Critical Discourse Analysis Of Gus Ipul's Political Advertising In 2018-East-Java-Regional Election

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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GUS IPUL’S POLITICAL ADVERTISING IN 2018 EAST JAVA REGIONAL ELECTION
(Critical Discourse Analysis Iklan Politik Gus Ipul di Pilkada Jawa Timur 2018)

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Abstract. Recent campaign models tend to change from the traditional model which commonly happened in the past. If in the past the campaign was identical to speeches, flags, marches, etc., nowadays the campaign can be done by utilizing the digital world as a media, even though the old model is still used today in a fewer portion. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the digital campaign advertisement of Gus Ipul in East Java Election 2018. Using the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach of Fairclough three-dimensional model, researchers want to reveal what message is behind the advertisements. The data in this study are five political campaign videos obtained from online video service providers, www.youtube.com. The videos are downloaded, then transcribed so that the textual data is obtained. These data were analyzed using the SFG theory. From the analysis, the results of the present study show that Gus Ipul's political advertising is included in advocacy and contrasting advertising. Also, there are two objectives of Gus Ipul's political advertising. The first is to satire political opponents, and the second is to provide information. The information conveyed is by providing positive information, namely by using the lexicon like pengalaman - experience, paham - understanding and amanah -trustworthiness. From the political advertisement model, it can also be obtained that a completed ideological square of political ideology was used in the political advertising viz emphasizing our good things, emphasizing their bad things, de-emphasizing our bad things, and de-emphasizing their good things.

keywords : Political discourse, Advertising, Campaign

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INTRODUCTION

Unlike the traditional campaign model which is identical to speeches, flags, marches, etc., lately, there have been many models of prospective promotional advertisements to regions that use the advertising either in offprint or mass media and online. Adnan says, as cited in Retnowati (2013), political marketing is a series of planned, strategic, tactical, and long-term and short-term activities to spread political meaning to voters. This advertising has a purpose both to inform which to give relational choice to voters based on the information and to persuade which is by, one of the ways, giving the advantages for the politician or candidate (McNair, 2011: 86-88).

Bartels and Jameison, as cited in Gama (2019), divided political advertising into three different types: the first is candidate advocacy advertising. This advertising is made to qualify the candidate(s) who is/are promoted in the advertising. There are two approaches to qualify the candidate viz Retrospective Policy-satisfaction which is to praise the candidate, and benevolent-leader appeals which is to show that the candidate is trustful and a part of voters. The second advertising is Attacking Advertising. This type is to give the exploration of the political opponents’ fail. the approach to do is ritualistic which is to attack when attacked. The last is Contrasting Advertising. This type of advertising is to compare the quality, track record, and vision and mission of the candidates.

When we talk about the tendency of the lifestyle of people around the world, the use of the Internet has spread massively. In a correlation with the use of the internet and politics, nowadays the advertisement of political marketing is dominated on the internet. The considered impact of political internet marketing started when Barrack Obama in his political campaign used the internet as a tool to attract supporters. He used media like the web page, YouTube, Facebook, and MySpace as tools to spread his political campaign to his supporters. Since the media he used is social media, the impact of the spreading is really impressive. As cited in Situmorang (2012) he succeeded to make thousands of groups that coordinated thousands of activities. His success continued to gain USD 600 million of the donor. Jarvis says, as cited in Situmorang (2012), this role of new media, the internet, is acknowledged by Obama's cohorts in Obama’s winning.

This trend of political internet marketing also happens to the 2009 Indonesian presidential election even at that time the combination or mix-marketing media was still used. Utomo (2013) says an alternative strategy in winning candidates or political parties is to use political mix-marketing which is by combining
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social media, mass media, and traditional political marketing. However, the portion of the media use of political marketing shifts to the internet from traditional political marketing. Situmorang (2012) in his research says that the internet is used in politics to attract internet users, for example, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, LinkedIn users, etc. This internet usage has a very good impact.

The starting point of the success of internet political marketing was when the Jakarta governor election 2012. Aji (2014) states in his research that social media to win Jokowi-Ahok in the 2012 DKI Jakarta regional election has a very effective role because most political marketing was done through social media. In addition, concerning millennial voters or beginner voters, the existence of political advertisements on the internet has an important role. The correlation between political advertisements and beginner voters is very significant, for example in the Minahasa regional election (Fenyapwain, 2013). Not only to attract those who are the internet users or for beginner voters, but political advertisements presented on the internet also provide new perspectives on society which they have seen so far that political advertising is merely political promises (Septiani, 2014).

One of the social media that has a very strong role in delivering messages is YouTube. This is because nowadays most people have smartphones where they can access information or even as providers or messengers. A study conducted by We Are Social as quoted from katadata.com states that of the 150 million active social media users in Indonesia, YouTube is the most widely played especially for playing music by 88% of users, followed by WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Line, Twitter, Facebook Messenger, and several other social media (Redaksi, 2019). Moreover, YouTube is a social networking service with the most video sharing traffic. This, of course, makes YouTube have a substantial impact on the political internet (Ricke, 2014, p.9).

Since the impact of YouTube in the internet political advertisement is significant, the study focusing on the analysis of the message delivered in the advertising needs to do. Therefore, this study aims to see the message behind the advertising of political campaigns in the Election of East Java governor election 2018 used in YouTube whether the patterns such as raising the "degree" carried and lowering the "degree" of political opponents were used or not. It is interesting to analyze the advertising, aside from the election recently happened, the use of the internet in the advertising is also interesting. When we see the supporters of gus Ipul and his rival, they were predominated by Santri circles. Therefore, the way to attract supporters is compelling to do.

To be able to answer those questions, there are two theories used in this study. The first is three-dimensional models of discourse proposed by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2013: 21). There are three levels of critical discourse analysis (CDA) viz description, interpretation, and explanation. On the process of description, a discourse is seen from
its correlation to a formal property of text – like vocabulary, syntax, phonology, semantics, etc. – either within one clause or between clauses – which is correlated to cohesion among sentences (Clarence-Fincham, 2001).

Meanwhile, the process of interpretation is usually seen in terms of the linguistic elements that accompany the text. On this level Fairclough (2013: 119-120) divides this step into two different types of interpretation viz interpretation toward contextual text and interpretation toward text – this stage is correlated to the explanation of the Context of a situation in systemic functional grammar (SFG) which will be accounted for later on. The stage of text interpretation is divided into four different levels. The first is the surface of utterance. This level is related to the actualization of Message Resource into a form that can be understood before being interpreted. This is related to language knowledge which is related to vocabulary, phonology, grammar, etc.

The second is the meaning of the utterance. At this level, Message Resource is understood deeper. If at the previous level, the text is understood only from the surface level, at this level the text is understood from the side of the meaning. Therefore, two elements in this level are part of the interpretation, namely semantics, and pragmatics. The third is local cohesion. At this level, the process of interpretation is focused on the cohesion between utterances in a global utterance, for example, cohesion between one clause with another clause in one unit of speech. To be able to carry out the process at this level, linguistic knowledge, pragmatics, for example, is still needed. The last is the text structure and point. At this level, interpretation is carried out in the utterance as a whole. Therefore, knowledge of related discourse must be possessed. Besides, correlating the related discourse to other discourses is also needed in the process of interpretation at this level.

Meanwhile, the process of explanation is to connect the process of interpreting the text with the social domains. In this process, the interpretation of a text is related to social domains. There are three things related to this explanation process. The first is social determinant. It is related to the societal, institutional and situational levels that make a discourse formed. The second is the Ideologies. It is related to the ideology that is owned by Message Resources and which is the background of why discourse is formed. The last is the Effects. It relates to the effects of social efforts on societal, institutional and situational levels. Besides, the effect is also related to whether a related discourse reforms an existing power or even strengthen it (Fairclough, 2013: 135-138).
The second theory is systemic functional grammar (SFG). In this theory, there are two forms of context, verbal context and also non-verbal context. In this study, a non-verbal context was taken to support the analysis. There are two forms of context from non-verbal contexts, namely the context of situation and context of culture (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 45-47).

The context of situation is where discourse is not only related to the context in the discourse but also with other discourses. There are three components in the context model: a) field of discourse is the type of social culture that is being described and also about what events are happening; b) the tenor of discourse is about who or what participants are involved in making the text, besides the role of each participant in the text falls into this component as well; c) the mode of discourse is a function of the language text including whether the text produced is in the form of speech or writing. Concerning language metafunction, the three components above relate to ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning respectively.

The second context is the context of culture. This context relates to the embedded cultural elements behind the formation of the text. In other words, this context focuses on the reason why text can be formed from the viewpoint of social culture.

(Proposal for the Model of Context)

The data in this study were Gus Ipul's promotional advertising video who was one of the gubernatorial candidates in the 2018-East Java-Regional Election.
candidates in the 2018 East Java regional election. There were five videos with each one to two minutes in length of duration taken to be the source of data in this study. The five videos included the Dillan 1990 regular edition (Manja, 2018a), Dillan 1990 Milenasari edition (Manja, 2018b), Dillan 1990 Santri editions (Manja, 2018c), online taxi edition (Manja, 2018d) and barber edition (Manja, 2018e). To get the data to be analyzed, the five videos from YouTube were downloaded and then transcribed. The data were then analyzed using SFG with the CDA approach.

The CDA approach used was the Fairclough three-dimensional model which consist of description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 2013). This model was used as the basis of the data presentation and discussion. At the stage of the description and interpretation dimensions, language metafunction was used in the analysis, for example, the process element was taken, which is related to ideational meaning. This type was taken to show experiential of meaning which was then placed into the domain of discussion of descriptions level in the Fairclough dimension model. Mood type was also taken to show interpersonal meaning. This type was used to help explain the level of interpretation. Besides, the elements in the context of situation, namely fields, tenors and modes of discourse were also used for data analysis tools in the stages of description and interpretation. As for the explanation phase, context of culture elements were included in the analysis (Clarence-Fincham, 2001).

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

All data in the video were speech. Overall, there are two speech models used in these videos, dialogues, and monologues. In the dialogue section, there are two phases, the first is the opening of the essence of the conversation topic and the essence of the conversation. In the monologue section, the text producers reiterate the essence of the topic.

Description

The data got if correlated to context of situation show that the relation of those who are involved is fellow friends. Participants involved with peer relationships are in video 1 and video 2. As in video 3, the participant relationship signal between noble and ordinary people. These three videos have the same concept, namely the dismissal of people who are walking and then conversations occur. Relationships between service providers and customers also appear in the video, especially in videos 4 and 5. These two videos, respectively, show services in the form of customer hair cutting and customer delivery to the destination.

In the video, the style of language used in general is informal, for example in the clause in data (1), so that the atmosphere generated is relaxed and even in videos 1 and 2 tend to be personal, for example in video 1 showed in data (2). However, in videos 4 and 5 participant relations are professionalism - relationships between service providers and customers.
customers. In video 3, the style of language used tends to be formal, for example in the clause in data (3). The use of this form of formal clause tends to be serious and rigid.

(1) *Sampean ini sebenarnya pengalaman tidak sih jadi sopir? Ha?*
You are an experienced driver, aren’t you?

(2) *Tolong jawab pertanyaanku kali ini saja, Setelah ini kau boleh pergi meninggalkanku*
Please answer my question for only this time. Having so, you may leave me!

(3) “*Menjadi seorang gubernur sangatlah kompleks, dari soal lapangan kerja, pertanian, infrastruktur, .... Terlalu berat untuk seorang pendekar, bahkan untuk seorang menteri yang biasa menangani hanya satu masalah.*
Being a governor is complex. From, in terms of, employment, agriculture, infrastructures… it’s too hard for a warrior even for a minter who gets used to holding only one field of problem.

If the data are associated with experiential of meaning, producer text uses a Material Process such as “*pengalaman, paham, pilih, menjalankan*” - experience, understand, choose, run” respectively. These words were used by text producers to show the text consumer that gus Ipul can manage East Java, for which he is worthy of being chosen. Other words included in the verb category of Material Process is “*berhenti*” - to stop – as shown in data (7) and (8). This word is used to indicate that a political opponent stops before her assigned task is completed. Meanwhile, regarding construction of a clause, most constructed clauses have the structure of Actor, Process, and Goal. But there are several clauses, especially on monologue 4 and 5 videos such as data (8) and (11) respectively, the structure of the clause is agentless or only Process and Goal.

In addition, the use of modality elements is also used, for example in the words *Sebenarnya, Mulakno, Apalagi – actually, therefore, and moreover respectively. The modalities are included in the category of epistemic modality which is used for probability, and Commitment to the truth* (Fairclough, 2003: 167-168). Meanwhile, there is one word or phrase that is included in deontic modality, *Will / won’t*. This type of modality is used for one of the functions which is to commit. This modality is a commissive type of deontic modality (Palmer, 2001: 72).

**Interpretation**

Of the data, two clauses are included in the indicative, declarative and interrogative types, and also imperative clause. Text producers construct the clause form for various purposes. The first is to show information to consumer text and the second is to satire. This satire is aimed at political opponents and is also used to reduce the positive value of political opponents, for example in the clause in data (4). From this example, the text producers try to give a positive appreciation to gus Ipul by
giving a higher number in the context of experience than his political opponents. The clause is then followed by the interrogative clause in data (6) which is preceded by another interrogative clause, data (5). In this clause, the text producers seem to remind the text consumers that this is a contestation of East Java regional election and those who are appropriate to be chosen is someone who has long experience in managing the East Java.

(4) Bu Khofifah pengalaman 3 tahun jadi menteri sosial. Gus Ipul pengalaman 10 tahun ngurusin Jawa Timur bersama pakde Karwo
Mrs. Khofifah has experienced being a minister of social affairs for three years. Gus Ipul has experienced for ten years caring of East Java with Mr. Karwo.

(5) Ya tergantung, sebenarnya Pilkada ini pilih Menteri atau Gubernur?
It depends. What is this regional election to vote for, for a minister of a governor?

(6) terus kamu pilih siapa?
Whom do you vote for then?

In another clause example, this type of clause is used for satire – data (7). This clause was produced to satire the political opponent who had only served as a minister for three years which were later left to take part in the regional election contest. The clause is followed by an agentless clause as in data (8). In the sentence, the declarative clause was constructed into an argumentative genre. The two objectives of the declarative clause occur simultaneously, the first is to satire, and second is to provide information that is negative to political opponents.

(7) berkenti jadi tukang cukur, jualan bakso saja, lebih njikan
oped being a barber, (and) just to sell meatballs, more promising.

(8) enti di tengah jalan demi ejar jabatan yang lebih giurkan, tidak amanah.
sing in the middle of the duty to e a more tempting position is stworthy.

In another example, it was agreed that the text producers use modalities in the approved clause. Like in data (9), if it is analyzed deeper, the modality akan -will- is made with negative polarity, Tidak Akan - will not – becomes takkan - won’t. The use of this abbreviation is chosen to show that the clause produced is communicative like in a colloquial conversation. So that the impression got to gus Ipul is that he is a relaxed and sociable person. Not only that, but the use of this modality is also to show future commitments if later he is elected as the governor of East Java which is by not leaving East Java to pursue another position, given the modality in this context is included in a commissive type of deontic modality.

(9) Gus Ipul menjalankan amanah sepenuh hati. Gus Ipul takkan meninggalkan pergi
Gus Ipul ran the trust with a whole of heart. Gus Ipul won’t leave for others.

Besides modality akan - Will, text producers also use other modalities: Actually, Mulakno, and moreover. In actual modalities, such as in data (1) and (5), the existence of this modality shows the message that whether the two clauses in the data have a possible conclusion or not, given this modality is included in the speculative type of epistemic modality. Modality in data (1) is formed in an interrogative sentence by which the message which is going to deliver is that there are other possible conclusions. If we associate with the context, the data (1) shows that the driver, in this case, the governor, is believed not to have sufficient experience so that his ability is questionable. Meanwhile, in data (5), the modality tends to have alternative possibilities for conclusions on whether to choose a minister or governor. However, the intention to be conveyed if we relate it in the overall context in video 1 data is that in the election contestation is the election of the governor. Therefore, the right thing is to choose gus Ipul because he has ten years of experience - see video transcript 1 for more complete data.

Modality Mulakno - therefore - and apalagi - moreover – if seen from data (10) and (11) respectively come under the deductive type of epistemic modality. This type of modality has one possible conclusion from the speech (Palmer, 2001). When viewed from the data, this modality indicates that the text producers want to show that there is the confidence gained from the statement produced. This is related to his belief in the ability of Gus Ipul in managing East Java. From the use of these phrases, it can also be interpreted that not get wrong to decide choosing a region head because the results obtained if choosing the wrong choice will be fatal.

(10) Mulakno aku pilih gus Ipul
Pengalaman 10 tahun mengurus Jawa timur yo
Ndak ngurus yang lain
Aaahhhh.... (sambil ada jeritan bayi)
So that way, I vote for gus Ipul
Indeed experienced for 10 years taking care Jawa Timur
Not taking care of others
Aaahhhh.... (while with a new birth is crying)

(11) Pilih supir yang nggak pengalaman bisa horor akihatnya,
apalagi pilih gubernur
Choosing a driver who is not experienced can result in horror, let alone voting for a governor.

The imperative clause is also used by text producers as in the monologue clause in video 1, shown in data (12). The form of the clause is agentless. It seems to be intentionally used to show that the hidden agent is everyone, not just the first text receiver, but all text receivers in general. Also, the modality used is the demands. The clause seems to give a request that there are only two
conditions to be eligible to be elected as a governor, namely those who are experienced and also understand East Java well. If it is associated with the previous clauses, the message is implied that the two conditions are only owned by Gus Ipul.

(12) Pilkada Jawa Timur, pilih yang pengalaman dan paham mengurus Jawa Timur!

East Java regional election is to vote for those who are experienced and understand to manage East Java.

Explanation

This advertisement was made in the context of contestation of East Java regional elections; in this case the election of the governor. There are two candidates in the 2018 governor election, Gus Ipul-Puti, and Khofifah-Emil. As an incumbent candidate, Gus Ipul has a lot of capital to be able to be re-elected as East Java regional head. He for ten years, as the deputy governor, together with Karwo, has led East Java from 2008-2013, 2013-2018. Therefore, lexicons used in advertisements show his experience as a regional leader, for example, “pengalaman” - experience, “paham” – understand, and ‘amanah’ - trustworthy.

The selection of the concept of advertising is also interesting. According to my observations, political advertising models that utilize the digital world as a powerful media in advertising are during the 2014 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Of the forms of advertising used by Jokowi-Ahok, voters can be involved in responding to such advertisements, for example in the use of clothes boxes, clothing symbols used by Jokowi-Ahok, and also the involvement of voters in making parody advertisements (Septiani, 2014). Since then, the involvement of young people, YouTube creator content, artists, and millenial young people began to be carried out in the process of promotional advertising of one of the candidates in the regional election, especially those using internet media. The concepts also varied, ranging from making songs to music concerts. Besides, the face of the political campaign which has been monotonous, strange, and far from attractive, especially for young people, has changed. This advertising model is mostly imitated by voters in other regions, for example in East Java.

In this campaign advertisement for the East Java gubernatorial election, various concepts of advertising were created. An example that is still warm, at least when the time of making an advertisement, is about a scene in one of the films that tell the story of a high schoolboy. The trend scene is "adapted" and included in this campaign advertisement. In addition, this type of campaign advertisement seems to target young voters. With the topics taken in advertisements widely known to young people, it is expected that the messages conveyed in advertisements can be accepted by young people, especially millennials, given the symbols used in these advertisements relating to things that are up to date.
From the various concepts of advertising in the data, three important things underlie the message in the advertisement. These three things favored Gus Ipul over his rival, Khofifah. The first is the experience. This message is delivered in videos 1 and 5. From the data, the message to be conveyed is that having a lot of experience is a very important thing that the candidate must fulfill. This is shown in the clause in both videos which tell Gus Ipul has ten years of experience managing East Java. The second is understanding. The ability to understand the East Java region well must also have a governor candidate. From data 1, Gus Ipul has more ability to comprehend East Java as a whole than Khofifah does. It is correlated to the number of years of Gus Ipul’s experiences in managing East Java for ten years. The last is trust. From the data, the message that Gus Ipul is a trustworthy person is presented in video 2. The message to be conveyed in the video is that Gus Ipul is a trustworthy person. This message was conveyed by correlating the tenure of Gus Ipul as deputy governor for ten years and he never resigned as deputy governor to pursue another position.

In correlation with discourse ideology, a complete ideological square of political ideology was used. There are four sides to reveal the ideology: Emphasizing our good things, emphasizing their bad things, de-emphasizing our bad things, de-emphasizing their good things (Van Dijk, 2006: 734). From the data in the study, these four features can be fulfilled. The first is Emphasizing our good things. As explained in the previous paragraph, emphasizing the good things of Gus Ipul’s is related to three things, namely his experience in managing East Java, his understanding in handling very complex problems ranging from employment to coordination between regional heads in East Java, and his ability in carrying out the mandate. The second is emphasizing their bad things. It is attributed to the resignation of Khofifah from the minister of social affairs who had just been held for about three years. This resignation is associated with the impression that Khofifah did not complete the minister’s responsibilities until retirement. The impression shown in the data is that Khofifah is not a trustworthy person. In reverse, the Gus Ipul’s trustworthiness is emphasized. Next is de-emphasizing our bad things. It is stated in the data (4) that Gus Ipul together with Pakde Karwo (Sukarwo) is managing East Java. In this type, the text producers use a lexicon bersama -together with- to suggest that Gus Ipul and Sukarwo had the same position, or in other words, the phrase does not mention that Gus Ipul is the deputy governor of Sukarwo, but together with Sukarwo. This de-emphasizing of bad things is used to increase the degree of Gus Ipul that he deserves to be voted in the contestation of this gubernatorial election. The latter is de-emphasizing their good things. Information that can elevate degrees from political opponents is not conveyed in the advertising. Besides being a social minister in the Joko Widodo era cabinet, Khofifah also served as the state minister for women’s
empowerment in the national unity cabinet of the Abdurrahman Wahid era. This is to reduce the potential of voters for Khofifah by utilizing the ignorance of prospective voters. Therefore, what the text receivers get from the video that no good things are embedded in Khofifah. However, this complete-four ideological square was not used in each text. The least is only in the text of video 3. The text producers only used emphasizing our good thing in the message of the text. On the videos 2, 4 and five, emphasizing our good thing and emphasizing their bad thing were used. The most sides of ideological square was used in video 1. The text producers used emphasizing our good thing, de-emphasizing our bad thing and de-emphasizing their good thing. Since the use of a complete ideological square was not in each text, the ideology of the text producers was spread in overall text videos. Therefore, those five videos are one unit in revealing the ideology of the text producers.

Of the ideological square, two ideologies underlie the text producers. Two views underlying the text producers in conveying their messages are trustworthiness and experience. These two were noteworthy since the target of the text consumers was millennial and of whom are new voters. Therefore, showing that gus Ipul is worth choosing is a must.

CONCLUSION

When we see the use of the internet in political campaigns nowadays, it sufficiently changes the interface of the campaign. The involvement of content creators in making videos of the political campaign seems to make the campaign more interesting especially for millennial voters. However, the principle of the advertising used either in a traditional or digital political campaign remains the same. From the data, the type of advertising used is contrasting advertising since the content of the text is major to satire the political opponent and compare the presentation of both candidates which, of course, favor gus Ipul. No data found attacks the rival brutally. The advertising is also included in advocacy advertising. It can be viewed from the use of lexicons like pengalaman - experience, paham - understanding and amanah - trustworthiness.

These lexicons can be interpreted that gus Ipul is a good choice to vote since those lexicons show the praise of his achievement. They also show that he is trustworthy, especially from the use of word amanah. In addition, elements such as increasing the value supported candidate and dropping the value of political opponents in the traditional campaign patterns are still used in modern promotional advertising patterns. If correlated to political advertising strategies, four strategies are used in the data viz emphasizing our good things, emphasizing their bad things, de-emphasizing our bad
things, and de-emphasizing their good things. These strategies also reveal that even though the media used in political advertising are different, the strategies are still fulfilled

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