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## Framing Analysis of Gibran's Posts During Presidential/Vice-Presidential Debate on the Instagram Accounts of kompas.com and kumparan.com

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### Abstract

The presidential and vice-presidential elections in 2024 have gained multiple controversies due to the violation of the constitution by Gibran Rakabuming Raka during his run as vice-presidential candidate. The violation is related to the age limit that defies the constitution. This violation becomes the subject and source of the main problem. This research aims to find out what are the comments from the followers of Kompas.com and Kumparan.com on Instagram on the posts about Gibran during the multiple presidential/vice-presidential debates. The data sampling is conducted in the two social media accounts since both accounts have more than one million followers and the data posted is recognized to be accurate. The theory used is the Framing Analysis from Robert N. Entman which, in the analysis process, uses four steps of analysis: defining the problem, estimating the source of the problem, creating a moral decision, and emphasizing problem-solving. The findings of the research show that the main source of problem of this candidature is the violation of the constitution by Gibran since he has not reached the candidature age limitation of 40 years old. The violation of age limitation becomes a pressure point that anything that Gibran did during the debate process is related to the violation of ethics. Gibran is considered to have violated ethics during the presidential/vice-presidential debates, among them : using gimmicks considered as bringing down, mocking, insulting, and impolite, such as moving his hands and body when looking for Mahfud MD's answers, alongside spewing statements mocking his opponents, The solution offered for violation of ethics by Gibran or other candidates is by reporting them to The General Election Supervisory Agency (BAWASLU) if there are any fraud or foul play conducted by any candidates of the election.

Keywords: Framing Analysis, Instagram, Gibran, Presidential/Vice-Presidential Debates 2024

### **INTRODUCTION**

The presidential and vice presidential elections were conducted on February 14, 2024, following the rules on elections in Law No. 7 Year 2017 on General Elections (detik.com 2024). During the elections, every citizen with the right to vote would vote for a member of the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) for their city/regency and another member for their province, a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), a member of the House of Representatives (DPR), alongside the President and Vice President for the term of office of five years (kabar24.bisnis.com 2023).

The 2024 Elections are marked with the controversial candidature of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the eldest son of President Joko Widodo, as a vice-presidential candidate with Prabowo Subianto. The problematic thing about the candidature is that Gibran is still 36 years old, while the Law on General Elections stated that the minimum age of presidential and vice-presidential candidates is 40 years old (mkri.id 2023). Gibran's success in becoming a vice-presidential candidate is related to the Constitutional Court's Decision No. 90 which stated that the minimum age of presidential and vice-presidential candidate can be under 40 years old if the candidate has served or is currently serving as a regional head (cnnindonesia.com 2023).

The presumption of a huge amount of violations conducted by Gibran has put him in the spotlight, especially related to his competence, vision, and mission in becoming a president, including during the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Debates as one of the ways to see the competence of the candidates. During the 2024 Elections, the debates are scheduled to be conducted five times: the First Debate on Tuesday, December 12, 2023; the Second Debate on Friday, December 22, 2023; the Third Debate on Sunday, January 7, 2024; the Fourth Debate on Sunday, January 21, 2024; and the Fifth Debate on Sunday, February 4, 2024 (cnbcindonesia.com 2023).

The presidential and vice-presidential debates are expected to increase electability by convincing beginner voters (Bayu 2020). In the previous debate in 2019, there was a series of sayings said by the candidates during the debate, which were: (1) congratulating, (2) expressing gratitude, (3) apologizing, (4) praising, (5) heckling, (6) quipping, and (7) complaining. Meanwhile, the speech strategy used in the

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presidential and vice presidential debates in the 2019 Presidential Election was (1) speaking matter-of-factly, (2) speaking with positive politeness, (3) politely speaking with negative pleasantries, and (4) speaking using vague words (Herfiani and Manaf 2020) In the presidential candidate debates during the 2019 Elections, one of the campaign strategies run by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) to support Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin is by marketing political products through the mass media. The first to do is strengthen the material. Secondly, pay close attention to the target and determine the target of the political debates. Thirdly, approach the media through all media, including those affiliated and unaffiliated (Octovina, Agustino, and Kartini 2022).

In the process of the 2019 Debates, all persuasion methods were used in the debates, but not every candidate used all five methods of persuasion and the way of using the methods differed from each candidate. (1) Participation, the participation of others in the speech and the existence of our diction; (2) Association, sticking to the hot and interesting subjects in the society such as online games, social media, technology, and issues/rumors, also relating their work program to the recent communication technology; (3) Pay Off Idea, giving rewards and giving negative punishments/threats; (4) Icing Device, delivering speech that invokes conviction and faith to the communicants and explaining their work program by giving easily understood definitions to the communicants; (5) Red-Herring Technique, the communicator evades the weak position to divert to the conquering position or the position where the communicator is strong, the communicator gives counterarguments to the opponents (Dewi, Diani, and Rahayu 2023).

The dynamics in the 2024 Debates were surely different compared to the previous ones, following the context of the candidates and their voters. The opinion on the presidential and vice-presidential debates showed that the event became very important to the candidates to convince their voters that they possess the quality. The debates were also very important for the voters to convince themselves that they were not voting for the wrong candidates. This article wants to study the netizens' responses to Gibran as a representative of the youth after the debates following the framing of Kumparan.com and Kompas.com. The comments from the netizens are expected to be indicators of the turmoil among the netizens as a reflection of the young generation on

the candidature of a vice president from the youth. This article is interesting because the phenomenon of the candidature of youth below 40 years old is the most phenomenal thing in the history of general elections in Indonesia. It surely brings a change in politics, affecting Indonesian society's socio-economic faucet.

### **METHODS**

The conducted research is qualitative, which is a research that provides interpretations of social phenomenons among the society and aims to unravel the meaning behind the event. The process of interpretation is conducted by connecting the obtained data with the used theories, so there is a process of dialectics between theory and praxis (Mulyono 2012) (Moleong 2002) (Bungin 2007)

The data retrieval process is done by using secondary data obtained from social media updates of Kumparan.com and Kompas.com that feature the netizens' opinions on the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential debates. The period of data retrieval is between January and February 2024. Kumparan.com's Instagram account has become the subject of research because they are currently one of the media accounts that have become a trusted and accurate reference in news reporting on various sociopolitical cases in society. Hence, their reports are worthy to be studied under social research.

They currently have 1.8 million followers. Kompas.com's Instagram account has also become the subject of research since they are a media trusted by their readers, both their online and printed versions. Kompas.com's Instagram account currently has 1.9 million followers. The choice of these two online media outlets as sources of research is to expect that the analysis result of this article is unbiased towards any of the candidate

The research process is conducted by following the information posted on Kumparan.com and Kompas.com's Instagram accounts about the campaign conducted by Gibran during the campaign period.

The chosen posts are those with many comments from the accounts' followers, among them about the food estate, nickel mining, or environmental sustainability, alongside Gibran's behaviors that are deemed impolite according to Eastern norms. After taking some uploads that received many comments from the followers, they are then analyzed using the theories used in the research. This article is then an analysis of Gibran Rakabuming Raka's controversial candidature from a sociological perspective.

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### **RESULT AND DISCUSSIO**

# 1. Posts about Gibran Rakabuming Raka on the Instagram Account of Kompas.com

Below are some posts about Gibran on Kompas.com's Instagram account:

1. Vice-presidential candidate number 2, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, quickly helped an employee of the General Election Commission (KPU) who fell after the fourth Presidential Election Debate 2024 on Sunday (1/21/2024) at the Jakarta Convention Center (JCC), Jakarta. This debate on January 21, 2024, was attended by Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, and Mahfud MD (kompas.com on instagram 2024a).

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

- 1. A person's personality cannot be set to spontaneity
- 2. The others stay SILENT but LOOK this YOUNG one passed by Anis\_Amin to HELP..! THOSE WHO DoN'T LIKE WILL still sAy that tHiS IS A SEt UP..!! I'm sooo sure... tHiS is a REFLEX since he is used to our MANNERS as JAVANESE with our SUBOSITO Customs. 2 \* \* \* \* \*
- Got distracted with the acting one ☺..... Turns out he does like to play drama☺
- 4. a soul that cares for each other ... no one nearby responded C
- 6. Don't believe in fake ethics anymore
- 8. I respect him for this one but not for the debate  $\textcircled{\begin{tmatrix} \bullet \end{tmatrix}}$
- 9. Politics is a mask.. be careful in reading the situation.. someone who seems arrogant might actually want to save a lot of people's fate. Who knows ?

- 10. If he actually has a good heart then what could we do. That's spontaneity, even when he is the furthest one. On the stage he has a lot of gimmicks a la young people, just to make things interesting 🕅
- 2. Vice-presidential candidate number 2 @gibran\_rakabuming reminded us not to provide scary narratives and to keep optimistic. He stated that related to the food estate as a long-term program so it cannot be judged after just one or two harvests. He stated that during the Q&A session with the vice-presidential candidate number 3 @mohmahfudmd. The Q&A session was a part of <u>#DebatCawapres</u> (#VPCandidateDebate) at JCC Jakarta, Sunday (1/21/2024). The themes of the fourth <u>#DebatPilpres</u> (#PresidentialElection Debate) are Sustainable Development and the Environment, Natural and Energy Resources,
- Food, Agriculture, Indigenous People, and Villages (kompas.com on instagram 2024c). The following are the comments from the followers on the post
  - Those of you who aren't farmers please explain. Generally, the land from forest clearing is good, except for those that used to be palm plantations. Cassava is also the easiest plant. So if the land is from forest clearing, they plant cassava there, the funding is backed and by the laboratories of state universities to check the sample of land suitability. How can it fail ?
  - Long term... But from the used budget, it does not fit the progress... Then the environmental impact is not long term, global warming and maybe flood...
    Do you want them to be long term too SS
  - 3. The budget for food estate should be given to farmers in all areas, not opening new land whose condition we don't know of. If it fails then who is at loss THE PEOPLE the one who profits from them is the presidential candidate 02
  - 4. Plants will grow and the harvest will be bountiful if : the land suits the kind of plants, also the care until the harvest time
  - 5. With that much money they lose to small farmers. They instead have less budget. Their biggest troubles are only the dry season and pests<sup>(2)</sup>

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- 6. That's so true mas gibran planting is never instantly successful sometimes you are and sometimes you aren't
- 7. I hope this kind of program is considered for monitoring and consultation from competent people, for example, lecturers/researchers from research universities can provide help and consultation, and the intern students can also help. So there is other involvements that can add science, also knowledge.
- 9. Food estate is a good program to cover agricultural land that keeps diminishing. However it needs to be balanced by the enforcement of agrarian law year 2009. Since in reality we can find, housings constructed on green/ricefield area that completely opposes the agrarian law. I don't know how the housing developers get the permit from the local government. If the law is not enforced, it is then useless to clear new agrarian land or run the food estate program, since the truly productive lands are instead covered with buildings. Instead of adding up due to new land clearing, the amount of agrarian land will stay the same or even diminish also the forests due to new land clearing since a lot of ricefield or green areas change their function into housing areas
- 10. Ethics and morals will bring in integrity. In the concept of debate, not a fight of gimmicks & being savage but it is completely empty. It is a waste that the branding of 02 that was curated carefully for politeness, is gone in 1 night during the vice-presidential debate. Vote for the one with Ethics and Logic!
- 4. Vice-presidential candidate number 2 Gibran Rakabuming Raka stated that Indonesia has the world's biggest nickel reserve and second biggest tin reserve. The statement was issued during the fourth Presidential Debate held by the General Election Commission (KPU) on Sunday (1/21/24) (kompas.com 2024).

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

- Gibran's words are easy to follow and are truthful young people vote for prabowo gibran¥♥
- 2. In my opinion, this debate session starts with greeting each other, Candidates number 2 have shown statesmanship as future leaders....good job...
- 3. I don't understand, the questions posed by Giran are almost all about definition, while vice-prez debate is supposed to be about ideas, about mindset.. when Gibran asked a question the vibe turned into a quiz instead of a debate. The problem is, KPU's debate format is misleading as if the one who asked unanswerable questions is the winner
- 4. Gibran forgot to learn ethical and respectful communication
- 5. Make the world rely on Indonesian nickel don't export the raw materials, so Indonesia has power and authority on the international stage
- 6. Make the world rely on Indonesian nickel don't export the raw materials, so Indonesia has power and authority on the international stage
- 7. Quality wise, gibran is still not enough to become vice-prez.. he relies too much on his dad.. If the can only sell his dad's name in the campaigns..his dad even joins the campaign, while it is clearly forbidden..and it is a violation .. If the campaign of the cam
- 8. During the session for stating vision and mission, the materials stated are clear and optimistic....the others are just sharing their feelings and complaints...
- 5. Vice-presidential candidate number 2 Gibran Rakabuming Raka stated that the solution for [illegal] mines is to revoke the permit. However, Mahfud MD argued that these illegal mines have a strong backup from some apparatus and government officials so it will be very hard to do. This moment happened during the Fourth Vice-Presidential Debate on Sunday (1/21/2024) (kompas.com on instagram 2024b).

The following are the comments from the followers on the post

- 1. It's illegal mines bran...illegal..they got no permit so what's to revoke.
- 2. How do you revoke the permit of something Illegal" what's to revoke?
- 3. By illegal do you mean that they have a permit but they don't follow the rules or laws?

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4. It's illegal there's no permit boss

6. According to the vice-presidential candidate number 2 @gibran\_rakabuming, the challenge in transitioning into green energy lies in finding the balance or middle point. Therefore, his party wants to boost industrial downstreaming while also obligatorily maintaining environmental sustainability. He stated this his in questions answers to the from the panelists in the #DebatCawapres (#VPCandidateDebate) at = JCC Jakarta, on Sunday (1/21/2024).The themes of the fourth **#DebatPilpres** (#PresidentialElectiondebate) are Sustainable Development and the Environment, Natural and Energy Resources, Food, Agriculture, Indigenous People, and Villages (kompas.com on instagram 2024b).

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

- Gibran has clear visions, boosts the industry, takes care of the environment.
  Very good! W
- Gibran understands the challenges, maintains the industry, the environment remains green. Top! 47
- 3. "Downstreaming is the solution of all problems" -El Downstreaming
- 4. This is the greatness of the youth who appears as the candidate who will lead the Republic of Indonesia at the world level, the more undermining comments are proof if what is stated are strategic essentials to move towards Indonesia Gold 2045
- 7. According to the vice-presidential candidate number 2 @gibran\_rakabuming, the challenge in transitioning into green energy lies in finding the balance or middle point. Therefore, his party wants to boost industrial downstreaming while also obligatorily maintaining environmental sustainability. He stated this in his questions panelists answers to the from the in the #DebatCawapres (#VPCandidateDebate) at = JCC Jakarta, on Sunday (1/21/2024).The of the fourth **#DebatPilpres** themes (#PresidentialElectiondebate) are Sustainable Development and the

Environment, Natural and Energy Resources, Food, Agriculture, Indigenous People, and Villages (kompas.com on instagram 2024d)

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

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  Very good! ₩
- This is the greatness of the youth who appears as the candidate who will lead the Republic of Indonesia at the world level, the more undermining comments are proof if what is stated are strategic essentials to move towards Indonesia Gold 2045
- 3. It's difficult to buy diesel fuel. Using barcode and oftentimes the barcode is photographed by the person at the gas station and misused so the original owner of the barcode is banned by 135. Much more hassle my bro
- 4. This is the result of a forced product, this country is doomed where do you want to take it to?
- 8. According to the vice-presidential candidate number 2 @gibran\_rakabuming, nowadays there is already a program that distributes 110 million certificates, while before it could only distribute 500.000 certificates. Besides, he continued, there is already the land bank program, also the One Map Policy program to reduce land disputes and land mafias. He stated that while answering the questions from panelists about the candidates' strategy in returning to the goals of the agrarian reform according to the constitutional mandate, which aims to reform the inequality in land control, resolve agrarian conflicts, and overcome The Q&A session included in the poverty. was the #DebatCawapres (#VPCandidateDebate) at JCC Jakarta, on Sunday (1/21/2024).The themes of the fourth **#DebatPilpres** (#PresidentialElectiondebate) are Sustainable Development and the Environment, Natural and Energy Resources, Food, Agriculture, Indigenous People, and Villages (kompas.com on instagram 2024e).

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

1. Gibran is excellent, his priority is the agrarian reform. The village budget is effective, the promise of a rise makes us optimistic

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- 2. Seeing gibran reminds me of PT. Rakabu, gibran used to be the main commissioner at PT. Rakabu, it is said that PT. Rakabu is a furniture and furnishings company, but it is a cover, its main business is at the coal mines
- 3. The definition of conflict of interest is stated in Law No. 30 Year 2014 on Government Administration Article 1 paragraph (14) and the Minister of State Apparatus Utilization and Bureaucratic Reform Regulation No. 37 Year 2012 on General Guidelines in Handling Conflict of Interest, which is defined as: "a condition of Government Official who has personal interest to profit for themselves and/or others in using their power so it can influence their neutrality and the quality of the Decision and/or Action made and/or taken"....Is it still valid ?
- 4. It is quite funny to see gibran, how is he brave enough to speak about the environment? Meanwhile he owns PT Rakabu which becomes the subsidiary of PT To\*a Sejah\*era which operates in the mining sector?

## 2. Posts about Gibran Rakabuming Raka on the Instagram Account of Kumparan.com

Below are some posts about Gibran on Kompas.com's Instagram account:

 Vice-presidential candidate number 02, Gibran Rakabuming Raka (@gibran rakabuming), responded to the assumption of the failure of the food estate or food reserve program during the debate last night.

He insisted that the project was not fully failing. Some parts are successful such as some estates in Gunung Mas, Central Kalimantan, that have successfully harvested corn. Gibran's claim of success is different from the fact discovered by the environmental organization Walhi (The Indonesian Forum for Living Environment) of Central Kalimantan. The government is accused of trying to save the failed Gunung Mas food estate project by planting corn on top of the abandoned cassava plantation. The Director of Walhi Central Kalimantan, Bayu Herinata, said that based on their finding on the land of 600 hectares, there was already some construction of agricultural infrastructures on December 2, such as water tanks with a capacity of 31,000 liters and a network of pipes to water the plants. The pile of dirt is assumed to be delivered from outside the regency. "The pile of fertile dirt that is piled on the main street, it seems that it has not been

applied much on the planting ground at that time," stated Bayu Herinata as quoted by BBC News Indonesia, Sunday (12/30). However, the NGO Walhi Central Kalimantan admitted that the corn thriving on the Gunung Mas food estate was "plants growing in polybags". Walhi's findings also unraveled that besides the corn plants in the polybags, there were also corns planted directly in the land that used to be cassava plantations. From their observation, the growth of the corn plants with the height of an adult's hand is "not too well" (kumparan on Instagram 2024c). The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

- 1. He mentioned Gunung Mas as an example where everyone has stated that there are oddities there. They plant Cassavas but Corns grew instead in polybags. You can check it on @greenpeaceid
- 2. Planted cassavas into corns
- 3. Wkwkwk funny the farmers are laughing at you bro, you plant cassavas into corns
- 2. There are multiple behaviors shown by <u>@gibran\_rakabuming</u> in the fourth Presidential Election Debate, Sunday (1/21) evening. What are those?
  - 1. Looking For Mahfud MD's Answer
  - 2. Feels so nice Gus, Answering while Carrying Notes
  - The campaign team talks about LFP a lot, while the Vice-Prez Candidate Doesn't Even Understand about It
  - 4. He might receive Cheat Sheets from Mr. Tom Lembong
  - 5. I Didn't Explain It, because He's a Professor
  - 6. Prof. Mahfud is Sulking isn't he, I asked him Difficult things Twice
  - Gus Imin is Funny, Talks about The Environment While Still Using Plastic Bottles
  - There You Go Gus, Don't Be Tense as in the Previous Debate (kumparan on Instagram 2024e)
  - The following are the comments from the followers on the post:
  - He doesn't represent the youth, a graduate from sg can't be having no manners and ethics like that? None of my friends who are fellow foreign graduates are like that

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- Has no ethics at all. The importance of age limit. Etiquettes before Knowledge..
- 3. 10 years long jokowi maintains his authority,all to be ruined by his own son last night.
- 4. The importance of etiquette before knowledge, moreover for a leader candidate
- 5. Creating lowly gimmicks in an official national debate forum is not a good character of a stateman and this is too far, it's not funny anymore. Once or
- twice, it's still fine. But he does this every time he is given the chance to speak. Our statemen used to be smart and ethical. Had manners.
- 7. If this nation still has ethics and upholds eastern customs, we will not vote leaders with bad ethics into winning
- 8. May Allah protect us from despotic and arrogant leaders. I say my Istighfars when seeing the behaviors of this president's son.
- 9. Why do you have to be like that Bro?
- 10. Searching for his ethics
- 11. His behaviors are too set up but unnatural. This is not how Indonesian customs work.
- 3. When discussing Lithium Ferrophosphate (LFP) and Nickel, VP Candidate No. 01. Muhaimin Iskandar or <u>@cakiminow</u>, and VP Candidate No. 02, @gibran\_rakabuming, were in a heated argument. In the fourth Presidential Elections 2024 debate on Sunday, January 21, 2024, Gibran quipped at Cak Imin on the campaign team of candidates no. 01 who often brings up LFP. However, upon being questioned about LFP, Gibran called out Cak Imin for not understanding about it. "I don't know, Mr. Tom Lembong (the Co-Captain of the AMIN Campaign Team) doesn't discuss often with his VP candidate, it's weird," Gibran said. How was the debate between the two of them? (Kumparan on Instagram 2024c)

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

- 1. Bro Gibran Excellent ,brave,successful,clever
- 2. In my opinion Gibran looks arrogant, pompous, harassing older men, the Javanese term is adigang adigung adiguno and it is a characteristic of

someone who lives comfortably since young, lives without never really fights, relies on the convenience and facilities from his parents so he has no shame in mocking and breaking rules. And it is not the characteristics of young

People for me, the youth is identic with the spirit of change, hard work, creativity not hoarding riches and positions instantly

3. You understand now?

Why the age limit is taken into account..

Because controlling etiquette and ethics is very unstable in your 30s Moreover Gibran has Less Etiquette Compared to Elementary School Kids When Dialoguing With Older People..

- If Gibran is AnnoYing now maybe He just wants to Give a LesSon on How It Feels to Be bOasted On
- 5. Only 02 The Best Youth For The Indonesian People 🐇
- 6. No ethics since the beginning will forever has no ethics
- 4. The debate between VP Candidate No. 02, <u>@gibran\_rakabuming</u>, and the VP Candidate No. 03, <u>@mohmahfudmd</u>, was quite heated. During the fourth Presidential Election 2024 debate on Sunday, January 21, 2024, Gibran shortly asked Mahfud about his strategy on greenflation. Mahfud then protested him because, in KPU's rules, the terminologies used in the debate have to be explained firsthand. Gibran answered by saying, "I'm not explaining this
- because he is a professor." How was the heated debate between them? (Kumparan on Instagram 2024b)

The following are the comments from the followers on the post:

1.If the supporters of 02 want to open their minds and think objectively should be ashamed and concerned upon seeing the quality of the Presidential and VP Candidates that is under average like this, far from academic knowledge, far from emotional control, far from ethics and politeness, and far from other things, only have the support from the people in power as capital and also a very strong capital, the supporters have to wake up and realize that this

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country if fell into their hands will be all doomed, open your hearts and minds to vote for a better Candidate before it's too late.

- 2. Too arrogant as if he's on a higher level than a professor and seems impolite to older people, if not for your dad and uncle what else can you do mr mayor
- 3. Arrogance is the beginning of doom
- 4.Like a brat, the country in the hands of a brat will be doomed
- 5.I'm not a supporter of candidates no 03. But I can't take it if someone humiliates their opponent . Mr. Mahfudzznis someone knowledgeable. I'm not revering him or saying that we have to bow down to the Prof. title. But when speaking to someone older, more senior, more knowledgeable...as an eastern nation we have the etiquette
- 6.Etiquette before knowledge
- 7. The importance of putting etiquette before knowledge. GenZ lil bros and sis don't follow this behavior
- 8. Indonesia needs a grand leader with ethics  $\mathbf{\Psi} \square \mathbf{\Psi} \square \mathbf{\Psi} \square$ ... not a sulker and has no politeness to someone older
- 6. The VP Candidate No. 02, <u>@gibran\_rakabuming</u>, once again quipped at the VP Candidate No. 01, Muhaimin Iskandar or <u>@cakiminow</u>, during the fourth Presidential Election debate on Sunday, January 21, 2024. Before answering his question, Gibran took a jab at Cak Iman who posed a question about the environment while still using plastic bottles (Kumparan on Instagram 2024d) The following are the comments from the followers on the post:
  - It's a mess if he is voted, he has no etiquette and manners for an elderly he mocks someone as grand as Prof Mahmud, how will he act to the people?, if there are still people who support this kind of VP you must wonder about their conscience
  - 2. Minimal literacy, minimal content in his head, minimal ethics..., you only represent the president's children not represent smart and ethical young people who deserve to be leaders of the country.
  - 3. His electability dropped due to his lack of ETHICS . Nowadays you can recycle plastics

- 4. Thank you bro gib for your input, take the positive thing, maybe next when you distribute milk you can do it directly from the cows to reduce plastic waste
- 5. Young people it is time to move forward for my indonesia don't listen to the haters
- Yesterday when 02 was attacked by 01 and 03 their buzzers stay silent, when
  02 strikes back 01 and 03's buzzers are NOT accepting it's so funny to see
- 7. his ethics and attitudes ?
- 8. He has no decency

### DISCUSSION

### Framing Analysis on Posts about Gibran Rakabuming Raka on the Instagram Accounts of Kompas.com and Kumparan.com

Posts about Gibran as a vice-presidential candidate in the presidential and vicepresidential candidate debates on Kumparan.com and Kompas.com's Instagram accounts take the form of pictures, videos, captions, and comments that contain controversy since Gibran's candidature are considered as a violation of the constitution that receives various kinds of comments from the people. The analysis used here is framing analysis, which is an analysis that simplifies the complex reality by selecting and pointing out some parts of the reality. Framing Analysis sees how a social fact is framed on social media (Eriyanto 2011). Here are the four steps used in analysis framing: defining the problem, estimating the source of the problem, making a moral decision, and emphasizing problem-solving (Bungin 2008)

In Kompas.com and Kumparan.com's posts about Gibran, they highlight the same, controversial things that Gibran did multiple times during the debate. The highlighted parts are surely related to his behavior which is considered impolite according to the general rules, alongside some running programs that are considered as failing during President Joko Widodo's term that are planned to be continued by the next president. Some posts from the two Instagram accounts of both media outlets can be categorized as follow

Table 1. Controversial Posts about Gibran During the Presidential Candidate Debate

No	Problems	Kumparan.com	Kompas.com
1	Ethics	Gibran's behavior is considered as	Gibran Rakabuming Raka moved
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No	Problems	Kumparan.com	Kompas.com
		insulting other candidates, seen from his gimmicks and words. Among them is by gesturing looking for answers and saying that Prof. Mahfud was sulking, or calling out Cak Imin as unknowledgeable of the environmental issues. Those behaviors are seen as impolite and demeaning other candidates who are more senior when he should have been more polite	quickly to help the KPU official who fell after the fourth Presidential Election debate. The gesture shown by Gibran is seen as not set up, but a reflex in helping others instead.
2	Development, Sustainable Environment, Agriculture, and Natural Resources	Quipping at Cak Imin with an impolite tone about his use of plastic bottles. His ethics in pointing out the problem with a mocking tone was surely highlighted.	The issue of agrarian reform needs attention with the increase in ownership certificate distribution to the people. Other success related to the village fund needs to be increased again. Green energy should be used as a middle point in the process of development. However, cynical tones appeared related to his position as the owner of Rakabu that is considered as destroying nature.
3	Mining	Using the terms Lithium Ferrophosphate (LFP) and Nickel that is not known by Cak Imin. This was said in a raised tone with quite an arrogance, so his ethics related to how to behave to someone older were questionable.	One of the ways to control illegal mining is to revoke their permit. However, Prof. Mahfud said that it is hard to do since there are a lot of backups behind these mines. The comments pointed out the lack of permits if the projects are illegal.
4	Using a Tricking Term: Greenflation	Gibran's question was tricking since he used a term without defining it beforehand. It left an impression of undermining and demeaning his opponent with impolite ethics to his senior.	Gibran appeared as he deliberately asked a question about a definition that cannot be answered by other teams. Debates are supposed to be discussing ideas and mindsets, not quizzes.
5	Food Estate and Food Reserve Projects	Food Estate is considered a failure since it doesn't follow the initial goal of a food reserve. In practice, the farmers plant corn plants in polybags while the land is still very fast. This needs to be corrected by Gibran. Surely the Food Estate project can be continued after improving the previous project. of Primary Data, 2024	Gibran judged that a lot of people gave a bad narrative on the deemed-as-fail Food Estate project, while planting is a process that goes through various factors to succeed. Comments appearing related to the amount of fund spent that could have been given to other certain projects or distributed to farmers.

Source: Analysis of Primary Data, 2024

Defining the problem as a part of framing analysis in this context Gibran's candidature as a vice-presidential candidate is seen as controversial he defies the

formal rule on the terms of presidential candidate's age limit of 40 years old. The problem defined here has become a source of problems for all Indonesians, especially the followers of Kompas.com and Kumparan.com's Instagram accounts. The main source of problem is because the problem appearing is the maintained power by the people in powerful positions with so many means, including modifying the laws that are supposed to regulate the citizens. However, this does not raise issues because President Jokowi's performance is seen as well with a satisfaction rate above 50%.

The posts about Gibran highlighted by the two media outlets have similarities which lie in the gimmicks exhibited by Gibran alongside the debate materials that is considered as trick questions for other candidates that make them feel demeaned. Those two things showed that what Gibran did adds more suspicion of foul play conducted beforehand related to the change of rules on his candidature that violated the constitution.

What Gibran did during the presidential candidate debate by various gimmicks such as looking for Mahfud MD's answers, stating,

"It's nice, isn't it Gus, answering while bringing notes."; "Maybe he receives cheat sheets from Mr. Tom Lembong."; "Gus Imin is funny, talking about the environment while still using plastic bottles."; "There you go Gus, don't be tense like you were in the previous debate."; or his statement, "Are you sulking, Prof. Mahfud, because I asked you difficult things twice?"

Various gimmicks and questions exhibited by Gibran boil down to one conclusion that Gibran is a young person that violate the rules, is impolite in his acts to older people, while also not having adequate knowledge in solving various problems in leadership. In every comment stated by the followers of the accounts on all posts about Gibran, mostly boils down to the ethics and morality of the youth that has no manners.

The completion of Gibran's behavior during the debates can be interpreted as two things: as an effort to win using the youth style that has a cultural gap with other candidates who are more senior. This can be both advantage and disadvantage

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for Gibran. Secondly, what Gibran did can be interpreted as impoliteness and a violation of ethics and debate rules that can be reported by other candidates to Prabowo-Gibran. The solution must surely follow valid rules and laws.

### CONCLUSION

Kompas.com and Kumparan.com are two of the media outlets that have accuracy and more than a million of followers on Instagram. The two media outlets use framing in their posts about Gibran Rakabuming Raka during the debate by criticizing things related to morality on anything Gibran did during the debate. Thisurely created waves among the followers of the two media outlets which then led them to give judgement on what Gibran did as a violation of ethics.

The source of the problem of the violation of ethics is connected to the initial violation of ethics that he did, which is the candidature age limit that was supposed to be a minimum of 40 years old. That means anyone below the age of 40 is considered underage to be a leader. When forced, the result will be like Gibran who acts arrogant, impolite, and inappropriate by young people to older people. This became a foundation where anything Gibran did in delivering his opinions and ideas, also his gimmicks are considered as violating ethics and inappropriate to be done by young people to older people

The treatment recommendation done to the violation of ethics conducted by Gibran or other candidates is surely returned to the institution. Every candidate can report other parties who are problematic or considered as violating the rules of presidential/vice-presidential election. Everything will be returned to the law to get a proper trial.

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