that ‘semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as sign’. In addition, there are two primary perspectives in defining the study of signs itself. Saussure (1983, p.15-16) declares that:

It is . . . possible to conceive of a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life. It would form part of psychology, and hence of general psychology. We shall call it semiology (from the Greek *sēmeion*, ‘sign’). It would investigate the nature of signs and the laws governing them. Since it does not yet exist. One cannot say for certain that it will exist. But it has right to exist, a place ready for it in advance. Linguistics is only branch of this general science. The laws which semiology will discover will be laws applicable in linguistics, and linguistics will thus be assigned to a clearly defined place in the field of human knowledge.

While Saussure tends to see the perspective of science and considered it as psychological form, Charles Sanders Peirce in Chandler (2007) called it as 'semeiotic' or 'semiotic' which was related to logic which led into statements that can be false.

Regarding to the definition of semiotics, this approach is appropriate because semiotics tries to breakdown the interpretation of meaning into the smallest unit of sign or so called 'minimal significant unit'. Therefore, in order to answer the problems of the study above, the researcher uses some theory of semiotics and additional theory to conceptualize the denotative and connotative meaning from campaign pictures on Nurhadi - Aldo's social media account.

2.1.2 Saussurean Model of Sign

Ferdinand de Saussure is the Swiss Linguist who proposed the dyadic models of the sign. Saussure divided a sign as being composed of a signifier (sign vehicle) and signified (a concept). Saussure in Chandler (2007) states that linguistics sign is not a direct link between signifier (sound pattern) and signified (a concept). Sound pattern is something physical, a sound pattern is only the hearer's psychological impression of a sound. In addition, Saussure in Chandler (2007) proposes a distinction between *langue* and *parole*. *Langue* refers to the system of rules and conventions. *Parole* refers to its use in particular occasion. In Chomskyan syntax for example, we have the binary terms i.e. *competence* and *performance*. Analogically towards it, is his/her knowledge of language and the usage of the knowledge. This is the fundamental concept before understanding how signifier and signified intertwined.

The relationship between signifier and signified is referred as signification. For instance, if the word 'push' is invested meaning by someone who encounters it on a store, the sign is consisting of:

- Signifier: the word 'push'
- Signified concept: that the store has the door which can be opened by pushing it.

Saussure in Chandler (2007, page 17) stressed that sound and thought cannot be separated as the two sides of a piece of paper. It means that we cannot have only signifier without the signified or the other way.

Furthermore, there are primary conceptions in understanding the definition of semiotics and the features which constituted the way of semiotics works. First, Saussure in Chandler (2017) prioritizes the conception of meaning is systemic and relational rather than referential. It means that signs are lying on their systemic relation rather than deriving from its inherent features of sign vehicles. He also emphasizes a notion that meaning of a sign dependent on its 'value'. For example, on the chess game, noting that the value of each piece depends on position on the chessboard. It leads to the concept of arbitrariness, which he argues and stressed that words are arbitrary sign because there is no inherent or natural connection between the signifier and signified. For instance, there is no 'treeish' about the word 'tree'.

Hence, this model of sign is very important in analyzing the meaning, especially in this research. Moreover, it will give a stance on how meaning is created toward the order of signification.

2.1.3 Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Axes

Saussure in Chandler (2007) emphasizes that meaning can be driven from the differences between signifiers, these differences are of two kinds: syntagmatic (concerning the positioning) and paradigmatic (concerning substitution). Chandler states that the distinction is a key in semiotic analysis. The plane of the syntagm is that the combination of ‘this-and-this-and-this’ (e.g. the man cried) while the plane of paradigm is that the selection of ‘this-or-this-or-this’ (e.g. the replacement of the last word in the same sentence with ‘died’ or ‘sang’).

Related to the above, paradigmatic could influence the determination of connotations. As Chandler (2007) states that paradigmatic analysis involves consideration of positive or negative connotations of each signifier, and relation to the existence of any thematic paradigm (e.g. binary opposition). Jakobson (cited in Chandler 2007) states ‘binarism is essential; without it the structure of language would be lost’ since the paradigmatic relation involves comparing and contrasting each of the signifiers present in the absent signifiers which in similar circumstances that have been chosen, and considering the significances of choices made. Jakobson (1976, p.235) declares that:

In an oppositive duality, if one of the terms is given, then the other, though not present, is evoked in thought. To the idea of white there is opposed only that of black, to the idea of beauty that of ugliness, to the idea of large that of small, to the idea of closed that

of open, and so on. Opposites are so intimately interconnected that the appearance of one of them inevitably elicits the other.

In contrary, syntagmatic axis will be functioned to express ourselves with various combination of sign. Saussure in Chandler (2007) proposed that the importance of relationship of sign to each other is driven from the fact that expression is organized into a group of signs in complex way. Chandler (2007) asserts that in visual sign, the interpretation employs the analysis of the spatial relations. It means that in analyzing picture the researcher needs to rely on spatial syntagmatic relations between sign to one and another in order to get the accurate interpretation of the meaning itself because spatial relations are dominant. Unlike sequential syntagmatic relation, which are essentially about before and after, spatial syntagmatic relations include:

- Above/below;
- In front of/behind;
- Close/distant;
- Left/right (which can also have sequential significance)
- North/south/east/west; and
- Inside/outside (or center/periphery)

2.1.4 Denotation and Connotation

Harvey L (2012) states that semiotic traditionally is divided into three parts which are semantics, syntactics, and pragmatics. It is an approach which particularly concerned to reveal ideology. The denotation and connotation used in

semantics is to propose the exact meanings of words and phrases whereas pragmatics more likely concern towards the practical dimension or the study of the actual purposes and effect of meaningful utterances. In addition, Carnap (1942 : 9) also states:

if in an investigation explicit reference is made to the speaker, or, to put it in more general terms, to the user of a language, then we assign it to the field of pragmatics. ... If we abstract from the user of the language and analyze only the expressions and their designata, we are in the field of semantics.

Denotation and connotation are meaning which operates in the level of signified as the terms to describe the relationship between the signifier and its signified. 'Denotation' tends to be described as the definitional, literal, obvious or common-sense meaning of sign or what the dictionary attempt to provide. On the other hand, 'connotation' is used to refer the socio-cultural and 'personal' association. Silverman (cited in Chandler:2007) states that connotations are not purely personal meaning. They are determined by the code to which the interpreter has access. Barthes (1974) also concludes that connotation produces the illusion of denotation, the illusion of medium as transparent and of the signifier and signified as being identical. Barthes argues that it is from the sign in context that we form our 'common sense knowledge' for signs contain two meanings, the denotative and connotative. What is being signified is not always self-evident and we need to move from the (first level) denotation to the (second level) connotation. Then, Barthes (Barthes: 1957) describes the connotation and denotation in terms of levels of representation or levels of meaning.

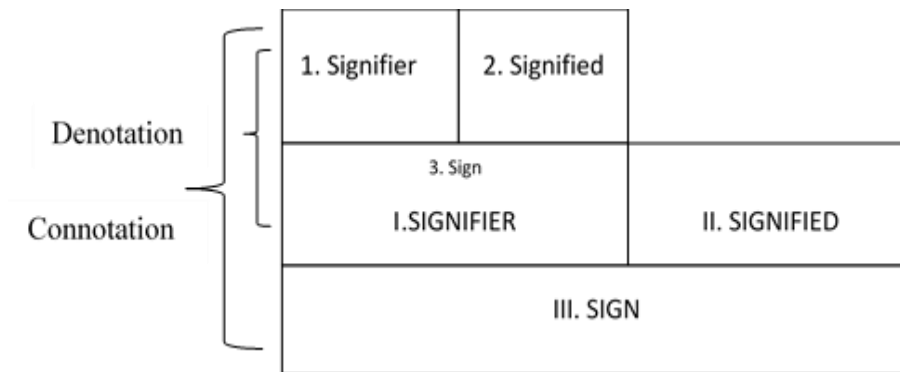


Figure 2.1 Orders of Signification (Source: Barthes 1957, 142)

The ‘first order’ of signification is that of denotation: at this level a sign consisting a signifier and a signified. Connotation is a ‘second order’ which uses denotative sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified. (Figure 1.1). In this framework, connotation is a sign which derives from the first signifier or denotative sign. So denotation leads to a chain of connotations.

2.1.5 Meaning of Colors

Since this research object will be in the form of picture, the analysis needs the interpretation of the color itself to support and enrich the meaning of Nurhadi - Aldo’s political pictures. Smith proposed symbolic and psychological meaning of color. Smith K (2019) argues that color symbolism describes association of color based on the age, sex, cultural background. For example, the white color associate with purity and cleanliness. In addition, color psychology involves the human behavior factor. For instances, the blue color can calm down ourselves and red can stimulates the level of the energy. This color psychology has more personal association.

2.1.6 Hegemony and Counter-hegemony

Antonio Gramsci (1926) proposed the concept of hegemony, defined as the cultural, ideological, and moral leadership of a group over allied and subaltern groups. In Greek the word '*hegemon*' means leadership or domination. The ruling class, individuals in position of power use hegemonic ideas to gain domination over the subjugated classes. This hegemonic ideas is not accomplished through using force but it can be accomplished through using consent of masses of ordinary people. Hegemonic power tries to dominate the media by excluding the alternative views. For instance, if the political party has its own ideology which is similar to a voter's ideology, the voter will make decision to agree for that political party. It is not because the idea simply in the voter's head. The ideas is given by some sort of information that someone gets everyday. It can be in the form of visual or audiovisual medium.

As the opposition, Heywood (1994 : 101) argued, gramscian concept also provides the 'counter-hegemonic' term which advances alternatives to dominant ideas and beliefs of what is normal and legitimate. Counter-hegemonic elements engage in practices of 'disorganizing consent and organizing dissent', Manufacturing consent depends significantly on the mass media. In this concept, Gramsci (1936) argues that intellectuals hold an important part in society. He divided two types of intellectual. First is the traditional intellectual, who seems independent, autonomous, and conservative. They only observe civil society. Second is the organic intellectual, they are considered as the people who actively

participating in civil society, instilling new awareness that reveals the depravity of the old system and can organize the community.

2.2 Previous Studies

There are two previous studies that the researcher found. These previous studies are used as point of positioning for the current study. First, the research which was conducted by Sulissya Nur Syaf'ati (2018) entitled "Semiotic Study of Mother and Daughter Relationship in Brave Movie". This research wants to answer what and how the sign represents the relationship between Merida and Elinor by using Peircean triadic model of sign. Moreover, this research's object is in the form of scene on Brave Movie which had been captured into a picture. The results of this research found that there were seven signs representing the relationship of Elinor and Merida. For instance, a tapestry of Dun Broch family which depicted close relationship of Elinor and Merida. But when it is broken, their relationship is also ruined.

Second, the research which was conducted by Megawati Yuni Putrie (2017) entitled "Semiotic Analysis in Aqua Commercial Advertisements Ayo Dukung Gerakan #1untuk10 Version". The objectives of this research are to know the denotation and connotation of Aqua Advertisement Ayo Dukung Gerakan #1untuk10 version. The data are also in the form of captured scenes. The results of this research show that each of scene contains semiotic sign such as denotation and connotation. For example, on the first frame scene one, the scene shows the woman who has high concentration feels happy as the denotation and the scene also shows the mineral water in our work as it will give a power of concentration

and focus on the brain in order to increase our daily productivity as the connotation

Hence, those two previous studies will differ from this research because this research is using political context as the object and also will investigate Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign as an act or a form of counter hegemony from established political party.



CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter discusses about research design, the data and data source, data collection, and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Ary D et al (2009, p.426) state that research design is the researcher's plan of how to obtain an understanding of some groups or some phenomena contextually. Therefore, this research is document analysis which was conducted by using descriptive qualitative approach because it dealt with written materials which was described as an explanation of the data.

Glass & Hopkins (1984) state that descriptive research involves gathering data that describe events and then organizes, tabulates, depicts, and describes the data collection. Ary D et al (2009, p.420) declare that qualitative research seeks to understand and interpret human and social behavior as it is lived by participants in a particular social setting. The qualitative research also deals with words and pictures rather than statistics and numbers. Ary D et al (2009, p.457) propose that document analysis is a method applied to written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specific characteristics of the material. Thus, the results of this research emphasized more on the data interpretation found on the pictures of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign.

3.2 Data and Data Source

The data that was used in this research is in the form of texts and pictures. The data was the picture and caption of Nurhadi - Aldo social media post related to the hegemony and counter hegemony. The source of the data was the official social media account of Nurhadi - Aldo such as instagram and twitter. Since the general election in 2019 has been done, the name of the social media account of Nurhadi - Aldo has changed from “nurhadi_aldo” to “nkr.internet” because the purpose of their previous content also completed and they set a new purpose along with the end of general election.

3.3 Data Collection

In collecting the data, the researcher conducted several stages:

1. Visiting Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account by typing “nkr.internet” on searching column.
2. Identifying the pictures which potentially have some meanings on politics in the general election 2019.
3. Capturing the selected pictures from Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

3.4 Data Analysis

In analyzing data, the researcher used the theory from Barthes (1957) which is the order of signification to draw the connotation level of meaning.

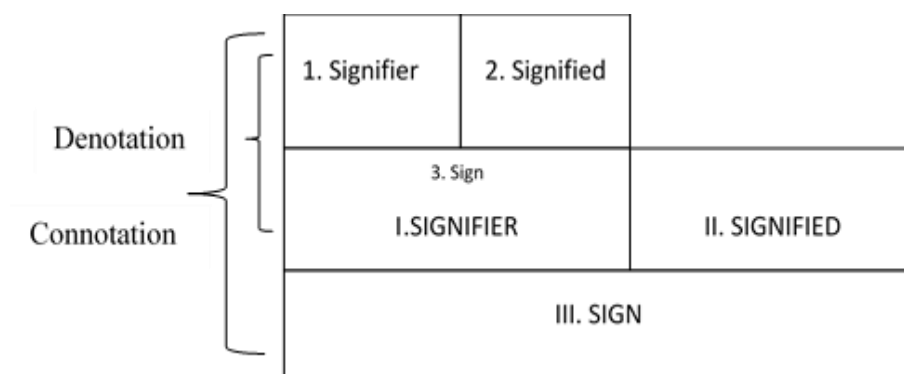


Figure 3.1 Orders of Signification (Source: Barthes 1957, 142)

There are several stages to analyze the data:

1. The researcher described and considered the signifier and signified using Barthesian order of signification at the first level on every selected Nurhadi - Aldo's pictures of the posts which will be a sign in denotative level.
2. Once the first sign has already considered, the researcher assumed that it is the signifier for the connotative level and featured it with a new signified that led into a new sign which became the sign on connotative level.
3. The researcher also described the hegemony and counter hegemony regarding to all of the connotative meanings which had been analyzed in data findings as the point to be discussed.
4. The researcher drew conclusion and proposed suggestion.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discussed about the data findings and discussion. The data findings will be provided within a table followed by the description. The discussion part will discuss the correlation of the data findings and counter-hegemony.

4.1 Findings

The data findings will be divided into several posts which include two to three pictures for every post. The analysis of the connotative meaning relies on the present and the absent of any signifiers as the paradigmatic dimension, the syntagmatic relation which includes the spatial and sequential dimension, and the context of the post. Moreover, the analysis also involves the agreement that Nurhadi - Aldo exists as a fictional political figures.

4.1.1 Selected post 1

This content was posted on 16th January 2019 which includes four pictures.

4.1.1.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 1 Post on January 16th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 1 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Koalisi Indonesia Tronjal Tronjol Maha Asyik” • The text “Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia” • The text “Format Baru Pengganti Debat Capres 2019” • Batik motive • Half figure of somebody • Red color background 	<p>An introductory part of a whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign regarding to the new format of presidential debate 2019.</p>
<p>Signifier</p> <p>An introductory part of whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's post</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>A response to General Election Commission's decision as an independent institution which were more favorable towards the interests and inputs from both parties rather than the general public</p>

(Connotative Sign)

The first picture above is the introductory part of a whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's post. The analysis begins by generating the signifier and the signified of the first level which is denotative. As spatial syntagmatic plane, the interpretation of signifiers begins from left to right and top to bottom orientation. The denotative signifiers found in the picture above are shown on the table of the first signifier in hierarchical order (see Table 4.1). The sentence **"Koalisi Tronjol Tronjol Maha Asyik"** on the top left corner of the picture means the party that proposes Nurhadi and Aldo. The caption on the top center of the picture **"Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia"** means tagline of the post. On the left center of the picture, it also provides the text **"Format Baru Penggati Debat Capres 2019"** means the title of the post. Batik motive is also found in the picture to represent Indonesia along with the red color background which gained the attention of the readers. The researcher also found half of the figure of someone on the right part of the picture which sequentially analyzed this picture connected to the next picture. All those signifiers combined as unity which conceptualized denotative sign.

Connotatively, the researcher found that the picture is a response to General Elections Commission's decision as an independent institution which were more favorable towards the interests and inputs from both parties rather than the general public. It can be known by the paradigmatic choices of the signifiers

“Format Baru Penggati Debat Capres 2019” which allude about the presidential debate where the format of debate is the responsibility of the General Elections Commission as the institution. The picture above associates the pre-debate post where the people on media frequently discuss about the format of presidential debate in general election 2019.

4.1.1.2 Picture 2



Figure 4. 2 Post on January 16th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet’s twitter account)

Table 4. 2 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifier	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Figure of Joko Widodo on the left Red colored figure of Nurhadi on the center Figure of Prabowo on the right The text “Semua pasangan calon bersiap-siap untuk melakukan debat kandidat yang akan diselenggarakan oleh KPU. Namun, tahukah bahwa debat sekarang tidak relevan dengan 	<p>The next part of a whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s post regarding the new format of presidential debate 2019</p>

<p>keadaan bangsa Indonesia. Debat hanya sebagai wadah bersilat lidah semata”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Red , white and black colors 	
<p>Signifier</p> <p>The next part of whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s post</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>The existence of Nurhadi as a fabricated political figure along with the rivalry between two parties as an act to calm the atmosphere before the debate held</p>
<p>(Connotative Sign)</p>	

The picture above denotes the next picture of Nurhadi - Aldo political post on 16th January 2019. The first signifier for a denotative meaning found in the picture can be seen on the table above (see Table 4.2). It shows on the left, stands a figure of Mr. Joko Widodo with black and white colors. The colored figure of Nurhadi wearing a red suit means energetic emotion which is provided in the center of Mr. Jokowi and Mr. Prabowo. On the right part is a figure of Mr. Prabowo Subianto also with black and white colors as the opposite of Mr. Joko Widodo in general election. The black and white colors mean the power and authority but sometimes emptiness. The text **“Semua pasangan calon bersiap-siap untuk melakukan debat kandidat yang akan diselenggarakan oleh KPU. Namun, tahukah bahwa debat sekarang tidak relevan dengan keadaan bangsa Indonesia. Debat hanya sebagai wadah bersilat lidah semata”** means Nurhadi’s comment regarding to the presidential debate which it is about the weakness of its format.

The picture connotes the existence of Nurhadi as a fabricated political figure in general election 2019 to calm the rivalry between both parties. This can be known by the paradigmatic choices of signifier which is the figure of Nurhadi alone which has a color and syntagmatically placed in the center or between the real candidates and in the previous election that Mr.Jokowi and Mr.Prabowo also competes.

4.1.1.3 Picture 3



Figure 4. 3 Post on January 16th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 3 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Oleh karna itu pasangan Nurhadi-Aldo mengusulkan format baru pengganti debat kandidat capres cawapres 2019 yakni dengan Lomba Mewarnai dibandingkan dengan debat yang hanya mempertajam friksi antar kubu dan menjadi sarang berbohong dalam perdebatan” 	<p>The last part of a whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign regarding to the new format of presidential debate</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Lomba Mewarnai” • The text ”Penilaian dilakukan oleh guru PAUD yang ditunjuk KPU” • Half figure of Mr. Prabowo • Batik motive • Figure of a boy who draws something • Red, black and white colors 	
<p>Signifier</p> <p>The last part of whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s post</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>The critic towards the format of the debate which will only bring polarization in general election</p>
<p>(Connotative Sign)</p>	

The picture above denotes the last part of whole picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s political campaign which proposed to change the presidential debate to coloring competition. The denotative signifier can be seen on the table above (Table 4.3). The half of Mr. Prabowo’s figure means it relates to the previous picture. The text **“Oleh karna itu pasangan Nurhadi-Aldo mengusulkan format baru pengganti debat kandidat capres cawapres 2019 yakni dengan Lomba Mewarnai dibandingkan dengan debat yang hanya mempertajam friksi antar kubu dan menjadi sarang berbohong dalam perdebatan”** and the text **”Penilaian dilakukan oleh guru PAUD yang ditunjuk KPU”** mean their idea to the presidential debate’s format which they propose to change the debate into the coloring competition. The text **“Lomba Mewarnai”** indicates the keyword of this picture which means “coloring competition”. Batik motive

represents Indonesia. Domination of red color as the background means to gain the reader's attention.

Connotatively, the picture conceptualized the critic toward the format of the debate which will only bring polarization in general election. This can be known by the paradigmatic choice of the signifier the text **“Lomba Mewarnai”** which means coloring competition, this signifier expressed as satire and associated with pre-debate news which very intensively discussed among politician of each coalition before this picture posted.

4.1.1.4 Picture 4



Figure 4. 4 Post on January 16th 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 4 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “SmackQueen yaQueen” Figure of Nurhadi and Aldo The text “Koalisi Indonesia tronjal tronjol maha asyik” 	<p>Nurhadi and Aldo's political campaign poster</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia” • Social media symbols • Symbol of Partai Untuk Kemakmuran Iman • Batik motive • Red, black, and white colors 	
Signifier Nurhad Aldo’s political campaign poster (Denotative Sign)	Signified Nurhadi and Aldo’s belief that every Indonesian could be able to be the presidential candidate
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes the Nurhadi - Aldo’s political campaign poster. The denotative signifier can be seen on the table above (Table 4.4). Figure of Nurhadi and Aldo in the center of the picture. The text says “**Koalisi Tronjal Tronjol Maha Asyik**” as their party with the hashtag “**SmackQueen YaQueen**” pronounced in Indonesian language “**Semakin Yakin**” means “more convinced” above Nurhadi and Aldo’s figure. Social media symbols indicate the basis of their campaign which is on social media. Red, black and white colors found on the picture where it is dominated with white color for the background which means neutrality. Those combination of signifiers (syntagmatic plane) provide the denotative sign.

Hence all those signifiers connote Nurhadi - Aldo’s belief that every Indonesian supposed to be able to be the presidential debate. This can be known by the paradigmatic signifiers “**Figure Nurhadi and Aldo**” along with the text “**Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia**” where they are not a politician in real life but

through the present of that signifier that is presented on the picture they seem really optimistic as the signifier “SmackQueen YaQueen”. Syntagmatically, all those signifiers are also combined and placed as such to create the template of the political candidate poster as a means for advertisement that is usually used in election.

4.1.2 Selected post 2

This post was posted on 26th December 2018 on Nurhadi - Aldos’s twitter account.

4.1.2.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 5 Post on 26th December 2018 (source: @NKR_Internet’s twitter account)

Table 4. 5 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General Elections Commission’s symbol General Election’s symbol The text “Surat Suara Pemilihan Umum” 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the introduction of the ballot paper</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Presiden dan wakil presiden republik Indonesia tahun 2019” • Indonesian flag • Symbol of political parties • Figure of Jokowi and Ma’ruf Amin in a frame “01” • Figure of Prabowo and Sandiaga in a frame “02” • Figure of Nurhadi and Aldo in a frame “10” • Red and white color 	
<p>Signifier</p> <p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the introduction of the ballot paper</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>The appeal of Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesian people to act like them as a disagreement in general election, so that the presidential candidates is not limited by only two candidates</p>
<p>(Connotative Sign)</p>	

The picture above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the introduction of the ballot paper. The denotative signifiers (see Table 4.5) are found in the picture. The text **“Surat Suara Pemilihan Umum”** and the text **“Presiden dan wakil presiden republik Indonesia tahun 2019”** mean the ballot paper for general election 2019 along with **“the symbol of General Elections Commission and general election 2019”** which is the General Elections Commission’s work program to succeed the general election. Figure of **“Mr.Jokowi and Mr.Ma’ruf”** in a frame found with the text **“01”**, **“Mr.Prabowo and Mr.Sandiaga”** in a frame found with the text **“02”**, and **“Mr.Nurhadi and Mr.Aldo”** in a frame found with the text **“10”**. Sequentially

analyzed, it is the candidate's number where the first candidate is Mr.Jokowi and Mr.Ma'ruf, second candidate is Mr.Prabowo and Mr.Sandiaga, and the candidate number ten is Mr.Nurhadi and Mr.Aldo. Symbol of political parties below the frames means the parties that support each of the candidate in general election. Furthermore, this picture connotes the appeal of Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesian people to act like them as a disagreement in general election, so that the presidential candidates is not limited by only two candidates. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the absence of the signifiers "03", "04", and so on, yet Nurhadi - Aldo uses number "10".

4.1.3 Selected post 3

This post was posted on 26th December 2018 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.3.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 6 Post on 26th December 2018 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 6 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Menciptakan pengangguran sebagai lapangan pekerjaan adalah prioritas kami saat ini” The smiling face of Nurhadi and Aldo Picture of Demonstrators 	Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding their mission on the general election 2019
Signifier	Signified
<p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s post regarding their mission on the general election 2019</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Nurhadi and Aldo’s satire comment toward the real presidential candidates who always offering an overcome over the unemployment issues</p>
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes Nurhadi and Aldo’s post regarding their mission on the general election. The denotative signifiers are found in the picture (see Table 4.6). The smiling face of Nurhadi and Aldo found in the corner of the picture. The text **“Menciptakan pengangguran sebagai lapangan pekerjaan adalah prioritas kami saat ini”** is the quotation of Nurhadi - Aldo’s mission that means creating the unemployment as jobs is their priority at that time. The background of the picture is the picture of demonstrator. Thus, the picture connotes Nurhadi and Aldo’s satire comment toward the real presidential candidates who always offering an overcome over the unemployment issues. Paradigmatically, this can be known from the selection of signifier that allude

about creating the unemployment as a job is the priority where there is no such a thing, there is no unemployment jobs.

4.1.4 Selected post 4

This post was posted on 30th March 2019 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.4.1 Picture 1

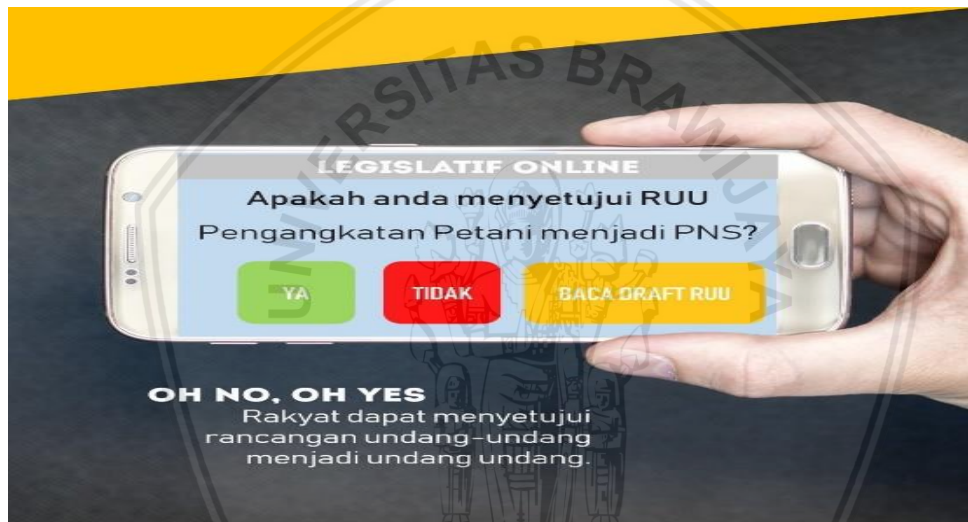


Figure 4. 7 Post on 30th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 7 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Legislatif Online” A hand holding a phone The text “Apakah anda menyetujui RUU Pengangkatan Petani menjadi PNS” The text “Yes in Green, No in Red, and read again the draft bill in Yellow” The text “Rakyat dapat menyetujui rancangan undang-undang” 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to their the online agreement of draft bill program</p>

menjadi undang undang”		
Signifier Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the online agreement of draft bill program (Denotative Sign)	Signified The form of protest against the performance of Parliament in designing the law	
(Connotative Sign)		

The picture above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the online agreement of draft bill program. The denotative signifiers shown on the table (see Table 4.7). The text **“Online Legislatif”** written on the center means that the agreement of draft bill that can be accessed via online”. The hand holding a phone on the center indicating the agreement is also accessible via mobile device. So, Parliament is no longer needed as the representation of the people. The color and text on the phone which placed on the center found as one where Green means “yes”, Red means “no”, and Yellow means “read more information about draft bill”. The text **“Rakyat dapat menyetujui rancangan undang-undang menjadi undang undang”** means the program is targeting the citizen of Indonesia to ask the agreement of the draft bill. All those denotative signifiers are combined and conceptualized as the connotative signifiers.

Connotatively, the picture is the form of protest against the performance of Parliament. Paradigmatically, this can be known from the signifier which allude about the **“Online Legislatif”**. The draft bill is supposed to be designed on the

Parliament meeting by the member of the Parliament. The selection of signifier **“Rakyat dapat menyetujui rancangan undang-undang menjadi undang undang”** also indicates that this signifier emphasize the draft bill can be ratified directly by the people.

4.1.5 Selected post 5

These posts were posted on 24th March 2019 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.5.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 8 Post on 24th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 8 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Batik motive • The text “Program Subsidi Tagihan Warnet Bagi Umum” • The text “Koalisi Indonesia Tronjal Tronjol Maha Asyik” • The text “Nurhadi - Aldo 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign post regarding their subsidy program</p>

<p>for Indonesia”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbol of coalition • White background 	
<p>Signifier</p> <p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to their subsidy program</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s concern toward the development of internet access.</p>
<p>(Connotative Sign)</p>	

The picture above is Nurhadi - Aldo’s political campaign post regarding their subsidy program. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table above (see Table 4.8). Batik motive on the top left corner represents Indonesia. The text **“Program Subsidi Tagihan Warnet Bagi Umum”** on the center is the title of the post which means the subsidy program of the internet café bill for public. The text **“Koalisi Indonesia Tronjal Tronjol Maha Asyik”** on the bottom left corner is the parties that propose Nurhadi and Aldo. The text **“Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia”** on the bottom left corner means the tagline of the post along with the symbol of coalition. The white color symbolizes purity.

Hence, this picture connotatively signifies Nurhadi - Aldo’s concern toward the development of internet access. The paradigmatic plane that shows is the text **“Program Subsidi Tagihan Warnet Bagi Umum”**, this paradigmatic dimension became the notion of the connotative sign because the subsidy functioned as the pecuniary aid by a government, so the signifier alludes the development of the internet access to be affordable and reachable for all the various regions in Indonesia, therefore the subsidy is not needed anymore.

4.1.5.2 Picture 2

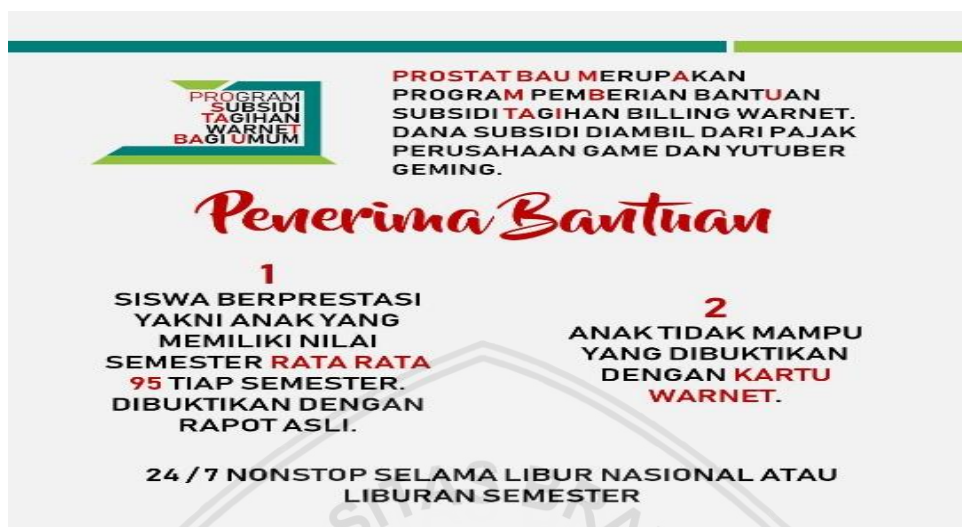


Figure 4. 9 Post on 24th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 9 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Program Subsidi Tagihan Warnet Bagi Umum” The text “prostat bau merupakan program pemberi bantuan subsidi tagihan billing warnet. Dana subsidi diambil dari pajak perusahaan game dan yutuber geming.” The text “Penerima Bantuan” The text “Siswa berprestasi yakni anak yang memiliki nilai rata-rata 95 tiap semester. Dibuktikan dengan rapot asli.” says number “1” The text “anak yang tidak mampu dibuktikan dengan kartu warnet” says number “2” The text “24/7 nonstop selama libur nasional atau libur semester” White color background 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the requirement of the beneficiary of the subsidy program</p>

Signifier	Signified
Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the requirement of the beneficiary of the subsidy program (Denotative Sign)	A concerns to the real candidates about the people who cannot afford the internet access
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above is Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the requirement of the beneficiary of the subsidy program. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table (see Table 4.9). The signifiers are combined from the left to right and top to bottom interpretation. The first signifier is the text **"Program Subsidi Tagihan Warnet Bagi Umum"** on the top left corner which indicating this is related to the previous pictures. The text **"prostat bau merupakan program pemberi bantuan subsidi tagihan billing warnet. Dana subsidi diambil dari pajak perusahaan game dan yutuber geming."** on the top center means the details of this program where this program financially supported by the tax from gaming company and gamers on Youtube platform. The text **"Penerima Bantuan"** found in the center which means this post is about beneficiary of the subsidy program. The text **"Siswa berprestasi yakni anak yang memiliki nilai rata-rata 95 tiap semester. Dibuktikan dengan rapot asli."** found on the left center below the text beneficiary and the text **"Anak tidak mampu yang dibuktikan dengan kartu warnet"** found on the right center are the requirement of the beneficiary of the subsidy program. White color background indicates neutrality and sometimes cleanliness.

Moreover, this picture connotes the concern to the real candidates about the people who cannot afford internet access. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the selection of signifier **“Penerima Bantuan”** or the beneficiary of this subsidy program where it indicates that the internet access is not yet affordable and the signifier that mention about the funding of this program supported by the gaming company and youtuber tax.

4.1.5.3 Picture 3



Figure 4. 10 Post on 24th March 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 10 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Koalisi tronjal tronjol maha asyik” The text “Program subsidi tagihan warnet bagi umum” The text “Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia” The text “Fasilitas kartu warnet” The text “Gratis prutang, 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the facilities of the owner of the subsidy card</p>

<p>mountea, dan tornado”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Bisa isi ulang gatcha gratis” • The text “Langsung dapat sg puter, aug, & dual kriss” • The text “Bantuan langsung billing warnet” on the card • A hand holding a card which has a picture of Nurhadi • Batik motive • Internet café background 	
<p>Signifier</p> <p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the facilities of the owner of subsidy card</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>Signified</p> <p>The doubtful response towards the general election candidates who propose a card which can be used to make the things easier in society</p>
<p>(Connotative Sign)</p>	

The picture above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the facilities of the owner of the subsidy card. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table (see Table 4.10). The text **“Koalisi tronjal tronjol maha asyik”** on the top left corner means the party coalition that support Nurhadi - Aldo in general election. The text **“Program subsidi tagihan warnet bagi umum”** on the top center means this picture is related from the previous pictures. The text **“Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia”** on the top right corner means the tagline of the post. The text **“Fasilitas Kartu Warnet”** on the center means the title of the post. The text **“Gratis prutang, mountea, dan tornado”** on the center-left, the text **“Bisa isi ulang gatcha gratis”** on the center, and the text **“Langsung dapat sg puter, aug & dual kriss”** center-right means the facilities which the receiver gets when holding the card. The text **“Bantuan langsung”** written on the card means the

subsidy card. Batik motive represents Indonesia. Internet café background means this card can be used only at the internet café.

Hence, this picture connotatively signified the doubtful response towards the general election candidates who propose a card which can be used to make the things easier in society. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the selection of signifiers **“a hand which holds a card”** and the signifiers **“Gratis prutang, mountea, dan tornado”, “Bisa isi ulang gatcha gratis”, “Langsung dapat sg puter, aug & dual kriss”** that indicates facilities of the card itself have been combined as an expressive way in delivering the meaning. Thus, it could be associated to the card which campaigned by candidates in general election.

4.1.6 Selected post 6

These posts were posted on 17th February 2019 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.6.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 11 Post on 17th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 11 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text “Koalisi Indonesia tronjal tronjol maha asyik” • The text “Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia” • The text “Atasi jalan macet” • Car symbol • A night city street background 	Nurhadi - Aldo’s picture of political post regarding to the cover picture of an attempt to overcome the traffic jam
Signifier	Signified
<p>Nurhadi - Aldo’s picture of political post regarding to the cover picture of an attempt to overcome the traffic jam</p> <p>(Denotative Sign)</p>	<p>The critic toward the government who never finished the traffic jam issues in cities</p>
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo’s picture of political post regarding to the cover picture of an attempt to overcome the traffic jam. The denotative signifiers can be seen on the table above (see Table 4.11). The text **“Koalisi Indonesia Tronjal Tronjol Maha Asyik”** on the top left corner means the party coalition that support Nurhadi and Aldo in general election. The text **“Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia”** on the top right corner means the tagline of the post. The text **“Atasi Jalan Macet”** on the bottom left corner means the title of the post which means overcome the traffic jam. The car symbol on the left and bottom right corner means the design of the post. The night city street is the background of the post. All those signifiers conceptualized the first sign which is denotative sign. Furthermore, the picture above connotes the critic towards the

government who never finished the traffic jam problem in cities. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the choice of the signifier “**Atasi Jalan Macet**” which means overcome the traffic jam. This signifier associated with the fact that Nurhadi - Aldo is not the one who are responsible in considering the policies to overcome the traffic jam issues.

4.1.6.2 Picture 2



Figure 4. 12 Post on 17th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet’s twitter account)

Table 4. 12 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Atasi jalan macet” The text “atasi jamet, program pemerintah untuk mengatasi kemacetan setiap kota di Indonesia yang sangat riskan. Dengan membuat seluruh masyarakat Indonesia menjadi no-life, sehingga masyarakat Indonesia tidak perlu berpergian keluar rumah dengan kendaraan” Car symbol 	<p>The next picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the attempt to overcome the traffic jam</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White background 	
Signifier The next picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the attempt to overcome the traffic jam (Denotative Sign)	Signified The satire response to the government policies regarding to the traffic jam issues
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes the next picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the attempt to overcome the traffic jam. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table above (see Table 4.12). The text **"Atasi Jalan Macet"** on the center beside car symbol means this picture discussed about how to overcome the traffic jam. The text **"atasi jamet, program pemerintah untuk mengatasi kemacetan setiap kota di Indonesia yang sangat riskan. Dengan membuat seluruh masyarakat Indonesia menjadi no-life, sehingga masyarakat Indonesia tidak perlu berpergian keluar rumah dengan kendaraan"** on the center means the way to overcome the traffic jam. Car symbol is the design of the post. White is the background of the post. Moreover, those denotative signifiers are used to conceptualized the connotative sign which is the satire response to the government policies regarding to the traffic jam issues. This can be known by the paradigmatic selection **"atasi jamet, program pemerintah untuk mengatasi kemacetan setiap kota di Indonesia yang sangat riskan. Dengan membuat seluruh masyarakat Indonesia menjadi no-life, sehingga"**

masyarakat Indonesia tidak perlu berpergian keluar rumah dengan kendaraan” this indicating the weird idea where the idea is to make people stays at home so that there is no traffic jam. This idea is aimed to trigger the government to think more about the right policies for the traffic jam issues.

4.1.6.3 Picture 3



Figure 4. 13 Post on 17th February 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet’s twitter account)

Table 4. 13 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text “Cara membuat orang menjadi no-life” The text “One workspace One Wifi” The text “Menjadikan pengangguran sebagai lapangan pekerjaan bergengsi” The text “Digaji UMP daerah oleh perusahaan pekerja berasal” 	<p>The last picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to the way to make` people become anti-social</p>
Signifier	Signified
<p>The last picture of Nurhadi - Aldo’s political post regarding to</p>	<p>The critic toward government regarding the number of unemployment</p>

the way to make people become anti-social (Denotative Sign)	issues which still exist in Indonesia
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes the last picture of Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the way to make people anti-social. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table above (see Table 4.13). The text **"Cara membuat orang menjadi no-life"** on the center means the way to make people become **"no-life"**. The term **"no-life"** means a person who socially inactive. The text **"One Workspace One Wifi"** on the center-left means their motto of their program where people will easily reach the internet access. The text **"Menjadikan pengangguran sebagai lapangan pekerjaan bergengsi"** on the center below the text **"Cara membuat orang menjadi no-life"** means its way to make people anti-social where Nurhadi and Aldo will make the unemployment as a prestigious job. The text **"Digaji UMP daerah oleh perusahaan pekerja berasal"** on the center-right part means the unemployee will get salary from the company which the employee came from.

Connotatively, the researcher found the picture above is the critic towards the government regarding to the number of unemployment which still exist in Indonesia. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the selection of the signifier **"Menjadikan pengangguran sebagai lapangan pekerjaan bergengsi"** because

there is no such a prestigious unemployment jobs. This is only the reminder for the government to finish the unemployment issues.

4.1.7 Selected post 7

This post was posted on 2nd January 2019 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.7.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 14 Post on 2nd January 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 14 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nine symbol of political parties below the text "Jokowi – Ma'ruf" • Four symbol of political parties below the text "Prabowo – Sandiaga" • One symbol of political party below the text "Nurhadi – Aldo" 	Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding the political parties that support each of candidates
Signifier	Signified
Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding the political parties	The critics toward the presidential threshold which

that support each of candidates (Denotative Sign)	only favorable to the candidate who is supported by established political parties
(Connotative Sign)	

The text above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the political parties that support each of candidates. The denotative signifiers are shown on the table above (see Table 4.14). Nine symbol of political parties below the text "**Jokowi – Ma'ruf**" on the left part means the political parties that support Mr. Joko Widodo and Mr. Ma'ruf Amin. Four Symbol of political parties below the text "**Prabowo – Sandiaga**" on the center means the political parties that support Mr. Prabowo Subianto and Mr. Sandiaga Uno. A symbol of political party below the text "**Nurhadi – Aldo**" on the right part means the political party that support Mr. Nurhadi and Mr. Aldo in general election 2019. The different shade of the background indicating that there is the difference between each of candidates.

This picture also connotes the critic toward the presidential threshold which only favorable to the candidate who is supported by established political parties. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the signifier a symbol of political party below the text "**Nurhadi – Aldo**" that presented and juxtaposed to the other candidates and their coalition which are the established political parties on the picture.

4.1.8 Selected post 8

This post was posted on January 5th 2019 on Nurhadi - Aldo's twitter account.

4.1.8.1 Picture 1



Figure 4. 15 Post on 5th January 2019 (source: @NKR_Internet's twitter account)

Table 4. 15 The analysis on Denotation and Connotation

Signifiers	Signified
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text "#KaloNurhadiPresidennya" The text "Jadi petani makmur & anak petani gak perlu kekota" The text "Petaninya diangkat jadi PNS" The text "Makanya 17 April pilih no 10" The text "Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia" Figure of Nurhadi and Aldo Rice fields and the farmer background 	<p>Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the promise if Nurhadi and Aldo is elected to be the next president</p>

Signifier	Signified
Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the promise if Nurhadi and Aldo is elected to be the next president (Denotative Sign)	Nurhadi - Aldo's suggestion to the real presidential candidates to be more concerns to the farmer and civil worker issues
(Connotative Sign)	

The picture above denotes Nurhadi - Aldo's political post regarding to the promise if Nurhadi and Aldo is elected to be the next president. The denotative signifiers can be seen on the table above (see Table 4.15). The text **"#KaloNurhadiPresidennya"** means the hashtag of the picture. The text **"Jadi petani makmur & anak petani gak perlu kekota"** and the text **"Petaninya diangkat jadi PNS"** on the center-left means their promise where the farmer will get promotion to be the civil worker. The text **"Makanya 17 April pilih no 10"** on the bottom left corner means their appeal to vote Nurhadi - Aldo on 17th April in general election. The text **"Nurhadi - Aldo for Indonesia"** on the bottom-center means the tagline of the post. Rice field and the farmer is the background of the picture to indicate what this picture is about.

Therefore, this picture connotes Nurhadi - Aldo's suggestion to the the real candidates to be more concern in the farmer and civil worker issues. Paradigmatically, this can be known by the selection of signifier **"#KaloNurhadiPresidennya"**. The presence of that signifier associated with the fact that Nurhadi and Aldo are not possible to be the president because Nurhadi

and Aldo only a fictional political figure. That signifier only stands as the reminder of the real candidates about the farmers and civil workers.

4.2 Discussion

Based on the data findings above which found the denotative and connotative meanings, the researcher perceives that it leads into the discussion which will answer on how counter hegemony is exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign.

The paradigmatic and syntagmatic axis as stated on the findings which contribute to the connotative meaning will be the foundation of the discussion explicated here. For example, the figure of **"Nurhadi"** alone with polychrome color as the selection of paradigmatic signifier which is syntagmatically presented and placed on the middle of figure **"Jokowi"** and **"Prabowo"** on the January 16th post is simply to make an emphasis that figure **"Nurhadi"** is the one who could calm the polarization between two parties in general election 2019. This notion can be developed because, in fact, Nurhadi is not supposed to be presented and juxtaposed to the real candidates who are selected as the real candidate through the official regulation. Then, on the December 26th post, the figure of **"Nurhadi and Aldo"** in a frame number **"10"** as the selection of the paradigmatic dimension which syntagmatically presented after the figure of **"Jokowi and Ma'ruf"** in a frame number **"01"** and **"Prabowo and Sandiaga"** in a frame number **"02"** indicates that the people are invited to act like Nurhadi and Aldo who is pretending to be the presidential candidate and expressing the freedom of speech by fill in the candidate number which has not been occupied such as **"03"**,

“04”, and so on. This notion can be the basis of the connotative meaning because the order of the number is supposed to be “01”, “02”, “03”, and so on in regard with the absence of the order itself.

Moreover, the presence of the paradigmatic signifier “**symbol of partai kebutuhan iman**” below the text “**Nurhadi – Aldo**” which is syntagmatically presented after the political parties which propose the first and the second candidates on the 2nd January post is the critic towards the presidential threshold. This notion appeared to be the basis of the connotative meaning because Nurhadi – Aldo with his party which is “**partai untuk kebutuhan iman**” does not actually exist as a party in general. The parties that propose the real candidates count as credible because it has gone through the stages of the selection in proposing the candidate.

Furthermore, the abbreviation for the signifier “**partai untuk kebutuhan iman**” which means “party for the needs of faith” would be PKI. PKI in Indonesia could be associated with Communist Party of Indonesia which long ago became a very sensitive and debatable discourse. The presence of the signifier “**partai kebutuhan iman**” if it is associated with communism, would be a provocative act, but if the abbreviation of “**partai untuk kebutuhan iman**” includes the “U”, it will mean female genital organ. In addition, the post on January 16th on the signifier “**Koalisi Indonesia tronjal tronjol maha asyik**”, it also can be seen that each of the words printed in red color (See page 26) signifies the abbreviation of the sentence itself which will mean male genital organ. This indicates that Nurhadi – Aldo’s political post contains not only one example of such a taboo

thing but in a particular post they provided that way to deliver the ideas in order to demystify or to make plain the politics because political discourse is not a sacred thing. It means there are no barrier or compulsive procedures in delivering the political ideas.

The researcher assumes that the selection of paradigmatic signifier **“partai untuk kebutuhan iman”** is presented as a medium or as an art to express the idea of critics to the readers. Lastly, the paradigmatic dimension of the signifier **“partai untuk kebutuhan iman”** is only one party presented on the picture which propose Nurhadi – Aldo while the other candidates had more than one. This indicates that this post obviously the critics towards the presidential threshold which limiting the opportunity of a particular party to propose their candidate independently because the regulation will lead Indonesia to be an oligarchic state if so. Hence, the stages of the selection itself is called as the presidential threshold which is appeared to be the root of this discussion on counter-hegemony.

Regarding the hegemony, in general election, Indonesia uses a regulation which will select the political parties that fulfill the requirement of the presidential threshold. Seran (2013) states that presidential threshold is the minimum level of support which a party needs to gain in general election in order to be able to propose presidential candidate which has at least 25% representative in a Parliament or 20% total amount of legitimate voice. This regulation that the Parliament made is the hegemonic idea which has been agreed upon the mass of people. As the researcher had seen that in general election 2014, there are only two presidential candidates which is similar to the general election 2019.

Nurhadi and Aldo exists as a fabricated political figures along with the general election 2019. The existence of Nurhadi - Aldo becomes viral on the internet especially on the media social. This is because Nurhadi produces sort of comedic contents on their account regarding to the general election 2019. On the other hand, the contents itself have been analyzed denotatively and connotatively which have another meaning instead of a comedic way as it can be seen on the data findings.

There are several main points of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign which the researcher had explained on the data findings through the paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimension which functioned to activate the analysis on meanings by the order of signification that operates on those pictures. First, Nurhadi - Aldo is the response towards the General Elections Commission which is more favorable toward both candidates instead of public interest. Second, it is a critic toward Parliament as the institution which designing the Presidential threshold. Third, it is an act of the disobedient of the presidential threshold. Fourth, it is an act to remind the real candidates about the social and economic issues which need to be done immediately.

All of those points which had been delivered in a comedic way is a set of counter hegemonic ideas which is indirectly pointed towards political parties. It is because presidential threshold is designed by the Parliament where each of member in Parliament was supported by established political parties. Hence, it was people behind Nurhadi - Aldo's account that create fabricated political figures and deliver meaning through the posts on social media.

As Heywood (1994) states that hegemonic ideas attempts to organize consent from mass of people, people behind Nurhadi - Aldo's try to give alternative ideas by using the social media and creating such an account of political figures as their means to deliver the ideas to the followers. Since Nurhadi - Aldo is not the real presidential candidates, the researcher sees this act as the public voices. They want the consent of hegemonic ideas about presidential threshold which was spreading on public could be disorganized in order to achieve the democratic environment where the comedic way was chosen to reach all groups in society. Democratic environment means that the process of proposing a candidate has to be as convenient as possible to all elements in society and not only for established political parties. Thus, the hegemony which was exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign is not originally delivered from Nurhadi and Aldo themselves but, the administrator of its account.

However, in dissecting the data, the researcher only found red which is often presented in the pictures. For example, on the post January 16th, it can be seen that a figure of Nurhadi is wearing the red suit. This could be the evidence that a figure of Nurhadi always presented wearing a red suit in a certain post. The researcher assumes that red color which always presented on the picture symbolizes bravery because one of Indonesia's flag color is red which means bravery. Smith K (2019) argues that color symbolism describes color association with the cultural background. Moreover, not only red color but white also can be seen on a figure of Aldo. As Nurhadi, he was always presented wearing a white suit. This can be signaled that the color in which Nurhadi - Aldo's political post

wants to deliver is the color of Indonesia's flag. The colors of Indonesia's flag consist of red and white. Red means bravery and white means purity. The researcher assumes that Nurhadi – Aldo's political campaign regarding the color want to represent the ideas of color of Indonesia's flag. They want to deliver the ideas that a presidential candidate has to be brave and clean in terms of leading a nation and deciding policies.

Thus, all of these studies are obviously different because the phenomena which had been analyzed has its own position in semiotic research. On one hand, the researchers use semiotic approach to breakdown the denotative and connotative meaning.

On the other hand, the findings of this research show the denotative and connotative meaning to find out the counter hegemony exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign while the first previous study which was conducted by Sulissya Nur Syaf'ati, she uses the data findings to find out the relationships between Elinor and Merida and the second previous study which was conducted by Megawati Yuni Putrie, the data findings only result in denotation and connotation of each scene of Aqua Commercial Advertisements.

CHAPTER V

SUGGESTION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter is mainly discussed about conclusion and suggestion.

5.1 Conclusion

Based on the analysis of denotative and connotative meanings of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign above, the researcher found out that every post of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign contains denotative and connotative meanings which contributes to the analysis on how counter hegemony is exercised through Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign towards the established political parties. Every post is clearly activated as a piece of counter hegemonic idea which offered to the readers to decode that the consent about presidential threshold, General Elections Commission policy, Parliament, social economic issues only polarizing the candidates and ought to be disorganized. In contrary, the analysis on meaning of colors only contributes for a few pictures because the researcher somehow sees only red color which often presented. Moreover, the existence of Nurhadi - Aldo as fictional political figure became the medium for public to surveilling the government's movement.

5.2 Suggestion

The researcher would like to suggest the next researcher who are interested in analyzing semiotic study to find out the meaning of Nurhadi - Aldo's political campaign after the end of general election 2019 in order to see what is their main concerns hereinafter or even the other kinds of fabricated political figures.

Secondly, the researcher would like to suggest the next researcher to analyze this phenomena using critical discourse analysis approach to examine deeper about the government policies regarding to the regulation for political parties.



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