THE FIGHT FOR THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITHIN THE PDIP WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF TEMPO (ROLAND BARTHES’ SEMIOTICS STUDY ON THE COVER OF THE MAY 2021 EDITION OF TEMPO MAGAZINE)

a Teguh Priyo Sadono, b Nurtyasih Wibawanti Ratna Amina

ABSTRACT

Objective: At a time when parties participating in the 2024 election are busy forming coalitions to determine potential candidates for president, Even PDIP is busy manoeuvring politics on her body alone. The rivalry between Puan Maharani and Ganjar Pranowo enlivened the determination of the presidential candidate in the PDIP body. This reality is raised on the cover of the October 25 to October 31, 2021, edition of Tempo magazine, which is conveyed in a cartoon illustration of a relay race between Joko Widodo, the baton holder, and Puan and Ganjar. The aim of understanding how Tempo’s discourse on the nomination constellation within the PDI-P body is through the cover of Tempo Magazine, which is published in editions from October 25 to October 31, 2021. And is there an implicit value about the power that wants to be framed in the ideology Tempo interests?

Methods: In understanding this, this research analyzes Roland Barthes’ structural semiotics by analyzing the semiosis of markers and signs to know the denotative and connotative meanings of the cover of Tempo magazine and dismantle the myths brought by Tempo through its Semiotics.

Result: From the results of the study, it was shown that during the discourse, there was a roar of competition within the PDI-P in proposing prospective candidates. The rumble is deeper in the discourse developed by Tempo because the existence of nepotism and clientelism is a myth in Barthes’ semiotic concept.

Keywords: structural semiotics, discourse, nepotism, clientelism.
A LUTA PELA ELEIÇÃO PRESIDENCIAL DE 2024 DENTRO DO PDIP NO ÂMBITO DO TEMPO (ESTUDO DE SEMIÓTICA DE ROLAND BARTHES NA CAPA DA EDIÇÃO DE MAIO DE 2021 DA REVISTA TEMPO)

RESUMO

Objetivo: Em um momento em que os partidos que participam da eleição de 2024 estão ocupados formando coalizões para determinar potenciais candidatos a presidente, Até mesmo o PDIP está ocupado manobrando a política em seu corpo Sozinho. A rivalidade entre Puan Maharani e Ganjar Pranowo animou a determinação do candidato presidencial no órgão do PDIP. Esta realidade é levantada na capa da edição de 25 de outubro a 31 de outubro de 2021 da revista Tempo, que é transmitida em uma ilustração em desenho animado de uma corrida de revezamento entre Joko Widodo, o detentor do bastão, e Puan e Ganjar. O objetivo de compreender como o discurso do Tempo sobre a constelação de nomeação dentro do corpo PDI-P é através da capa da revista Tempo, que é publicada nas edições de 25 de outubro a 31 de outubro de 2021. E há um valor implícito sobre o poder que quer ser enquadrado nos interesses ideologia Tempo?

Métodos: Ao entender isso, esta pesquisa analisa a semiótica estrutural de Roland Barthes analisando a semiose de marcadores e sinais para conhecer os significados denotativos e conotativos da capa da revista Tempo e desmontar os mitos trazidos por Tempo através de sua Semiótica.

Resultado: A partir dos resultados do estudo, mostrou-se que durante o discurso houve um rugido de competição dentro do PDI-P na proposta de candidatos potenciais. O estrondo é mais profundo no discurso desenvolvido por Tempo porque a existência de nepotismo e clientelismo é um mito no conceito semiótico de Barthes.

Palavras-chave: semiótica estrutural, discurso, nepotismo, clientelismo.

1 INTRODUCTION

The 2024 presidential or presidential elections are in sight. The candidates who will register themselves as presidential and vice presidential candidates are increasingly competing. Various steps taken by inter-party coalitions to meet the electoral requirements were carried out by political parties to be able to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Democratic Party of Struggle, according to the provisions of the threshold Presidential threshold, can carry its presidential candidate. PDIP is not like other parties, which require a coalition to get a presidential ticket in 2024. However, PDIP must face political constellations within its own body to determine who will be carried as a PDIP presidential candidate. Various issues and manoeuvres on the body PDIP hinted the existence of a red bull stronghold, namely the PDI Perjuangan, which will exert Puan Maharani and Ganjar Pranowo. Joko Widodo's presence as president carried by PDIP often sniffs the chairman of the PDI-P. When Puan accompanied Jokowi
to visit the PT Krakatau Steel steel factory in Serang, Banten, they also stopped by State Senior High School 4 to witness student vaccination activities. Not only that but Puan was also asked to share a car with Jokowi Tempo Media Group. Likewise, Joko Widodo is also often close to Governor Central Java Ganjar Pranowo. Ganjar also often accompanies Jokowi to the field several times. One of them was when observing vaccinations in Segaran Village, Klaten.

Nevertheless, Mrs. other than being endorsed by President Joko Widodo, the party, through the DPD and DPC put up large billboards showing Puan Maharani’s face in several versions, almost in each city in Indonesia as well as the side other lots issues or news originating from PDIP functionaries such as members of the DPR RI as well as chairmen winning PDIP Bambang Wuryanto who discredit Ganjar Pranowo and carrying Puan Maharani. However, on the other hand, Ganjar Pranowo's electability level continued to increase, while Puan Maharani did not move up. This condition may have prompted Tempo to observe the polemic over the presidential nomination in the PDIP by making a cover story describing contestation graphics within the PDIP body, which was published in the October 25 to October 31, 2021, edition of Tempo magazine, Tempo describes illustration of President Joko Widodo running with a roll of paper, and in the front, there is an illustration of a picture of Ganjar Pranowo and Puan Maharani fighting over the scroll. On the cover of the magazine, there is a very conspicuous inscription BARA DI PARTAI MERAH.

Magazines are a communication medium that provides more detailed and in-depth information as well as more accountable information. Magazines can be published weekly or monthly. Magazines have functioned as a source of information and entertainment in the form of print media. The magazine can also be interpreted as a collection of news, articles, and stories. Magazines are opinion media. In a magazine, there are writings about opinions or opinions, one's views on something related to problems that occur in society, home page (cover) and photos in magazines are sought as an attraction. Among them is the cover page or cover. Where this section always displays interesting illustrations and requirements for criticism regarding the matters that will be raised in each edition. The cover is one part that cannot be underestimated. The cover is the front and back sheet, often called the book cover in Amanda's print media. On the cover of the magazine, in this case, the Tempo magazine, there is an illustration that represents the contents of the magazine. The image itself is identical to the symbols, symbols or semiotics in it to
convey a message. The pictures that exist certainly have the intent and meaning of the maker. Each person has the right to interpret the image according to their thoughts. In essence, it can be said that the cover or the front cover of a magazine is one factor in the attractiveness of a magazine that shows the characteristics of a magazine so that readers can easily identify the magazine.

Figure 1. Front Cover of Tempo Magazine October 25-31, 2021 edition

Source: Tempo. Co
2 THEORY PERSPECTIVE

To understand the meaning of the text and novelty, this research tries to describe various study a kind of semiotic studies. Research conducted by Charles Forceville and Ernestine S. Curtain entitled "The Structural Semiotics of Advertising: A Multimodal Analysis of Print Advertisements" describes the analysis of semiotics structural elements in print advertisements. This study aims to analyze the structure of signs in print advertisements, including images, text, colours, and visual composition, and understand how these elements work together to create meaning in advertisements. The method used in this study is multimodal analysis, which allows researchers to combine analysis semiotics with other approaches such as visual analysis and text analysis. This study uses a sample of print ads from a variety of products and brands to cover variations in advertising contexts. The results of the study show that print advertising has a complex symbolic structure in which various signs and symbols interact to convey messages. The researchers identified various semiotic strategies used in advertising, such as visual metaphors, the use of colour, iconic conventions, and text combined with visual elements. This research also highlights the role of context in advertising interpretation. They found that advertising comprehension depends on individual signs and the relevant cultural, social, and product context (Nugroho, 2009).

Research: "The Semiotics of Magazine Covers: A Study of Indonesian Fashion Magazines" Peneliti: Dina Dellyana (Dellyana, 2014). Another study analyzes the semiotics of Indonesian fashion magazine covers. The researcher collected magazine covers from leading fashion magazines in Indonesia and analyzed the visual and text cues used in the cover design. They identify elements such as models, colours, poses, titles, and logos used to convey messages and create the desired image. The results of the research show that the cover design of fashion magazines contains complex symbolism and meaning (Sadeli et al., 2023). The researcher found that the signs and symbols used reflect fashion trends, cultural values, and certain aesthetic preferences desired by the magazine and its audience. Semiotic research like this provides insight into how magazine covers in Indonesia communicate messages and images to readers. By understanding the symbolism and meaning contained in magazine cover designs, this kind of research can provide a deeper understanding of the magazine industry and how magazines interact with their audience through visual elements (Akili et al., 2023).
The research "Semiotics of Political Campaign Advertisements: A Study of Indonesia's Presidential Elections" by Tessa Dipa Negara and Vissia Ita Yulianto aims to analyze political symbolism in political campaign advertisements during presidential elections in Indonesia. This study uses an approach semiotics to understand how political messages are conveyed through political campaign advertisements. The researchers collected political campaign advertisements from various presidential candidates and analyzed the signs and symbols used in the advertisements. The research results show that political campaign advertisements in Indonesia use a variety of signs and symbols to influence voter perceptions and support. The researchers identified the use of national symbols, such as flags, national symbols, and national colours, to strengthen national identity and build closeness with voters. In addition, this research also uncovers the use of religious symbols, such as calligraphy or images related to religion, to attract support from voters of certain religions. In addition, visual elements such as photos of presidential candidates, the colours used, and the selection of backgrounds are also used to create the desired image and message. This research provides a deeper understanding of how political symbolism is used in political campaign advertisements in Indonesia.

Research semiotics What is done above shows that there is a strong meaning in each text presented in the context of the creation of the text. Semiotic studies structurally conducted by previous research researchers showed the desire for achievement of the dominant power reflected in the myth constructed from the text. This study also uses a semiotic approach structural from Roland Barthes to interpret the Tempo news magazine cover image, which was published on the 25-31 October 2021 edition.

Roland Barthes' Semiotic Theory which is based on various semiotic figures and their theories, calls for the development of semiotics to categorize semiotics Barthesin semiotics structurally. In this semiotics, there is a distinction from other semiotics identifying other different labelling aspects as "myths" in society. "Myth" lies in the designation of the second level. After the sign-signifier-signified system is formed, it will be a new marker with a second sign that creates a new one. When a sign with a connotative meaning develops into a denotative meaning, the meaning of the denotation will become a myth. Barthes explains system signs deeply. There are two stages of the sign system, namely the first stage of identification is a relationship between the signifier and the signified in a sign outside of reality. This is the denotation stage which is called the most real meaning of the sign. Barthes defines the significance of the second stage as
connotation. It describes the interaction when the sign meets the feelings and emotions of the readers and their cultural values. This occurs when meaning moves towards subjective or at least intersubjective and occurs when the interpreter is influenced equally by both the interpreter and the object or sign.

Therefore, it can be seen that the approach taken by Saussure is directly correlated with the significance of the first stage in Barthes' study. Barthes uses signs in his work in the second stage of this approach through myth, as described in his work, "Mythologies" (reference). Myth is a way of thinking about culture or a way of conceptualizing or understanding something. Barthes asserts that the main task of myth is the naturalization of history. This shows that myth is a product of a social class that gains dominance through a certain history. The circulation of myth must carry its history, but its operation as myth makes it strive to refute it, to show its meaning as natural and not historical or social. Another aspect emphasized by Barthes is the concept of dynamism. Myths can change and adapt quickly to meet changing needs and cultural values, where myths become part of the culture (Sobur, 2006).

According to Barthes, semiology wants to study how humanity (humanity) makes sense of things (things). Interpreting, in this case, cannot be equated with communicating. Meaning means that objects do not only carry information, in which case the objects wish to communicate but also constitute a structured system of signs. Barthes, thus, sees significance as a total process with a structured arrangement. Significance is not limited to language but also to other things outside of language. Barthes considers social life, whatever form, to be a separate sign system. Roland Barthes' semiotic theory is almost literally derived from de Saussure's theory of language. Roland Barthes reveals that language is a sign system that reflects the assumptions of a particular society at a certain time (Sobur, 2006). Next, Barthes uses the theory of significant means developed into a theory about Metabahasa and connotation.

Termsignificant be the expression (E) and means content (C). However, Barthes says that E and C must have a certain relation (R), thus forming a sign (sign, sn). The concept of this relation makes the theory of signs more likely to develop because the sign user determines relations. According to Barthes, expressions can develop and form new signs, so that there are more than one with the same content. This development is referred to as a meta-language phenomenon and forms what is called synonymy (synonymy) (Vera, 2015). Like Saussure's view, Barthes also believes that the relationship between
the signifier and the signified is not formed naturally but is not permanent. If Saussure only emphasizes marking at the denotative level, then Roland Barthes perfects Saussure's semiology by developing a marking system at the connotative level. Barthes also sees another aspect of marking, namely "myth", which marks a society (Vera, 2015).

In short, according to (Sobur, 2006), denotation is the objective definition of the word, while connotation is its subjective or emotional meaning.

### Table 1. Roland Barthes sign map

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signifier (Penanda) (1)</th>
<th>Signified (Petanda) (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Denotatif Sign</strong> (Tanda Denotatif) (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Connotative Signifier</strong> (Penanda Konotatif) (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Connotative Signified</strong> (Petanda Konotatif) (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Connotative Sign</strong> (Tanda Konotatif) (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Paul Cobley & Litza Jansz 1999 (Vera, 2015)

On the map, Roland Barthes, It can be seen that the denotative sign (3) consists of a marker (1) and a signified (2). But at that together, the denotative sign is also connotative (4). In Barthes' view, denotation is the first level whose meaning is closed. The denotation level produces meaning explicit or firm, direct, and definite. Denotation is the true meaning, which is agreed upon together socially, which refers to reality (Vera, 2015).

A connotative sign is a sign whose view has an openness of meaning, or that is implicit, indirect, and uncertain, meaning that it is open to new interpretations. In Barthes' semiology, denotation is a first-level signification system, while connotation is a second-level signification system. Denotation can be said to be a fixed objective meaning, while connotation is subjective and varied.

In Barthes's framework, the connotation is synonymous with ideological operations, which are called myths and function to express and justify the dominant values prevailing in signifiers, signifieds, and signs. However, as a system that for myth is built by a chain of pre-existing meanings, or in other words, myth is also a second-level meaning system. Inside myth, on the other hand, a sign can have several markers (Budiman, 2016). In understanding operational barthes semiotics through the cover of Tempo magazine, this research, with its analytical knife, is about the culture of power in Indonesia also includes practices of nepotism and clientelism.
Nepotism is often interpreted as personal and family relationships, and the family system generally favours people from their group. Nepotism is often a determining factor in decision-making and appointment of positions (Azhary, 2019). People tend to use their private networks for profit because they want to maintain power in various ways and gain access to scarce resources (Azhary, 2019). These practices have become a concern in efforts to increase transparency and accountability in the public sector. Cultural nepotism, as the culture inherent in Indonesian history, prioritizes family relations and is still very strong today in cultural politics in Indonesia. Nepotism, which refers to the practice of giving special treatment or advantages to family members or close relatives in making decisions or appointing positions, often uses the term dynasty in positions of political power. In a political or governmental context, this means giving a position or advantage to a family member or close relative regardless of their qualifications or abilities (Rajab, 2020). This practice of nepotism can damage the integrity of the system and ignore fair competition in the selection process. It can also generate injustice, imbalance, and dissatisfaction among people who perceive unfair treatment.

Nepotism is often linked with the concept of patrimonialism (Raharjo Djati, 2013), in which leaders or officials treat the state or government as their private property. In this context, leaders use state power and resources to gain benefits for their family members or close relatives. The concept of political exchange theory presents a perspective that the practice of political nepotism can be understood as a form of political exchange between leaders or officials and their family members or close relatives. This theory emphasizes that leaders give positions or benefits to family members in exchange for political support, votes, or loyalty provided by them. In the context of this theory, the practice of nepotism is considered a political strategy that involves the exchange of benefits or resources to strengthen power and maintain a base of political support. Leaders or officials use their power to benefit family members, thereby creating a mutually beneficial relationship between them (Ades & Tella, 1999).

Apart from Nepotism, another concept to diss the culture of power is Clientelism. Clientelism is always present in social and political phenomena in Indonesia, especially during the election process held once every five years. Clientelism is known as a power relation between political actors who give something (patron) non-programmatically and those who receive it (clients) based on the loyalty given by the recipient (paternalistic). In this regard, clientelism has various spectrums of understanding (Hanif, 2009). To
differentiate it from bribery, Hicken argues that a bribe refers to a transaction that only occurs at one time. In contrast, clientelism refers to a transactional relationship that iterated or continues (Hicken, 2011). In Indonesia, with its paternalistic culture throughout history, the pattern of patron clients has been common throughout the history of the Indonesian nation. However, there are different spectrums, and it depends on the context of the political situation. As Aspinal splits the client’s patron pattern into periodization, before the reformation period, Aspinal divided the pattern of clientelism in Indonesia into two periods, namely pillared clientelism in the 1950-1960 and centralized clientelism during the New Order (Aspinall, 2013). First, this period was marked by a pattern of political sects, or more precisely, political competition between 'schools', which were closely linked to certain mass-based parties or organizations. The mass base, which is more rooted down to the village level, is the basis of the pattern of clientelism that occurs. The concentration of resource distribution will be directed at the supporters. Second, the New Order period, a period marked by the centralization of political power in the country, also marked a change in the pattern of clientelism to become centralized. This centralism and monopoly characterize the patron-client relationship in the New Order era, where the patronage is hierarchical, top-down, and based on a pyramidal structure where the apex is the President (Aspinall, 2013). This pattern of relations survived until the collapse of the New Order era in 1998 because of the strong control over the channels of power in various spheres – such as the military, political parties, to civil society/organizations.

3 RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses a constructivist paradigm to see a reality formed by various backgrounds as a form of construction of that reality. Reality is used as an object study and is a social action by social actors. The constructivist paradigm aims to understand what is the construction of reality. Therefore researchers must be able to find out what factors drive a reality to occur and be able to explain how these factors reconstruct that reality (Pujileksono, 2015). The use of this paradigm is due to arguments to understand the reality behind the appearance of the cover of a certain period magazine very influenced by the background frame and ideological Tempo that will be conveyed to the audience. The text was built by Tempo magazine through exposure to cartoonist images presented in pictures and verbal and visual. There is then a relational, verbal, and visual,
which then draws meaning from a theoretical basis.

The approach used in this study is qualitative. The researcher uses qualitative research because it relates to the discussion under study, namely Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis on the cover of the October 25 to October 31 2021, edition of Tempo magazine. Research method Qualitative is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism, used for research on natural object conditions, Where the researcher is the key instrument, data collection techniques are carried out by triangulation, data analysis is inductive/qualitative, and the results of qualitative research more emphasizing meaning rather than generalization (Pujileksono, 2015). Approach qualitative is used to find or develop existing theory. The qualitative approach tries to explain reality using descriptive explanations in sentences (Pujileksono, 2015). Meanwhile, according to (Kriyantono, 2006), qualitative research aims to explain the phenomenon through the collection of data in depth. Communication Management Journal, Volume 1, No. 2, April 2017, p. 195-217

This research is descriptive because it only describes the denotative and connotative meanings of each existing sign and then explains the myths and ideologies contained therein. After determining the research method, the researcher used Roland Barthes' semiotic theory. In Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis, the author analyzes two signs, namely typography, and visuals, which will later be connected so that denotative and connotative meanings can be drawn, which will then produce myths and ideologies. The researcher chose the Roland Barthes semiotics method because this method can assist researchers in research that is cultural studies in nature and can assist researchers in analyzing the visual and verbal signs contained in the cover of the Tempo magazine. Then the denotative meaning and connotative meaning will be drawn, which will later show the myths and ideology that are to be conveyed on the cover of Tempo magazine. Barthes argues that language is a sign system that reflects the assumptions of a particular society and at a certain time (Sobur, 2006). The first level of the meaning system is called Denotative, and the second level meaning system is called Connotative. In research cover Tempo magazine, October 25 to October 31 edition2021 in the semiotic view of Roland Barthes, aims to provide a global understanding and picture of the meanings (denotative and connotative) contained therein through typographical and visual forms, which are on the Magazine Cover, which will ultimately show the myths and ideology to be conveyed in the Cover of the October 25 to October 31, 2021, edition of Tempo Magazine.
4 ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH DATA

Data analysis research data from object research on the cover of the October 25 to October 31 issue of Tempo magazine 2021 done sorting based on the elements that exist in the research object, namely typographical elements and visual elements. The cover of the October 25 to October 31, 2021, issue of Tempo magazine contains typographical elements as follows:

Figure 2. Typography 1

The title cut on the cover of the October 25-31, 2021, issue of “Tempo Magazine.”

**Denotation Level**

**Signifier**  
A series of letters that form three words using a typefaces serif size 48, white, centre flat

**Signified**  
The inscription “BARA IN THE RED PARTY on a light blue background and black and white accents.

**Connotation Level**

**Signifier**  
Text that explains there are embers/fire in the red party. The red party in question is the PDI Perjuangan party because it is a party PDIP that uses red as the identity colour of the party.

**Signified**  
This text wants to explain embers which, in the context of Javanese culture, can be found in ancient texts showing coals with connotations as the situation heats rumbles and coals as the emotional rumbling of the characters represented by the masks and shadow puppets colour red. So, it can be interpreted that the text wants to explain that there is a rumbling that is in the body of the red part or PDIP as a result, exists feud or conflict within the Party.

Source: Prepared by the authors.
Figure 3. Typography 2

Denotation Level

Signifier
A series the letters that makeup five lines with use font type Sans serif size 12, the white, centre even.

Signified
There is the text "Puan Maharani's camp is trying to block Ganjar Pranowo, who is getting serious about the 2024 presidential election. Jokowi is pushing for both?"

Connotation Level

Signifier
Text that describes a group of Puan's supporters as a group or individual who will take action or intention to hinder someone from advancing himself to become a presidential candidate.

Signified
This text wants to explain that there will be a disturbance or an act of obstruction done by Puan Maharani's supporters against Ganjar Pranowo in preparing himself as a presidential candidate for the upcoming 2024, even though President Jokowi pushed both of them forward as PDIP cadres.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Figure 4. Visual Elements

Visualization of the Cover of the 25th edition of Tempo Magazine

![Image of Tempo Magazine cover]

**Denotation Level**

**Signifier**
There is a picture of a relay game illustration carried out by three people. In terms of colour: Color magazine cover

**Signified**
There is a picture of a relay game illustration carried out by three people. This shows the character of President Jokowi, who is also a PDIP cadre, Puan Maharani and Ganjar Pranowo.

**Colour Aspect**
On the cover of Tempo magazine, the basic colour is blue with two yellow lines, red stripes, and white font colour, and there are caricatures images of three people, two men and one woman.
Connotation Level

Signifier

The game relay race is one type of race in the branch sport team athletics. The blue colour on the base or background means confidence, and the two yellow lines mean anxiety or anxiety. The red line gives enthusiasm which can usually trigger an emotional level. The red colour also often attracts attention and has the effect of stimulating attention. White-coloured fonts convey the meaning of proper or capable, giving the effect of confidence in quality that will not disappoint. Besides that, the white colour also means authenticity or purity.

Signified

In that illustration made, the illustrator wants to communicate that there is a race within the same party where the race is to fight for power for the presidency, where the two candidates described, namely Puan Maharani and Ganjar Pranowo, have both received the blessing of President Joko Widodo to run for office in the upcoming presidential election.

The colour aspect gives a top impression meaning. The illustrator of Tempo magazine, who wants to give a psychological influence to the readers through the colours used in making the cover with choice of colours that make the readers happy, thinks that Tempo magazine is a bold medium that criticizes the government and presents the purity of the news. Not only that, the cover of Tempo magazine also wants to communicate this to readers that there is a struggle for the blessing of President Jokowi.
Figure 5. Object 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denotation Level</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Signifier</strong></td>
<td>Caricature Pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Signified</strong></td>
<td>Caricature image of a man wearing a white shirt and black pants running with a small grasp roll of paper. With a facial expression, the eyes are closed, the mouth is slightly open, and the eyebrows are down.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connotation Level</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Signifier</strong></td>
<td>Picture the caricature illustrating The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, who is running, the roll of paper that is carried can be interpreted as an important message from the president that will be given to someone. Facial expressions, closed eyes, open mouth, and drooping eyebrows describe tired expressions or confusion, and it could also be feeling depressed with the situation he is experiencing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Signified</strong></td>
<td>A man in a white shirt and black pants while carrying a roll of paper is a picture of Joko Widodo (President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024). The roll of paper that was brought meant that President Jokowi had given the green light to campaign to the two candidates. No only for Puan and Ganjar, Jokowi also pushed the general chairman of the Golkar Party to run as the next presidential candidate. The facial expression with closed eyes and open mouth can be interpreted that the President is confused because Jokowi promised to monitor Puan's popularity trend after campaigning, but in the results of the Political Indicator and Charta surveys, Ganjar's electability politics reached 20% while Puan only 1.4% where is the difference electability they are far away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Figure 6. Object 2

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Caricature cutout on the front cover of Tempo magazine

**Denotation Level**

**Signifier**

Caricature Pictures

**This signified**

A caricature of a woman wearing a red dress and black pants running to the side while extending his left hand backwards by facing to the top.

**Connotation Level**

**Signifier**

The caricature image illustrates the chairman of the DPR RI, Puan Maharani, who is also a member of the PDI Perjuangan. In the picture, Puan is illustrated running, and her arms are outstretched backwards by facing to the top can be interpreted as asking something of the person behind it.

**Signified**

A woman with black hair in pigtails is a picture of the Speaker of the DPR RI Mrs. Empress Whichdepicted are waiting for something to be given. In this picture, I want to explain that Puan Maharani is also one of the members of the PDIP party and was discussed as being close to President Jokowi. This closeness started during their working visit. During a joint working visit, Jokowi asked Puan to diligently go down the street sometime after that thousand of Puan’s political billboards were installed in several cities. The outstretched hand image backwards and facing to the top can be interpreted that Puan is asking for the blessing of President Jokowi.

*Source: Prepared by the authors.*
Figure 7. Object 3

Source: Prepared by the authors.
Figure 8. Object 4

Caricature cut image on the front cover of the October 25-31, 2021, edition of Tempo magazine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denotation Level</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature Pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature picture of a hand that is in front of the feet with palms facing the kneecaps.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connotation Level</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature image that wants to explain a hand trying to block someone’s steps in front of him. This illustrates the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, who is running while waiting for something to be given from behind.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Signified         |
| This picture wants to explain the aggravation of KEPP (Head of Fieldwin Election) of the PDI Perjuangan party Bambang Wuryanto against supporters of Ganjar Pranowo, where Ganjar supporters are considered to continue to push Governor Central Java, a presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. Bambang called Ganjar’s supporters wild boars, saying that they were out of line. Bambang likens the fanged animal to a solitary animal that finds its food. According to Bambang, the wild boar is the opposite of the bull, where the bull always lives in a line. |

Source: Prepared by the authors.

5 DISCUSSION

Starting from the semiotic analysis above through the elements used in Barthes’ phasing analysis, namely denotation, and connotation, it shows that there is a desire for the illustrator to represent the discourse of Tempo Magazine. Disclose ideology brought. Through the colourful caricature illustrations, it can be seen that the characters shown
show signs of internal competition within the PDIP party. This emphasis is visible
denotative and connotative through the elements of object study, both typographically
and visually, and aspects of the colours used.

Typographical studies clearly show that there is a roar of competition for the
presidential candidate ticket representing the PDIP. The roar was shown from the Puan
Maharani camp, which received support from several party functionaries. While visually,
it is more visible and emphasizes that the rumbling is getting stronger, the visualization
of the cover of the October 25-31, 2021, edition of Tempo Magazine shows an illustration
of a relay where there should be one next runner who will receive the baton next, but there
were two runners namely Puan Maharani beside Joko Widodo's rights baton holder and
Ganjar beside left. Puan Maharani’s right position is ready to receive the baton, illustrating
a favourable position for Puan because Joko Widodo's baton is in his right hand while his
left hand is behind him. Ganjar Pranowo's side is described as being on the side on the
left and is also depicted with the hands of the PDIP depicted hand in the red jacket trying
to prevent Ganjar Pranowo from running.

In the element of the study element of Tempo Magazine covering the October 25-
31 edition 2021 want shows that the roar of the Democratic Party of Struggle, where the
decision to determine the presidential candidate is in the hands of Party chairman
Megawati makes a position Joko Widodo as a party officer had difficulty handing over
the presidential baton. This seems to be illustrated by the expression on President
Widodo's face when he handed over his baton. It is this anxiety that increases tension
rumbling within the PDIP Party, which is illustrated in the cover of the October 25-31,
2021 issue of Tempo magazine. Overall, Tempo wants to illustrate in the cartoon
illustration that during the internal rumblings of the PDIP, Puan's position is more
advantageous in accepting the presidential relay than Joko Widodo and from the PDIP.
Mrs support from functionaries. The party and the tackle on Ganjar Pranowo from his
party. It seems that Tempo wants to highlight this rumbling in the conception of nepotism
within the PDIP body, which put Joko Widodo in a position of confusion.

Nepotism is often linked with the concept of patrimonialism, in which leaders or
officials treat the state or government as their private property. In this context, Party
leaders have the prerogative right to use state power and resources to gain benefits for
their family members or close relatives. It seems that the illustration depicted by the
October 25-31, 2021 edition of Tempo magazine wants to refer to the concept of political
exchange theory which presents a perspective that the practice of political nepotism can be understood as a form of political exchange between leaders or officials and their family members or close relatives. The theory emphasizes that leaders provide positions or benefits to family members in return for the political support, votes, or loyalty they provide. Practice Described Nepotism The cover illustration for the magazine shows a politically strategic move involving the exchange of benefits or resources to strengthen the power and maintain a base of political support.

Likewise, it can be studied in the aspect of clientelism, which is always present in social and political phenomena in Indonesia, especially during the election process held once every five years. Clientelism is a power relation between political actors who give something (patron) non-programmatic and those who receive (clients) based on loyalty by the recipient (paternalistic). In the context of selecting a presidential candidate from the PDIP, it is clear that Tempo wants to discuss that within the PDIP, there are practices of nepotism and clientelism which point to Puan's room having more open space. Ganjar is the same loyal cadre, and Ganjar has much higher electability than Puan Maharani. This is reminiscent of Hicken's point of view, who said that in Indonesia, with its paternalistic culture throughout history, the pattern of patron clients has been common throughout the history of the Indonesian nation. This condition shows that through semiotics, Roland Barthes shows that there is a caricature discourse on the cover of the October 25-31 October 2021, edition of the magazine, a myth that is built through cultural nepotism and political clientelism.

6 CONCLUSION

Through the cover of the magazine, which was published on October 25-31, issue 2021, Tempo describes the dynamics of determining the presidential candidate carried by PDIP through cartoon illustrations. With the object of the magazine cover through Roland Barthes's semiotics, we can conclude several discourses developed by Tempo, namely.

1. Through research, denotative and connotative for the typography featured on the magazine cover. Time strictly implied describe conflict within the PDI-Pby giving space for Puan Maharani's camp to advance to become a candidate for President from the PDIP.

2. Meanwhile, the visualization and the colour aspect shown by Tempo emphasizes the opening of space for Puan to get the baton as a baton candidate
President of PDIP, strengthening the connotation of PDIP's partiality towards Puan Maharani.

3. On the other hand, through a study of typographical and visual elements, PDIP cadres, Ganjar Pranowo, who have high electability, denotatively and connotatively, are more hindered by their party.

4. The president, who is denotatively depicted as holding the baton for the candidacy of the presidential candidate from PDIP, is impressive—exists confusion with expressions of discomfort in determining the choice of who to be trusted as a presidential candidate from PDIP.

5. Through the approach of draft Nepotism and cultural theory of clientelism, it seems that Tempo wants to make a discourse that there is a myth that dominates the election of the presidential candidate from the PDI-P in the form of the flourishing of a culture of nepotism and clientelism.

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