Visualising communication ethics in the 2024 fourth vice-presidential debate

Ririt Yuniar[1 2*)], Titania Fattiha Ahsan[1], Aurelia Nadiah Kirana[1]

[1]Faculty of Communication, Universitas Pancasila
56 Raya Lenteng Agung Street, Southern Jakarta, Indonesia
[2]Professional Officer of National Resilience Institute (Lemhannas)
10 Medan Merdeka Selatan Avenue, Gambir, Central Jakarta, Indonesia
Email: rirityuniar@univpancasila.ac.id and Phone Number: +6221 7270086

Abstract There appears to be a generational gap between generations during the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate, which has the potential to be in the public spotlight during the 2024 election due to the instances of unethical communication of the candidate pairs. Three important points to be answered: First, explaining the dynamics of the debate in various perspectives between generations both visually and verbally (body language and diction used during rhetoric); Second, explaining the substance of the debate on communication ethics and verbal politeness in the context of the vice-presidential debate; Third, exploring the visual elements of both the visible and underlying aspects of the vice-presidential debate. A qualitative explanatory approach was employed in this research with data collection of YouTube video documentation categorised based on the concept of verbal politeness and the visual world according to the content analysis of the debate event video. The findings of the data display are associated with verbal politeness, ethics, and visual communication in the visual world (performance consisting of visible and invisible visual structures), which are based on the social culture and political reality of the vice-presidential candidates who have an important role in filling the gap between generations as a representation of the prospective leader of the nation. In conclusion, the communication process of debating requires ethics, self-control, represented in the polite attitudes and words of the three prospective leaders with the principles of mutual understanding, knowledge, self-control, humility, and wisdom. However, different generations do not need to underestimate or bring each other down. It is mandatory to have the principle of upholding equal human dignity so that the purpose of communication as information, persuasion, and education achieves the content of the message as a quality debate.

Keywords: communication ethics; vice-presidential debate; visual universe

INTRODUCTION

On 14 February 2024, the people of Indonesia voted to elect a new president and vice-president to lead the nation. During the election period, political parties nominated candidate pairs to participate in the 2024 election. These candidates are prepared in a political competition to win the election to attract voters' attention to win for their ticket (Fatimah, 2018). Candidates carry out one form of campaign for their programs in the vice-presidential candidate debate. This debate is an essential event for candidates to make efforts to present themselves and convey their vision and mission in the vice-presidential debate. This debate aims to convince the Indonesian people of their capabilities through their programs so that the public can elect them.

*) Corresponding Author

Debate is a communication process between individuals or groups to argue and defend their opinions. A form of practical training in arguing by a democratic society that is very important for the process of making laws, politics, business, law, and education (Agussalim Aj, 2019). The ongoing democratic process makes debates an arena for competing fairly and showing maturity of attitude in front of the public or through the media regarding policies, visions and missions, and candidates' views on various issues relevant to the theme raised at the debate event. When a candidate tends to focus on provoking the opponent's emotions rather than exploring the substance of the debate, the other candidates will be provoked and be carried away by the situation. In the 4th debate for the 2024 vice-presidential candidate election, the strategy of provoking emotions still remains a dominant approach, so it is considered to obscure the substance crucial for prospective voters to listen to (Ariyanto, 2024). There appears to be a generation gap due to differences in language, attitudes, perspectives, and ways of thinking. Thus, the visualisation of the ethics of the generation gap that occurred in the 4th vice-presidential debate is interesting to study in more depth, especially for the Millennial, Gen X, and Baby Boomer generations.

The generation gap referred to in this context is the gap experienced by generations ranging from the baby boomer generation to the millennial generation in terms of education levels, lifestyles, behaviours, mindsets, heart responses, experiences, ethics, social environment, and communication gaps. In agreement with Budi (2021), conditions caused by differences in experience and differences in attitudes between different generations ultimately lead to a gap or distance between generations called a generation gap. Dhiman & Jain (2016) also explain that the generation gap triggers conflict and miscommunication because of differences in age (senior and junior), experience, mindset, and habits that each generation has, which are different, so it often causes problems based on a vulnerability in communication. The focus of the generation gap in this study is seen from the background or portfolio of work achievements, age, and education level of the 2024 vice-presidential candidates. The age gap between Gibran,37, Muhaimin, 58, and Mahfud,67 is quite far apart. Gibran is part of the Millennial generation, Muhaimin is part of Gen X, and Mahfud is part of the Baby Boomer generation. These three vice-presidential candidates have different political backgrounds; for example, Gibran only has 1 political background he has ever experienced, while Muhaimin and Mahfud have more political backgrounds especially Mahfud, who is not only a political figure but also he has been part of the academia. The education and environment of the three candidates are also different; Gibran studied abroad, while Muhaimin and Mahfud continued their education at universities in Indonesia. Gibran comes from a family of entrepreneurs, Muhaimin comes from a religious family, and Mahfud comes from a family of academics.

To understand the generation gap of the 2024 vice-presidential candidates, it is essential to look at previous research data related to the theme of this article which has the following tendencies: First, only discussing the persuasive rhetoric side in the Indonesian presidential candidate debate from 2019-2024 which focuses on finding the best persuasion techniques (Aisyah, 2022; Kadir et al., 2021; Ludvianto & Arifani, 2020); Second, analysing the discourse conveyed by the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs in the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential candidate debate as a communication strategy (Hartinah & Kindi, 2020; Khotimah & Kusuma, 2024; Salamah & Sumarlam, 2023); Third, about the presidential election and the visual universe of performance candidates published by national print media in journalistic photos reported by the media (Yuniar, 2019).

However, other previous studies that have three arguments related to the issue of general elections include: First, the controversy that emerged during the election period, especially the election of the vice-president who used various methods to strategies by belittling, criticising, and forcing support from the debate opponent (Rezkian & Simatupang, 2024). Politeness in language in phrases that mark politeness will influence the understanding of politeness in certain situations, especially when wanting to see the strategy of politeness in the presidential and vice-presidential debate (Arianto, 2024; Shofianah et al., 2020; Zhahari Adi & Nirwana, 2021). Second, political debates have existed since the time of the prophet, which was used as a method of preaching, then continued into political debates in the election of regional heads to the president and vice-president (Aziz, 2021; Azizi, 2023; Jusniati et al., 2022). Third, the characteristics of the three generations, such as: 1) The Baby Boomer generation has high work loyalty and often considers the younger generation or the generation below it challenging to

listen to advice; 2) Generation X is a generation that needs emotional comfort in its social life, therefore indirectly the environment and atmosphere will affect its psychological condition; 3) The Millennial Generation whose behavioural changes are triggered by social changes and people's lifestyles from various aspects and have different characteristics when determining relationship patterns (Budi, 2021; Firman, 2019; Subagio, 2022).

Communication ethics are a concern in the communication process where some people argue that ethics are the same as morals or correct habits in life (Ferdinand et al., 2019; Gamal, 2024; Naingolan & Kartini, 2024; Wahyuningsih, 2022). The main concept of ethics is not far from the understanding of ethics, which is divided into two, namely descriptive ethics, which means examining human moral behaviour and whatever is considered important in the life of society and the environment, and normative ethics, which means discipline describes good and correct behaviour that must be known and done by someone and is essential in this life (Afifudin, 2022; Amelia, 2021; Naingolan & Kartini, 2024). In addition, ethics can also be understood as where the earth is stepped on, the sky is upheld, emphasising respect for local customs and values (Trisa et al., 2018). This means that wherever we are, we must still follow the rules and customs of the area with another term where the earth is stepped on and the sky is upheld. If associated with politics, political ethics are moral values that guide a person or group in politics, and they are very much needed to maintain harmony in political relations (Kurniawan, 2021). In political ethics, a person needs the approval of many people and citizens to realise his views, which is only a political battle of power and interests (Zulkarnain, 2020).

Therefore, this journal article tries to discuss communication ethics due to the generation gap that occurred at the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024 between the Millennial, Gen X, and Baby Boomer generations, then linked to the theory of verbal politeness, the concept of communication ethics and the concept of the visual universe (consisting of visual forms in the form of visible and invisible structures based on social, cultural, and political reality). So, since this study differs from previous studies that emphasise visual structures (both visible and invisible) as a basis for interpreting everything, it is hoped that it can fill the existing void. The theme of verbal politeness in the debate dialogue has been mapped out in the form of scenes (scenes) by a scene in the visual debate and reviewed into a novelty, from performance analysis consisting of visual forms of visible and invisible structures based on social, cultural, and political reality and elaborated with the concept of verbal politeness in the framework of visual communication. The main problem is the assumption built from a person's negative self-representation to become a national leader, as seen from his performance in the 4th vice-presidential debate in 2024, not just an assumption and subjective narrative.

To answer the main issue above: First, explain the dynamics of the debate in various perspectives between generations visually and verbally. Second, define the substance of communication ethics and verbal politeness in the context of the 4th vice-presidential debate in 2024. Third, explore the visual landscape in the context of the 4th vice-presidential debate, examining both visible and invisible, which are based on social, cultural, and political realities. The points above are an important foundation of the argument for conducting this research. In terms of social norms, verbal politeness in debate ethics has not been fully observed. In addition, visual communication must also be considered in realising ethics in the performance of a debate event. So, this research is essential because verbal politeness and the visual world in debate ethics indicate a person's self-representation in political debates, especially in the 4th vice-presidential debate in 2024.

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted in the context of the Indonesian political landscape facing the 2024 general election. Qualitative methods focus on an in-depth understanding of the topics discussed in the form of ethics and behaviour in the 4th vice-presidential debate in 2024. By exploring the context and depth of experience, this qualitative research allows for a more in-depth, complex social interactions and diversity in interpreting more dynamically associated with visual structures that the five senses can see, so this qualitative research provides a more flexible and holistic narrative and social interaction framework to explore ethical and behavioural aspects in political debates that are dynamic and contextual. Qualitative is a study intended to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced and view social realities that are unique to one another. It is a naturalistic inquiry that views social realities as unique and challenging to

generalise (Rijali, 2018). Therefore, the explanatory method is used by processing and analysing to produce an explanation of the research results in the form of a description and summary of the phenomenon or activities of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024 to provide an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of the debate.

The data collection technique used is documentation in the form of a video recording of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024. Documentation is a way of collecting data from past events in the form of documents, images, or stored notes, either in the form of transcripts, books, newspapers, videos, and so on (Maulidah & Oktafia, 2020; Putri, 2018; Wahidmurni, 2017). Situmorang et al. (2023) said data analysis involved three stages: data reduction, presentation, and conclusion. There are four stages in collecting data: The first is data reduction, where researchers watch video recordings of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024, then map and rearrange them systematically based on patterns identified from categorisation based on supporting concepts. The second is coding based on the concepts and theories used according to the variables and according to their indicators. The third is data description, which involves presenting quotes from online news texts and minutes of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate that are verified in line with the research variables. The fourth is the inductive analysis process, used to interpret data by examining verbal politeness, ethics, and visual communication of the vice-presidential candidates in the 4th debate in 2024.

In this study, the data analysis technique uses a visual universe scheme, both visible and invisible. The debate analysed was the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate (https://www.YouTube.com/live/anuQxiXpQ7I?si=EQSY3OizIRfQ-Xi3) YouTube channel of the Indonesian KPU in the 2024 presidential election on January 21, 2024, which was attended by three vice-presidential candidates, namely Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming, and Mahfud MD. The visible visual universe scheme explains the visuals seen in YouTube's screenshot of the 4th vice-presidential debate. On the other hand, the invisible visual universe scheme is used to see the hidden meaning of the hidden intention of each scene of the vice-presidential candidates debating as seen from their socio-political reality through other news sources. This analysis technique allows researchers to formulate conclusions.

This research was conducted in the context of the Indonesian political landscape in the face of the 2024 general election. The qualitative method focuses on in-depth understanding of the topics discussed in the form of ethics and behaviour in the 4th Vice Presidential candidate debate in 2024. Because the context and depth of understanding can be explored in-deepth, complex, social interactions and diversity in interpreting are more dynamic, associated with visual structures that the five senses can see, so this qualitative research provides a more flexible and holistic narrative and social interaction framework for exploring ethical and behavioural aspects in political debates. Dynamic and contextual. Qualitative research is intended to understand phenomena about what is experienced and view social realities that are unique from one another, a naturalistic inquiry that views social realities as unique and difficult to generalise (Rijali, 2018). Therefore, the explanatory method involves processing and analysing to produce an explanation of the research results in the form of a description and summary of the phenomena or activities of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024 to provide an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of the debate.

The data collection technique used is documentation in the form of video recordings of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024 and supplemented with current news sources. Documentation is a way of collecting data from past events in the form of documents, images, or stored notes, either in the form of transcripts, books, newspapers, videos, and so on (Maulidah & Oktafia, 2020; Putri, 2018; Wahidmurni, 2017). Situmorang et al. (2023) said data analysis involves data reduction, presentation, and conclusions. There are four stages in analysing data: The first is data reduction, where researchers watch video recordings of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate in 2024, then map and rearrange systematically based on patterns identified from categorisation based on supporting concepts (visual categories and verbal politeness). The second is coding based on the ideas and theories used according to the variables and according to their indicators. The third is a data description, which involves presenting quotes from online news texts from kompas.com, tempo.com, antara.com, republika.com, and jakartapost.com (this news is as support for analysis or contradictions that occur) and minutes of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate which are verified in line with the research variables. The fourth is the inductive analysis process, used to interpret data by

examining verbal politeness, ethics, and visual communication of the vice-presidential candidates in the 4th debate in 2024.

In this study, the data analysis technique uses a visual universe scheme, both visible (visualisation that can be interpreted from the capture of the five senses through body gestures, facial expressions, standing positions, stage, and background) and invisible (meaning that arises from visual capture based on analysis through background based on socio-cultural and educational environments). The debate analysed was the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate (https://www.YouTube.com/live/anuQxiXpQ7I?si=EQSY3OizlRfQ-Xi3) YouTube channel of the Indonesian KPU in the 2024 presidential election on January 21, 2024, which was attended by three vice-presidential candidates, namely Muhaimin Iskandar, Gibran Rakabuming, and Mahfud MD. The visible visual universe scheme explains the visuals seen in YouTube's screenshots of the 4th vice-presidential debate. On the other hand, the invisible visual universe scheme is used to see the hidden meaning of the secret intent of each scene of the vice-presidential candidates debating as seen from their socio-political reality through other news sources, assisted by the operationalisation of verbal politeness theory, especially the concept of Circumstances Determining Choice of Strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1988, p. 60).
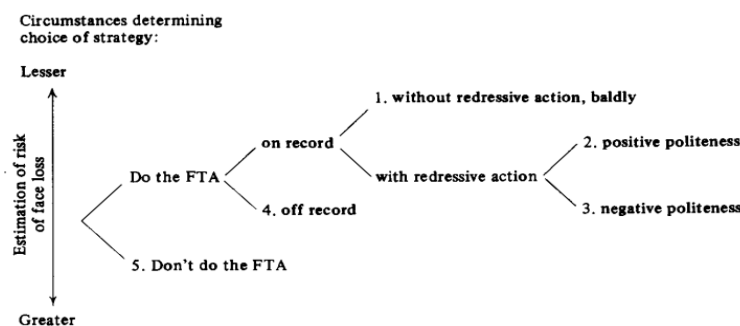

Figure 1. Circumstances Determining Choice of Strategy
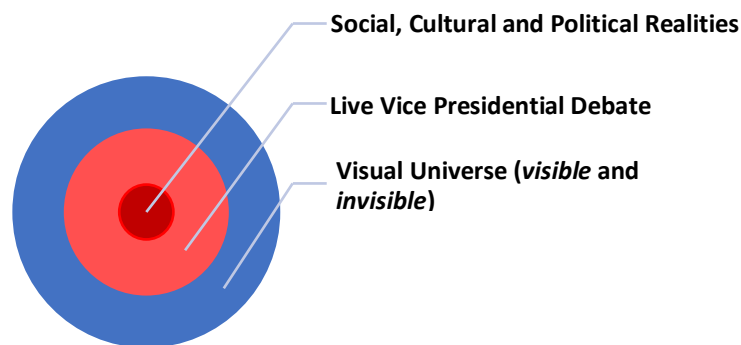Source:(Brown & Levinson, 1988, p. 60)

Figure 2. Seeing Performance as a Visual Universe, Both Visible and Invisible
Source: Researcher Processing (2024)

In Figure 1, this theory is operationalised in data display and analysis to answer research questions, such as the dynamics of the presidential debate based on verbal politeness indicators. According to Brown, the greater the face-threatening act of the speaker or recipient, the greater the speaker's desire to choose a strategy with a more significant number. This is based on the fact that these strategies provide benefits in the form of minimal risk in avoiding face-threatening speech acts. The theory of verbal politeness explains the recovery of insults to one's 'face' with face-threatening acts. Brown & Levinson (1987) argue that politeness prevents and manages verbal acts that threaten oneself or others' image or face (threatening acts). Face-threatening acts are explained as acts that violate the communicator's need to maintain his (communicator's) self-esteem and be respected. Therefore, Brown and Levinson put forward four politeness strategies: 1) Bald on record (without redressive action); 2) Positive politeness; 3) Negative politeness; and 4) Not doing the face-threatening act.

Bald on record/ without redressive action, used when the communicator has no intention of reducing the threat to the communicant's face. This strategy is used to achieve maximum communication efficiency. Positive politeness is used when the communicator wants to 'sacrifice' his positive face to express closeness and friendliness by showing interest as if the communicant needs to be respected. Reported from Sudarsono (2022), positive politeness has 15 strategies, these are: 1) Paying attention; 2) Exaggerating interest; 3) Intensifying interest; 4) Equalising identity; 5) Showing agreement; 6) Avoiding conflict; 7) Showing similarities; 8) Using jokes; 9) Understanding desires; 10) Offering/promising; 11) Showing optimism; 12) Involving the communicant; 13) Asking for consideration; 14) Reciprocating kindness; and 15) Sympathising. So that the theory of verbal politeness from Brown and Levinson will be used to explain the knitting of data analysis with the findings obtained in this study.

Figure 2 discusses the visual universe visibly and invisibly in the context of the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate. This concept means the relationship between something that can be seen with the five senses and the hidden meaning that arises in a person's performance based on their background. The two theories above are operationalised in the discussion and become the basis for categorising the data. A more comprehensive research result can be drawn from the analysis technique above. So, the researcher's interpretation in interpreting the elements of the visual structure can be clearer based on the concept building used.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Concerns about the shift in ethics between generations in the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate have affected society due to the degradation of politeness and ethics in society, nation, and state. This can be seen from how the three vice-presidential candidates presented their discourse in the debate event watched by the Indonesian people. According to Worldometer (2024), Indonesia has a population of almost 280 million; a substantial population wants to participate in the democratic party and watch the constituents in the 4th vice-presidential candidate debate. Meanwhile, if viewed from the research, the number of voters for the 2024 election based on age group categories, the number of young voters in 2024 as of July 2023 shows that the Millennial generation (born in 1981 - 1996) numbered 66.8 million, Generation X (born in 1965 - 1980) numbered 57.5 million, Generation Z (born in 1997 - 2012) numbered 46.8 million, Baby Boomers (born in 1946 - 1964) numbered 28.1 million, and Pre-Boomers (born in1945 and above) numbered 3.6 million (Databoks, 2024). This means that 202.8 million people actively participated out of the total population of Indonesia, which has a population of 280 million.

Various dynamics of debate between generations were seen in the event, from the substance between communication ethics and verbal politeness to the visible and invisible visual world that occurred in the discussion. The data presentation and analysis are as follows:

Dynamics of Debate in Various Perspectives Between Generations Visually and Verbally

Dialogue is represented by words that come out of the mouth when speaking from various cultural reflections (Patricia, 2018). So, the debate that functions as a communication process takes place in multiple aspects of life, such as academic debates, formal debates, and political debates, and becomes attractive to review with the applicable communication ethics. So, the theory of verbal politeness can be operationalised in the sub-point of the dynamics of this debate.

The theory of verbal politeness, commonly called language politeness, is part of Brown and Levinson's scope of politeness theories. Theories of politeness by Brown & Levinson (1987) discusses the concept of politeness in the scope of language by showing various FTA (Face Threatening Act) strategies or 'saving face'. According to Yule, "Politeness, in an interaction, can be defined as the means employed to show awareness of another person's face"(Yule, 1996, p. 60). Politeness in an interaction is interpreted as respecting someone's face or self-image. In spoken language, what is important is what is said and how to say it. Fraser (1990) provides the opinion that politeness is also a view of social norms that reflect a positive assessment (politeness) and a negative assessment (impoliteness). So, politeness becomes a critical concept to be shown, as this helps the communicator present a positive self-image while ensuring the interlocutor feels respected. Verbal politeness is a person's ability to speak well in socialising,

especially for smooth communication between communicators and communicants (Astuti & Wahyudi, 2017; Mislikhah, 2014; Setyawati, 2013).

Table 1. Dynamics of the Debate Between the Millennial Generation (Gibran Rakabuming), Generation X (Gus Muhaimin), and the Baby Boomer Generation (Mahfud MD)

N O	MILLENNIAL GENERATION		GENERATION X		BABY BOOMER GENERATION	
	Visual Language	Verbal Language	Visual Language	Verbal Language	Visual Language	Verbal Language
1		"It is perfect, Gus, he answered while reading the note." **I am showing a questioning hand gesture.**		Muhaimin **always smiled** when delivering his discourse. **Demonstrates confidence and friendliness** to the audience.		"I also want to find the answer to that nonsense, too. Making up nonsense." **Show gestures and expressions that respond to teasing.**
2		"Muhaimin, this is funny. I am asking about environmental problems, but why are you using plastic bottles?" **Shows a cute, teasing expression.**		"Do not worry, Mr. Gibran, everything has ethics, including what we are discussing here, not guessing definitions, guessing abbreviations." While **showing a satisfied expression.**		"Mas Gibran, I respect you as a vice-presidential candidate, so I will not speak in a trap or in vain." **Shows an inexpressive face.**
3		"I did not explain the term *Green Inflation* earlier because he is a professor, right?" **Shows teasing gestures and expressions**		"Thank you, Mr. Gibran. What you said was just repeating what I said." **He shows a doubtful expression by making eye contact and opening his hands.**		Mahfud's expression **looked dismissive** when Gibran asked about *Green Inflation.*
4		"I am looking for the answer, Prof. Mahfud. I am looking for the answer. Where is this? How come you did not find the answer?" **Shows teasing gestures with a bow and a searching expression.**		(When discussing the strategy to restore agrarian reform, Muhaimin gave **Gibran a dismissive expression with a smile**).		"For academics, it is easy. If you ask questions like that, it is just loose change. Therefore, it is not worth answering." **Shows an expression of satisfaction.**
5		(Gibran's facial expression seemed **to show doubt by furrowing his eyebrows** at the answer given by Mahfud regarding low-carbon development).		(Muhaimin's gesture of **opening his palms and facing downwards intends to emphasize and show the truth of the answer.)**		"I also want to find the answer to that nonsense, too. Making up nonsense." **Show gestures and expressions that respond to teasing.**
6		(When discussing the strategy to restore agrarian reform, Gibran expressed **disdain by glancing to the left** towards Mahfud.		(Muhaimin's gesture of **pointing while clenching his fist intends to emphasise** the answer).		(When discussing equitable low-carbon development, Mahfud gave **a dismissive expression** towards Gibran's answer)
7		(Gesture **of opening one hand and pointing to the audience, intending to " wait"** for an explanation from Gibran).		(Muhaimin **made a gesture of shaking his head,** intending to disagree with Gibran's answer).		(Mahfud makes **a pointing hand gesture** to strengthen his answer).
8		Gibran's raised expression **shows doubt** about the answer given by Mahfud regarding the policy of mainstreaming equitable low carbon).		"I will take a few notes; the important thing is that this is not a note from the Constitutional Court." **He shows an inexpressive face and shows indifference.**		(Mahfud **showed an annoyed expression by glancing to the right** when responding to Gibran).
9		(Gibran makes **an apologetic gesture by closing his hands and directing Muhaimin to his** unpleasant response)		(When speaking in front of an audience, **posture Muhaimin's body was straight and gestural hand directed**. Show attitude leader).		(Mahfud **scratched his nose** when Gibran answered **that he was tired and doubted** Gibran's words.

Source: Researcher's work (screenshot from KPU RI YouTube)

When talking about politeness, 'face' will always be there because politeness is done to respect someone's 'face'. The face is a depiction of self-image in social attributes because the face can mean self-esteem, emotional feelings, and honour that are associated with each other by people who interact and are expected to be appreciated by others (Brown & Levinson, 1978; Goffman, 1955; Yule, 1996) dividing the face into 2 particularly: First, a positive face which is a consistent positive self-image or personality (most notably including the desire for this self-image to be appreciated and approved) claimed by people who interact. The second is the negative face which according to Brown & Levinson, is "basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition". This means essential claims to territory, personal property rights, and rights not to be disturbed, namely freedom of action and freedom from coercion. If a positive face appears because the communicator wants to give a good impression and strengthen social relations with the communicant, a negative face appears because the communicator wants to act freely without coercion.

Negative politeness is used when the communicator does not want to be obstructed, and his attention is not limited. This is done to avoid violations by respecting, including questioning, protecting values, and presenting disagreements as opinions, for example, by giving association clues, belittling, exaggerating, contradicting, responding with irony, using metaphors, rhetorical questions, ambiguous, overgeneralising, and unclear. Not doing the face-threatening act is a strategy of not taking threatening actions. Not taking face-threatening actions allows someone to not engage in any interaction. Therefore, the speaker is likely to get no effect. The theory of verbal politeness is used to see the substance of the communication ethics of vice-presidential candidates in conducting the 4th debate of the 2024 vice-presidential candidates (Table 1).

The term intergenerational has been widely known by the public, from the Baby Boomer generation, Gen X, and Millennials. The characteristics of each generation include: 1) The baby boomer generation believes that life is spent working and they do not like criticism; 2) Gen X is characterised by being loyal, independent, and hardworking because they prioritise image and money; and 3) Millennials are characterised by being dependent on their environment and having a more open communication pattern than the previous generation, so they appear reactive to changes in the surrounding environment (Sutrasna, 2023). As seen from Table 1, Mahfud (Baby Boomer) is highly dedicated and dislikes communication criticism. Then, Muhaimin (Gen x) has a strong perspective and calmness when communicating because he prioritises an image. Then Gibran (Millennial) has an open view of the political and economic environment and a more accessible way of communicating verbally and visually.

According to Putra (2016), verbally, the millennial generation has characteristics that are more open and freer when communicating when compared to previous generations (Baby Boomers and Gen X) and individual characteristics that can be seen from how and where they were raised. As seen from Table 1, Gibran actively responds to answers and questions from his debate opponents frankly. Verbally, he shows frank speech, using sentences and tones that tend to be challenging. Visually, there are six expressions or gestures of Gibran, such as: 1) Expression and gesture of teasing (sarcastic smile, bowing with a searching expression, and raising his hands as if he does not know); 2) Questioning gesture (raising the palm and pointing it at the debate opponent); 3) Doubting expression (furrowing the eyebrows and lifting the face); 4) Expression of disrespect (glancing away when hearing Mahfud's response); 5) Waiting gesture (opening one hand and pointing it at the audience), and 6) Apologising gesture (closing both hands and pointing it at Muhaimin).

Gen X has characteristics that are more flexible and not rigid when delivering messages and orders, broad-minded, and open to hearing various suggestions and input from others, be it superiors or subordinates (Pappilonnis, 2017). Verbally, Muhaimin delivers discourse with a calm tone of voice and a more structured choice of vocabulary. Visually, there are six expressions or gestures displayed, namely: 1) Smiling expression (showing confidence and friendliness); 2) Satisfied expression (answering Gibran's response with a big smile); 3) Doubtful expression (making eye contact and opening his hands); 4) Underestimating expression (smiling at Gibran's answer); 5) Emphasising gesture (opening palms facing down and pointing while clenching fists); 6) Disagreeing gesture (shaking head); 7) Indifferent expression (no expression when hearing the opponent's debate response); 8) Leader gesture (Muhaimin's posture is upright and his hand gestures are directed). Based on the above, Muhaimin is included in the gen x category

because visually, he looks upright and firm but not stiff when delivering responses and answers. Then, he also shows a smiling expression when receiving responses or corrections to his words, which indicates an open nature in accepting suggestions and input. A person's gestures in communicating show a person's nature and character. This is also emphasised in the book *The Pocket to Manwatching* (Morris, 1982, p. 28-70).

Furthermore, according to Raswandaru et al. (2023), the Baby Boomer generation has characteristics that want to be appreciated when communicating and do not want criticism from others because they consider that working hard is very important for life. From Table 1, Mahfud, who is included in the Baby Boomer generation category, is visually seen showing gestures or facial expressions that are underestimated and indifferent to what his interlocutor says and also doubts the opinions of others. This shows that this Baby Boomer generation has a high commitment, is willing to work hard, is independent, and wants to get a place in the community's hearts with its seniority.

In a debate conducted by participants, specifically the vice-presidential candidates, when viewed from the perspective of values and norms that apply in Indonesia, polite behaviour towards elders must still be carried out. Using polite words with Eastern customs, respecting, without having to belittle and not offending and cornering are important indicators in debate ethics by implementing assertive communication. This means that a firm, transparent, and open way of communicating, maintaining respect for the interlocutor to build good relationships, and understanding the psychology of the interlocutor needs to be done in developing communication skills so that there is a solution to the problem, or the message is conveyed correctly. Javanese culture that upholds ethical values can be seen from the noble philosophy of Java Pujakusuma with the term '*nguluruk tanpo bolo, menang tanpo ngansorake*', which means fighting without mass, winning without humiliating or humiliating the opponent (Wibawanto, 2021).

In addition, for older people, one should still respect and not belittle the generation below you and be able to protect and exemplify your maturity's wise and polite attitude to the previous generation. However, gen x and millennials, who have new creativity and innovation and can transform technology to build the nation, are expected not to be arrogant or proud of their expertise or skills that the previous generation sometimes does not master. Meanwhile, the Baby Boomer generation and above must also be willing to adapt and improve their abilities, not only relying on past experiences, which are considered milestones that others are deemed unable to achieve. So that the impression of belittling the generations below arises, this is done not only as a form of respecting the elders or belittling the younger ones but as a form of professional ethics in debating communication as well as self-control over the ability to assess the limitations of each interlocutor so that there is humility that both parties must possess. The attitude Rahmatullah (2022), immediately '*adigang, adigung, adiguna*' (feeling the greatest by highlighting one's power, strength, and intelligence) should be eliminated by all elements of the nation when communicating or leading in social interactions in society.

The Substance Dynamics of Debate in Various Perspectives Between Generations Visually and Verbally

According to Mutiah et al. (2019), communication ethics is a science that pays attention to how good and evil a person's way of communicating is and pays attention to honesty, frankness, and harmony in relationships. Communication ethics also studies how to convey the right message, avoid cheating, consistency between messages, and pay attention to whether a communicator interrupts the conversation by dominating the conversation. The main principle in communication ethics is to respect the other person, such as avoiding the use of harsh words or insults, besides also listening to the other person until they finish speaking, which can also be called not interrupting a conversation that applies not only to younger people but also applies to older people to avoid provocation. Therefore, the principle of mutual respect is the most basic in communication.

The debate proposed by Arthur N. Kruger in the book *Modern Debate, Its Logic and Strategy is divided into two main strategies: attack and defence* (Parandaru, 2024). Techniques in the attack strategy include surprising, asking back, provoking, cutting, anticipating, exaggerating, contradicting, and denying. In contrast, the techniques in the defence strategy include avoiding, delaying, lifting, thanking, explaining, asking, and compromising. However,

what must be considered in the attack and defence strategies in the debate is that it must be done by applying ethics and politeness in Indonesian culture. This debate is the focus of attention because it is a communication process whose discussion of the substance must be 'on target' or right on target, not only filled with feelings of shirk, envy, jealousy, and attacks. It is necessary to realise together that national values, by prioritising the interests of the nation and state above personal and group interests, are fundamental things that every Indonesian citizen must possess, especially the 2024 vice-presidential candidate.

Based on the research results, the 4th debate of the 2024 vice-presidential candidates showed 4 points of Brown & Levinson (1987) verbal politeness strategy, namely: 1) Bald on record; 2) Positive politeness; 3) Negative politeness; and 4) Not doing the face-threatening actn (Table 2).

Table 2. *Verbal Politeness in the 4th Vice-presidential Debate in 2024*

No	VERBAL POLITELY
Bald On Record	
1	"Muhaimin, this is funny, asking about environmental problems but why are you using plastic bottles? Even though I, Mr Ganjar, and Mahfud use glass bottles. What is that commitment? All those plastic bottles ".
Positive Politeness	
2	"I agree that we must continue to promote the potential of our natural resources, but please note-"
Negative Politeness	
3	"Thank you, Prof Mahfud, for the evaluation; once again, I apologise if my words are wrong, but we have to evaluate this."
Not Doing The Face-Threatening Act	
4	"Do not carry out actions that threaten your face"

Source: Source: Researcher's work (screenshot from KPU RI YouTube)

In Table 2, number 1, Gibran's response to Muhaimin's question is shown using the bald-on-record strategy or frank narration. Frank narration is used when the communicator has no intention of reducing the threat to the listener's face. According to Sapitri et al. (2019), this strategy can be used in various conditions, depending on the motive to be conveyed and with minimum FTA (Face Threatening Act) efficiency. Bald on record is also divided into two: 1) FTA is not minimised because the communicant is considered irrelevant. 2) When conducting FTA, the communicator minimises FTA with implications (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Gibran used this strategy to answer Muhaimin's question regarding the regional bio-based development strategy, which helps to be environmentally friendly. Gibran appears to be carrying out a confrontation that brings up Muhaimin, asking Gibran questions about environmental issues. However, he still uses plastic drinking bottles, considered not environmentally friendly. Gibran

conducted an FTA directly criticising Muhaimin because the concept conveyed was not in sync with his actions.

Muhaimin (Table 1 number 2) responded to the answer given by Gibran by using the strategy of showing agreement. This means that one of the strategies in positive politeness is where the communicator wants to 'sacrifice' his positive face to express closeness and friendliness by showing interest as if the communicant needs support and respect (Citrawati et al., 2021). This time, Muhaimin agreed with Gibran's answer by providing additional notes regarding the opinion. Muhaimin gave praise and agreement to Gibran's answer so that Gibran could accept the discourse or additions given. Not only is it accepted by Gibran, but it also maintains Muhaimin's positive face so that it looks non-threatening to Gibran's negative face. This strategy is often used when the communicator wants to maintain his positive face and not show a negative face or can be said to be playing subtly.

As seen in Table 1, number 3, Gibran provides an answer to the response given by Mahfud regarding the increasing number of food commodities that Indonesia imports. Negative politeness has various strategies, including respecting or expressing thanks (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This is a repressive action aimed at the negative face of the communicant, such as being conventionally indirect, being pessimistic, minimising coercion, making differences, apologising, impersonalizing the speaker and listener, and nominalization. Giving respect or expressing gratitude is used when the communicant has a negative face that does not want to be disturbed. If forced to disturb him, the communicator often also gives respect to the communicant.

As a communicator, Gibran gives gratitude and an apology for his previous statement to Mahfud as the communicant to continue his argument. Gibran does this to maintain the negative face of the communicant when Gibran wants to provide an argument for disagreement with Mahfud's answer. This strategy is contradictory because the verbalised expression of gratitude or respect does not seem to be sincerely intended to praise but rather to subtly counter the debate opponent's argument without wanting to drag on. The difference between this and other strategies is that the communicator will have a "good-looking face" despite a hidden intention that contradicts the communicant regarding its content. Gibran did several tricks that could be considered unfair because he asked questions that tended to trap his debate opponents (Gatra, 2024). Therefore, Gibran has been seen to have violated the rules of debate quite a lot since the first vice-presidential debate.

The verbal politeness seen in Table 1 number 4 is the strategy of not doing the face-threatening act or not showing a threatening face. This strategy is used when the communicator or communicant does not want his reaction to be read by the communicant or communicator. In this case, Gibran, as the communicant, decided not to do FTA. Not doing a face-threatening act prevents someone from being involved in any possible interaction. Therefore, the communicator will most likely not get any effect. In responding to Mahfud's opinion, Gibran did not give a threatening reaction or response so as not to pose a particular threat. This is considered as a 'play it safe' strategy carried out by Gibran to maintain his good face. On the other hand, the communicator (Mahfud) will be seen showing his negative face without Gibran as the communicator, countering the arguments of the other party's debate. Kodoati (2023) also questions the consistency between the values expressed and the actions or behaviour of prospective candidates. This is one of the important factors to see 'ethics' when prospective candidates debate. The ethics of debate and correct communication in political debates are not limited to providing ideal discourse but also include ethical actions and speaking methods. Given that the ethics of political communication are not contradictions but relevance (Hatimah et al., 2024). Even so, Gibran still carried out actions that were quite contradictory, so they received criticism from netizens. Gibran gave a body gesture or "gimmick" as if he was looking around when responding to Mahfud, then also satirised Cak Imin for reading the notes in the debate (Dwi & Chairunnisa, 2024).

Implementing polite communication means having to have high ethical values when conveying messages. When debating, feelings of being offended and belittled often arise because a communicator ignores who he is debating with and chooses inappropriate diction. This affects not only the communicant but also himself. Debating ethics are the same as language ethics, such as being polite and adapting to the situation and conditions. That way, there is no mutual offence or cornering of the communicant because debating is not only to compete in

intelligence but also to complement knowledge regarding the issues that are the theme of the debate (Hasanah et al., 2024). In this context, it is not only the embodiment of knowledge; it is necessary to internalise Pancasila's values and self-control in responding to every argument, situation, and condition. Thus, wisdom is needed to interact with others. In order to realise a peaceful election with the implementation of Pancasila values, it must be embedded or internalised in every Indonesian citizen (Yuniar & Ahsan, 2024).

Hatimah et al. (2024) stated that communication ethics, in addition to respecting the interlocutor, also discusses how to ensure that there will be no misunderstanding of the message's meaning during the communication process. This is done so that there is no distortion of the message in order to achieve an atmosphere of mutual respect, appreciation, and understanding; ethical behaviour is needed by cultural values and prevailing norms in society and is generally accepted as behaviour that is by the norms and cultural values of the nation. The principles of communication ethics are honesty, meaning not changing and hiding information; having integrity, which means being consistent in actions and behaviour; responsibility for what has been said when communicating; respect, which also means respecting others; and understanding various points of view and perspectives. Thus, diversity and cultural diversity can run harmoniously and have a wealth of perspectives. However, this is not consistently seen in the 4th vice-presidential debate, such as Gibran, who is considered to lack manners in respecting his elders (Fauzi & Tarmizi, 2024).

The Visual Universe in the Context of the 4th Vice-presidential Debate Visible and Invisible
"Human culture is a visual culture" (Veneti et al., 2019, p. 1). Since the twentieth century, moving images that appear on television, on cinema screens, and digital platforms are the displays that are most likely to attract attention and offer representations of human life and human imagination. The images in our minds are part of a metaphor in the form of documented imagery so that it can be visualised. Imagery is well documented and raised as a problem because with visuals, "the illusion is created that we are gazing out of a window at the real world" (Gurri et al., 2010). Images can be a more effective means of attracting attention, especially in an era of very dense information, where around 79% of the world's population has access to television, and 51% has access to the Internet.

The fact that an image can be constructed to convey a point, manipulated or strategically selected from hundreds of similar images to convey an impression can escape the audience's attention. Images can strengthen and weaken the credibility of leaders competing for the audience's attention. The gestures and facial expressions of politicians on television, the funny memes that circulate, posters, and often famous forms of political advertising are strategically designed to have a maximum impact on the public. This public opinion not only reflects the reality of the media as reflected through their various comments but also approaches social reality (Priyowidodo & Chory, 2024). Even the colours can be highly resonant and meaningful visual cues that stimulate emotional moods (Garber & Hyatt, 2003). Referring to previous research related to the discourse of the presidential and vice-presidential debates consisted of grammar, debate discourse, situational context, and culture (Salamah & Sumarlam, 2023). This study looks at the reality packaged in the visual live YouTube debate wrapped in a visible and invisible visual universe that creates its meaning for its audience.

The visual universe is part of Visual Communication, which is the process of delivering messages visually to others by highlighting graphic elements (symbols, art combinations, typography, illustrations, colours, graphic shapes, and images) that can only be read through the five senses of sight (Aesthika et al., 2023). The visual universe can be in the form of images that have an essential role in political communication strategies because information through images will be remembered faster than words to form public opinion toward political candidate candidates (Johansson & Bacha, 2019; Russmann et al., 2019; Sülflow & Maurer, 2019). The visual universe is closely related to semiotics. According to Mahsan (2021), it is defined as the science of signs and symbols whose function is to convey messages visually so they can be easily interpreted. Semiotic signs and symbols are widely used as a visual communication strategy in conveying a message, one of which is a political message. The vice-presidential candidates display the visual world through the fashion styles of the vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 debate. Winarni (2012) said that appearance can communicate meaning, including appearance communication (artefactual communication). In agreement with Rante et al. (2024), clothing is a

tool to convey political messages and leadership visions through signs or symbols as a visual communication strategy for building an image and impression on voters. So, the meaning conveyed in the debate should be based on ethics, both when expressing discourse and the clothes worn.

The visual universe is part of visual communication that aims to see all messages or information using one of the five senses, namely the eyes. The visual universe in images or videos has various elements, such as colour, camera layout, lighting, point of view, recording media, object layout, object clothing, symbols or signs, in the form of observations to object gestures. This is by Latief (2021, p. 341), who states that in cinematography, the supporting elements of production are camera layout, lighting, sound system, and point of view. So, in this study, the visual universe that will be seen is the visual of the vice-presidential candidate in the 4th debate in 2024, which can be watched via the KPU RI YouTube channel.

If we look at Table 1, the visible visual universe consists of: 1) Red and black background; 2) Vice-presidential candidate's clothing; 3) The caption 'FOURTH DEBATE OF VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR THE 2024 ELECTION' as the broadcast title; 4) Description of each session and event theme; 5) Translator for the deaf community; 6) Debate event template with a cream background and red and white flag; 7) Gold frame for the vice-presidential candidate; 8) Election symbol as a means of national integration; 9) The words February 14, 2024 (the day of the 2024 simultaneous election); 10) TV ONE logo in the upper right corner; 11) Minutes and seconds to calculate the duration of each candidate's speech; 12) Camera spotlight from above the room; and 13) Two microphones and a table for the vice-presidential candidates. The various elements seen above are the visible visual universe that can be captured with the naked eye.

The visual universe of politics is a message or information visible to the naked eye and contains political value. The clothes worn by each vice-presidential candidate have political factors. Gibran (Table 1 numbers 1-9) held the 4th debate wearing a light blue Naruto-style jacket with the addition of grey and a whirlpool symbol on the right chest and the words 2 Prabowo-Gibran on the left chest. The colour blue represents hope, calm, sky, and vastness. Meanwhile, grey represents mystery, blandness, vagueness, and fogginess (Danesi, 2010). Blue, the basic colour of Gibran's clothes, has existed since the first presidential and vice-presidential debate in 2024. Prabowo-Gibran consistently uses this colour in every political activity because it is considered identical to providing coolness, calm, peace, tranquillity, and joy (Desideria, 2024). This Naruto-style clothing is believed to show the meaning of Gibran as a young man who is underestimated but can gather the strength and trust of various political parties. Vice-presidential candidate number 2 has the most supporting parties in the 2024 election.

Muhaimin (Table 1 number 1) appears to be wearing reasonably simple clothing: a rolled-up white shirt and black trousers. Visually, the colour of this clothing gives a formal and casual impression, plus the rolled-up sleeves. White means clean and holy, and minimalist designs give the impression of freedom and openness (Zharandont, 2015). In the visual political world, choosing this clothing is one of the factors that comes from Muhaimin's involvement as the General Chairperson of the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB). The National Awakening Party is an Islamic-based political party in Indonesia. Visually, this party's fashion style characteristics are white clothing, black trousers or skirts, *peci*, and sarongs represented in the costume worn by Muhaimin at the 4th political debate.

Mahfud's clothing (Table 1 number 1) at the 4th debate attracted the attention of the audience, starting from the green Mapala (mahasiswa pecinta alam) shirt with various environmental symbols, a cream-coloured vest jacket with the words 'Tas Tes' on the left chest, a red and white flag on the right chest, and the number 3 wrapped in a recycling symbol in the shape of a hand. This clothing follows the debate theme, which discusses resources and the environment; the colour green also means the colour of growth, closeness to nature and its balance so that it gives an excellent impression and can display positive emotions (Purbasari, 2014). The writing "Tas Tes," when viewed from a visual political perspective, contains the Ganjar-Mahfud political campaign strategy, which means responsive or one set in all social and governmental problems. One interesting fact related to Mahfud's clothing is that it comes from a local product, SukkhaCitta. In agreement with Setiawanty & Marvela (2024), SukkhaCitta's clothing is made with environmentally friendly natural materials and processes and involves village mothers in its manufacture. The political message implied in this clothing shows that the

vice-presidential candidate number 3 is a user of original Indonesian products while inviting the public to support local products.

In addition to the political visual world, there is also a cultural visual world. The cultural visual world is a message or information the five senses see and contains cultural values. The three vice-presidential candidates have the exact cultural origins. Namely, they are from Java. The culture carried in the blood of the three vice-presidential candidates will certainly be related to cultural customs, one of which is the body gestures seen in the 4th debate. When entering the 4th debate event room, Muhaimin seemed to smile in his seat; even during the debate session, he was seen smiling. Smiling to anyone who passes by is known to be inherent in Javanese culture as a form of friendliness in greeting, which is not even dominant in other cultures (Simatupang et al., 2015).

The visual universe of Javanese culture is also seen in Gibran (Table 1 number 9) when he folds his hands as an apology. In addition, Gibran is also seen as 'salim' by kissing Ganjar and Mahfud's hands. Salim, or shaking hands by kissing hands, is known in Javanese culture as usually done by younger people to older people as a form of respect or an apology (Awlia et al., 2023). On the other hand, in the 4th vice-presidential debate, Mahfud slightly bowed his body when greeting several people in the room. In Javanese culture, bowing when meeting or greeting someone, especially an older person, is a form of respect and politeness, especially if the person being passed is sitting (Islam et al., 2021). In this case, Mahfud intended to show respect for the people in the room, whoever and whatever their age. In fact, the candidate for vice-president number 2 is even tedious, looking for something with his body gestures, which shows a contradiction in attitude that shows the duality of character (Gatra, 2024).

If we look at the concept of the visible visual universe consisting of elements that the sense of sight can see, the structure of its visual form can be translated into body gestures, facial expressions, the vice-presidential candidate's standing position, stage, and background. This definition or meaning is based on what the audience sees with the naked eye. However, to interpret or give a deeper meaning to a person's performance, one must also see something invisible related to the socio-cultural and educational background. Giving meaning is not only based on assumptions or the creation of narratives that have no basis. Based on the visual universe above, it turns out that the implementation of the 4th vice-presidential debate event in 2024 has a form of performance structure from a particular visual visible universe so that it is closely related to the scheme between reality and live debate, which has a hidden meaning from invisible things operationalised from this theory. Therefore, the theory of the visual universe can be used to see a person's performance not only as a visible and narrated visual structure but also to see the text in context, namely the invisible and the context of political and socio-cultural reality.

The first visual form of the visible structure is the setting of Mahfud's standing position on the left, Muhaimin in the middle, and Gibran on the far right of the podium (Table 1 number 4). It can be interpreted that the standing position of the vice-presidential candidates seems to indicate that the oldest generation is on the left, namely Mahfud MD, Cak Imin, and Gibran on the far right. If seen from an invisible perspective, the hidden meaning formed can be interpreted from the candidate's position that there has been a generation gap that is seated from the most senior to the most junior and can also be grouped based on the category of education level and experience. If you want to interpret it more deeply, this position can also be invisibly linked to the context of the previous debate; Cak Imin's position was set in the middle to mediate the huge gap in experience, flying hours and education level between Gibran and Mahfud MD. Where in previous debates, the harsh arguments that showed an intense feud between Gibran and Mahfud could be bridged by Cak Imin as a mediator.

Then, it can be seen from the visual form of the second visible structure, namely, seeing the attributes used, there are two types of microphones: handheld microphones and table microphones. This means that in plain view, this microphone is set for different functions, such as a handheld microphone that functions as a loudspeaker that is used more dynamically and freely when moving, not having to be in the scope of his table. However, the table microphone provided by the committee can be used when the vice-presidential candidate speaks on the podium without moving much, or it can be used while reading the notes he brings. If translated invisible, the logic is that the provision of the 2 microphones can be assumed as a backup if one type of microphone does not function correctly during the debate. However, the more profound

meaning of the stage mastery from the debate participants can be seen when holding the microphone. You can see the tension, readiness, and maturity in mastering the stage when performing in front of the audience. If you look shaky when holding the microphone, it can be interpreted that the condition of the debate participant is "nervous" and has not mastered the stage. This can also be caused by flying hours in public speaking.

The third visual form of the visible structure is related to the camera's 'eye level' parallel to the candidate as the focus of interest in the visual frame on the YouTube video screen. The gesture of falling appears on the screen, and facial expressions, standing position, stage, and background are used, including the properties in the screen frame, such as the podium, microphone, event background, and supporting ornaments. From the visual shooting, it communicates the entire object that can be seen with the naked eye and is mediated through the YouTube platform. However, the message or information to be displayed can be conveyed visually. This means these elements visibly represent or describe the real-time or live debate activities. In theory related to the visual universe of social, cultural, and political reality, the spirit of the meaning (hidden meaning) arises as the basis for the argument to see something invisible framed in the visual debate. Visually, the cameraman frames the three vice-presidential candidates equally in the shooting. When associated with social, cultural, and political reality, the essence of the Indonesian human being who wants to compete in anything has equal dignity and worth. The principle of equality between humans is a social reality that needs to be realised by every Indonesian. However, when viewed from the political reality with the principle of direct, general, free, secret, honest, and fair elections, freedom of argument must, of course, be based on the ethics that apply in Indonesia. When associated with verbal politeness and the visual universe, the implications of the two theories are interrelated in creating a communication narrative when analysing or arguing about a specific condition or situation.

A performance that appears from the visual universe consisting of visible and invisible visual structures creates hidden meaning that cannot stand as a single factor but intertwines to make an argument or narrative. Not only that, to achieve a deeper hidden meaning, it must be seen from the underlying things that are located in the social culture and political reality that are sometimes not visible to the naked eye. The relevance of these two theories builds arguments and narratives that are more accurate than just assumptions that are blown through news narratives reported by a news report related to a developing issue. As conveyed by Fauzi & Tarmizi (2024), Gibran's appearance is offside, in the pesantren language it is '*suul adab*', or in Javanese terms it lacks manners or etiquette, how to respect older people. Netizens' comments on social media with the hashtag #GibranBukanKami were widely responded to by netizens who criticised Gibran's eccentric attitude (E. P. Putra, 2024). TheJakartaPost (2024) also reported that Gibran's behaviour on the debate stage may have invited laughter from his supporters but failed to impress those who had not yet decided and raised doubts because netizens considered him impolite to his debate opponent. Gibran also did a gimmick of looking for something when asked by the narrator to answer Mahfud MD, then the Mayor of Solo looked around and was cheeky by putting his hand on his temple so that it seemed like he was looking far away, and when talking about how to overcome green inflation, Gibran used a foreign acronym that had to be explained to Mahfud MD (Dwi & Chairunnisa, 2024).

From the three visual form structure analyses above, the author tries to analyse the structure of thought in arguing through a visual language that is transformed visibly from visual forms that have literal meanings, then can have multi-layered meanings according to the perspective and depth of multi-level meaning. So, visual language through visual communication is a multi-layered entity with a million meanings. So, this theory is important to use as a basis for thinking about building a narrative through visible and invisible visual structures based on the political and socio-cultural realities that exist in the text in the context of an event.

CONCLUSION

The gap experienced between generations is exacerbated by the lack of mutual understanding between generations. The causative factors include education level, lifestyle, behaviour, mindset, heart response, background or portfolio, ethics, social environment, communication gap, and spirituality level. The dynamics due to this generation gap cause contradictions and differences in viewpoints in debating and interacting, from the communication used during the debate event to facial expressions when using the Face Threatening Act (FTA). So, if you

understand this communication theory, there is no need to be '*baper*' or to become an action that causes a reaction to the communicant or the communicator. Then, show the substance of communication ethics and verbal politeness in the context of the vice-presidential debate, which is more directed at healthy political communication. Verbal politeness in the 4th vice-presidential debate in the form of bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and not doing FTA is a communication strategy. It turns out that there has been a communication distortion between the three candidates when communication ethics and verbal politeness are carried out without understanding the nature of communication, which theoretically contains truth, educates, uses attractive body language, and has a sweet facial expression so that the impression conveyed can be well received.

The visual universe aims to see the visible visual structure so that it can be interpreted literally, and the invisible structure is then represented in a dialogue attitude that produces a particular meaning from the performance of the vice-presidential candidates. This is intended to provide meaning based on visible and invisible visual data so that the meaning is based on the structure that is formed. The essence of the vice-presidential debate here can be seen as a dynamic political dialectic with the basic principle of the Unity of Indonesia. Just humanity and upholding academic argumentation rules need to be cultivated, not a contest of egos and too much emphasis on the prestige or "pride" of each candidate, thus shifting the substance of the message. Busy with roles like a stage play that can influence the audience's psychology to be "excited" when watching it. A prospective leader with a statesmanship soul must carry the character of a leader with authority and an example that syncs with his words and actions. Ideally, a leader should be able to create peace and prosperity for his people, not play an antagonistic role so that the nation's condition is chaotic with the conflict of each individual's ego. Humans, in general, who tend to be hypocritical, feudal, selfish, and egocentric, are not suitable to be leaders or statesmen in the land of Indonesia's Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

Polite and healthy debates will be easier for the public to follow, so they can effectively convey ideas and opinions. Communication ethics can indicate the integrity and character of political figures, so they become crucial factors for the public in choosing a leader. The importance of the role of ethics in debating shows the maturity and self-control of a person in order to manage conflict. The process of maturity and adulthood of a person can be measured not only from the quantity of age or the number of ages, but this maturity grows from the forging of life and the conditions of life that a person goes through or experiences. The ability to see from various perspectives from the younger and senior generations' perspectives requires a broad horizon of expectations. So, in this condition, a mutual understanding and relationship of interaction is required, as well as having divine knowledge and wisdom. So, peace and harmony in differences occur in every social interaction. There is no need to have negative opinions, assumptions, and dirty thinking because interactions sharpen humans for more constructive growth.

Theoretical contribution, enriching the theoretical building of verbal politeness, ethics, and the visual world. Practically, this finding can be practised in everyday life, especially when debating the existence of critical dialectics across generations without having to discredit and belittle one another. The debate is not a matter of who is right and who is wrong in the context of this vice-presidential candidate, but rather, it is necessary to see the richness of perspectives from each constituent. So that people can choose and sort out a person's maturity, depth, and knowledge. In this context, it is necessary to pay attention to the message's text in the communication process through a debate forum that has a level beyond formal academics so that flying hours are needed to express everything diplomatically and wisely. The debate as a communication process must prioritise ethics from various perspectives between generations, correlating communication ethics with verbal politeness to small things in the visual world that can significantly impact the democratic maturity of the Indonesian people. Prospective leaders here are expected to be able to provide examples of behaving, communicating, and acting according to the norms and constitutions that apply in Indonesia.

REFERENCES

Aesthika, N. M., Febriana, P., Andi, F. M., & Recoba, A. M. (2023). *Buku Ajar Komunikasi Visual* (M. T. Multazam & M. D. K. Wardana, Eds.). UMSIDA Press.

Afifudin, A. A. (2022). *Konsep Etika dan Kebahagiaan Menurut Hamka*. Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah.

Agussalim Aj, A. (2019). *Gaya Bahasa dalam Debat Calon Presiden dan Calon Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia pada Pemilihan Umum 2019*.

Aisyah, M. (2022). Ethos, Pathos, Logos dan Komunikasi Publik: A Systematic Literature Review. *Jurnal Darma Agung*, *30*(3), 442–469.

Amelia, N. (2021). *Konsep Etika Peserta Didik Terhadap Guru dalam Perspektif K.H.Hasyim Asy'Ari dan Relevansinya dengan Pendidikan Karakter*. Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN).

Arianto, A. K. (2024). Strategi Kesantunan Antarcapres dalam Debat Perdana Calon Presiden Indonesia Tahun 2024. *Madah: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *15*(1), 110–125. https://doi.org/10.31503/madah.v15i1.763

Ariyanto, N. R. (2024, January 22). *Di Debat Keempat Pilpres, Tingkat Kematangan Sikap Cawapres Terlihat*. Kompas. https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/01/22/di-debat-keempat-pilpres-tingkat-kematangan-sikap-cawapres-terlihat

Astuti, T., & Wahyudi, T. (2017). Kesantunan Berbahasa dalam Surat Kabar Linggau Pos. *Jurnal Kajian Bahasa, Sastra Dan Pengajaran (KIBASP)*, *1*(1).

Awlia, R., Murdiati, E., & Muslimin. (2023). Analisis Pesan Budaya Dalam Film Bumi Manusia. *J-KIs: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam*, *4*(2), 177–192. https://doi.org/10.53429/j-kis.v5i1.726

Aziz, A. (2021). Kesantunan Berbahasa para Pasangan Calon dalam Debat Calon Gubernur-Wakil Gubernur DKI Jakarta. *Sebatik*, *25*(1), 154–172. https://doi.org/10.46984/sebatik.v25i1.969

Azizi, M. H. (2023). Kesantunan Berbahasa Dakwah Struktural pada Debat Politik Para Nabi dalam Al-Qur'a. *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi Islam*, *9*(1), 41–55.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1978). *Politeness Some universals in language usage Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4*.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness Some Universals in Language Usage* (4th ed., Vol. 8). The Press Syndicate of The University of Cambridge. https://books.google.co.id/books?id=OG7W8yA2XjcC&pg=PR7&hl=id&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1988). Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 4). *TESOL Quarterly*, *22*(4), 660. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587263

Budi, H. I. S. (2021). Minimalisir Konflik dalam Gap Generasi Melalui Pendekatan Komunikasi Interpersonal. *Jurnal Teologi Injili*, *1*(2), 72–87.

Citrawati, N. kadek, Sri Adnyani, N. L. P., Padmadewi, N. N., & Arie Suwastini, N. K. (2021). The Politeness Strategies Utilized by Postgraduate Students and Lecturers in Asynchronous Online-Learning Discussion. *Lingua Didaktika: Jurnal Bahasa Dan Pembelajaran Bahasa*, *15*(1), 22. https://doi.org/10.24036/ld.v15i1.112020

Danesi, M. (2010). *Pengantar Memahami Semiotika Media* (1st ed.). Jalasutra.

Databoks. (2024). *Jumlah Pemilih Pemilu 2024 Berdasarkan Kelompok Usianya (Juli 2023)*.

Desideria, B. (2024, January 13). *Arti Warna Kemeja Prabowo dan Gibran Rakabuming Raka yang Selalu Biru*. Liputan6. https://www.liputan6.com/health/read/5433517/arti-warna-kemeja-prabowo-dan-gibran-rakabuming-raka-yang-selalu-biru?page=2

Dhiman, P. K., & Jain, S. (2016). Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Generations Gaps-Issues and Challenges. *Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, *1*(3), 81. https://doi.org/10.21276/sjhss.2016.1.3.2

Dwi, A., & Chairunnisa, N. (2024, January 22). *Sikap Gibran dalam Debat Cawapres Dikritik Netizen: Songong, Cringe hingga Tengil*. Tempo.Co. https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1824345/sikap-gibran-dalam-debat-cawapres-dikritik-netizen-songong-cringe-hingga-tengil#google_vignette

Fatimah, S. (2018). Kampanye sebagai Komunikasi Politik: Esensi dan Strategi dalam Pemilu. *Resolusi: Jurnal Sosial Politik*, *1*(1), 5–16. https://doi.org/10.32699/resolusi.v1i1.154

Fauzi, & Tarmizi, T. (2024, January 23). *FormasNU Nilai Gibran "Offside" di Debat Keempat Pilpres*. Antaranews.Com. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3928041/formasnu-nilai-gibran-offside-di-debat-keempat-pilpres

Ferdinand, G. R., Madallo, E., Palamba, R., & Josua, R. (2019). *Etika dalam Kehidupan Bermasyarakat*.

Firman. (2019). *Pendekatan Konseling Sebaya Tepat Guna untuk Generasi Mellinial dalam Perubahan Sosial BUDAYA*.

Fraser, B. (1990). Perspectives on Politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *14*(2), 219–236. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(90)90081-N

Gamal, M. (2024, January 22). *Gap Generasional dalam Debat Cawapres 2024*. Kompasiana. https://www.kompasiana.com/merzagamal8924/65add35cc57afb14b1477a14/peta-gagasan-pembangunan-berkelanjutan-dalam-debat-cawapres-kedua?page=2&page_images=1

Garber, L. L., & Hyatt, E. M. (2003). *Persuasive Imagery* (L. M. Scott & R. Batra, Eds.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gatra, S. (2024). *Dualitas Karakter Gibran dalam Debat Pilpres*. Kompas.Com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/01/23/06432401/dualitas-karakter-gibran-dalam-debat-pilpres?page=all

Goffman, E. (1955). Psychiatry Interpersonal and Biological Processes. In *Psychiatry* (Vol. 18, Issue 3). Informa UK Limited. https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1955.11023008

Gurri, M., Denny, C., & Harms, A. (2010). Our Visual Persuasion Gap. *Article*, *40*, 101–109. https://press.armywarcollege.edu/parameters

Hartinah, Y., & Kindi, F. M. (2020). Analisis Wacana Politik Capres Joko Widodo dan Prabowo Subianto dalam debat Pilpres 2019. *Prasasti: Journal of Linguistics*, *5*, 105–121.

Hasanah, A., Aziz, A., Haryas, H., & Susetya, H. (2024). Kesantunan Berbahasa pada Dialog Debat Calon Presiden 2024 serta Relevansinya Terhadap Pembelajaran Bahasa Indonesia di SMA. *Teaching and Learning Journal of Mandalika*, *5*(2). http://ojs.cahayamandalika.com/index.php/teacherAkreditasiSinta5,SK.Nomor:152/E/KPT/2023

Hatimah, H., Masdar, S. N., & Rahman, A. M. (2024). Etika Komunikasi dalam Debat Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden 2024. *Jurnal Komunikasi Digital Dan Penyiaran Islam*, *1*(2), 1–12.

Islam, S. N. C., Alhaqqa, J. Y., & Supriyono. (2021). Pandangan Pemuda terhadap Pentingnya Tata Krama dan Budaya Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini. *Jurnal Dinamika Sosial Budaya*, *23*. https://doi.org/10.26623/jdsb.v21i2.1698

Johansson, B., & Bacha, C. H. (2019). From Analogue to Digital Negativity: Attacks and Counterattacks, Satire, and Absurdism on Election Posters Offline and Online. In *Visual Political Communication* (pp. 99–118).

Jusniati, Azis, S., & Marselina. (2022). Analisis Kesantunan Berbahasa Dalam Debat Kedua Calon Presiden Indonesia Pada Periode 2019-2024. *Journal Peqguruang: Conference Series*, *4*, 2686–3472. https://doi.org/10.35329/jp.v4i1.1504

Kadir, A., Yetty, M., & Diana, C. H. (2021). *Teknik Retorika Debat Calon Presiden Republik Indonesia*. Universitas Bung Hatta.

Khotimah, K., & Kusuma, R. (2024). Kontestasi Wacana Politik dalam Debat Capres RI 2024 Kajian Pragma-Dialektikal. *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia Metalingua*, *9*(1).

Kodoati, M. C. (2023). Urgensi Etika bagi Komunikasi Politik. *Jurnal Filsafalt Dan Teologi*, *4*(2), 179–197. https://doi.org/10.53396/media

Kurniawan, R. C. (2021). *Etika Politik dan Pemerintahan*.

Latief, R. (2021). *Jurnalistik Sinematografi* (1st ed., Vol. 1). Kencana.

Ludvianto, M., & Arifani, W. (2020). Retorika Persuasif dalam Debat Calon Presiden Indonesia 2019: Sebuah Analisis Komunikasi Performatif. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi (J-IKA*, *7*(1). http://ejournal.bsi.ac.id/ejurnal/index.php/jika

Mahsan, I. P. (2021). Ekspresi Seni dan Komunikasi Visual Murid Berkeperluan Khas dalam Mata Pelajaran Pendidikan Seni Visual Sekolah Rendah. *Jurnal Pendidikan Awal Kanak-Kanak Kebangsaan*, *10*(1), 41–54. https://doi.org/10.37134/jpak.vol10.1.4.2021

Maulidah, F. L., & Oktafia, R. (2020). Strategi Pengembangan Usaha Kecil dan Mikro Serta Dampaknya Bagi Kesejahteraan Masyarakat di Desa Kweden Kecamatan Tarik Kabupaten Sidoarjo (Menurut Pandangan Maqashid Syariah). *Jurnal Ilmiah Ekonomi Islam*, *6*(3), 571. https://doi.org/10.29040/jiei.v6i3.1211

Mislikhah, S. (2014). Kesantunan Berbahasa. *International Journal of Islamic Studies*, *1*(2), 285–296. www.journalarraniry.com

Morris, D. (1982). *The Pocket Guide to Manwatching* (1st ed.). Triad Grafton.

Mutiah, T., Albar, I., Fitriyanto, & A.Rafiq. (2019). Etika Komunikasi Dalam Menggunakan Media Sosial. *Global Komunika*, *1*(1), 14–24. http://ejournal.stikom-db.ac.id/index.php/processor/article/view/107/105%0Ahttps://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/287201763.pdf

Naingolan, annisa E., & Kartini. (2024). Istilah Etika, Pengertian Etika Komunikasi, dan Etika Komunikasi Persuasif. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai*, *8*(1), 5004–5013.

Pappilonnis, Y. (2017). *Perbedaan Perspektif PNS Generasi X dan Generasi Y (Studi terhadap PNS di Pemerintahan Kota Salatiga)*.

Parandaru, I. (2024, January 22). *Debat Capres-Cawapres Sebagai Instrumen Komunikasi Politik*. Kompas Pedia.

Patricia, F. D. (2018). Analisis Semiotika Komunikasi Visual Buku "Memahami Komik" Scott McCloud. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, *2*(2), 278–280. https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v2i2.702

Priyowidodo, G., & Chory. (2024). Public opinion on Indonesia's capital relocation policy: a netnographic analysis. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, *8*(2), 275–286. https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v8i2.6936

Purbasari, M. (2014). *Warna Dingin Si Pemberi Nyaman*.

Putra, E. P. (2024). *Gibran Ikon Anak Muda di Politik, Tapi Sikapnya Saat Debat Disorot*. Republika.Co.Id. https://pemilukita.republika.co.id/berita/s7ztwp484/gibran-ikon-anak-muda-di-politik-tapi-sikapnya-saat-debat-disorot

Putra, S. Y. (2016). Theoritical Review: Teori perbedaan Generasi. *Jurnal STIEMA*.

Putri, R. R. (2018). Konflik Sosial Dalam Novel Dawuk : Kisah Kelabu Dari Rumbuk Randu Karya Mahfud Ikhwan (Kajian Teori Ralf Dahrendorf) Rany Rizkyah Putri Abstrak. *Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, *01*, 1–7.

Rahmatullah, S. L. (2022). *Representasi Watak Adigang Adigung Adiguna dalam Penciptaan Karya Seni Grafis Cetak Tinggi*. Pascasarjana Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta.

Rante, H. A. T., Akbar, M., & Febri Sonni, A. (2024). *Terjemahan Gaya Berbusana Calon Presiden Indonesia sebagai Bahasa Visual di Panggung Debat Capres 2024* (Vol. 7, Issue 4). http://Jiip.stkipyapisdompu.ac.id

Raswandaru, M. R., Rayanti, R. E., & Santoso, A. B. (2023). Interaksi Sosial Lansia dan Remaja di Panti Wreda. *Jurnal Ilmu Keperawatan Komunitas*, *6*(2), 20–27.

Rezkian, syafira H. P., & Simatupang, E. C. (2024). Face Threatening-Acts In Indonesia Fourth Vice-presidential Candidate Election Debate (2024): Pragmatics Study. *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa Dan Sastra*, *10*(3). https://e-journal.my.id/onoma

Rijali, A. (2018). Analisis Data Kualitatif. *Jurnal Alhadharah*, *17*(33). https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18592/alhadharah.v17i33.2374

Russmann, U., Svensson, J., & Larrson, A. O. (2019). Political Parties and Their Pictures: Visual Communication on Instagram in Swedish and Norwegian Election Campaigns. In *Visual Political Communication* (pp. 119–144).

Salamah, N., & Sumarlam. (2023). Analisis Wacana Debat Pertama Capres dan Cawapres Pemilu 2019. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Linguistik Dan Sastra (SEMANTIKS) 2019*.

Sapitri, P. A., Chasanah, A., Putri, A. A., & Paulima, J. (2019). Exploring Brown and Levinson's Politeness Strategies: An Explanation on the Nature of the Politeness Phenomenon. *Journal of Research and Innovation in Language*, *1*(3), 111–117. http://ojs.journal.unilak.ac.id/index.php/

Setiawanty, I., & Marvela. (2024, January 21). *Kostum Ganjar-Mahfud di Debat Cawapres ala Mapala: Ramah Lingkungan Sesuai Tema*. Tempo.Co.

Setyawati, R. (2013). *Kesantunan Berbahasa dalam Pembelajaran di Kelas* [Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta]. https://publikasiilmiah.ums.ac.id/handle/11617/3428?show=full

Shofianah, Ghufron, S., & Selirowangi, N. B. (2020). Kesantunan Berbahasa pada Dialog Debat Pilpres 2019. *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 6(1), 70–90.

Simatupang, O., Lubis, L. A., & Wijaya, H. (2015). *Gaya Berkomunikasi dan Adaptasi Budaya Mahasiswa Batak di Yogyakarta*.

Situmorang, L., Nasir, B., Hartutiningsih, & Saputri, D. M. (2023). A strategic analysis of moving the state capital impact on Indonesia's economic. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, 7(3), 851–864. https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v7i3.6219

Subagio, M. D. B. (2022). *Peran Lokus Kendali dan Dukungan Sosial terhadap Modal Psikologis Karyawan*.

Sudarsono, S. C. (2022, November 2). *Strategi Kesantunan Berbahasa Menurut Brown dan Levinson*. Sastranesia.Id. https://sastranesia.id/strategi-kesantunan-berbahasa-menurut-brown-dan-levinson/

Sülflow, M., & Maurer, M. (2019). The Power of Smiling. How Politicians' Displays of Happiness Affect Viewers' Gaze Behaviour and Political Judgments. In *Visual Political Communication* (pp. 207–224).

Sutrasna, Y. (2023). *Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia Disrupsi Teknologi Dan Kesenjangan Generasi* (H. Wijayanti, Ed.). www.jejakpublisher.com

TheJakartaPost. (2024, February 26). *Sifat Asli Gibran*. The Jakarta Post. https://www.thejakartapost.com/id/opinion/2024/01/26/gibrans-true-colors.html

Trisa, Y., Suprijono, A., & Jacky, M. (2018). Kearifan Lokal Budaya Minang "dimana bumi dipijak, disitu langit dijunjung" dalam Konteks Etnopedagogi: Kasus Perantau Minang di Kota Surabaya. *Jurnal of Education Technologi and Innovation (JETI)*, 01(2). https://doi.org/10.31537/jeti.v1i2

Veneti, A., Jackson, D., & Lilleker, D. G. (2019). Visual Political Communication. In *Lande: The Calais "Jungle" and Beyond*. Springer Nature Switzerland AG. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvndv935.7

Wahidmurni. (2017). *Pemasaran Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*.

Wahyuningsih, S. (2022). Konsep Etika dalam Islam. *Jurnal An-Nur: Kajian Pendidikan Dan Ilmu Keislaman*, 8(1), 1–9.

Wibawanto, A. (2021). *Ngeluruk Tanpo Bolo, Menang Tanpo Ngasorake*. Pedia Media Nusantara. https://www.nupedia.or.id/ngeluruk-tanpo-bolo-menang-tanpo-ngasorake/

Winarni, R. W. (2012). Pakaian sebagai Kajian Interaksi Simbolik. *Perspektif Baru Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Tinggi Desain Berbasis Realitas Sosial Masyarakat*, 4(2), 194–205.

Worldometer. (2024). *Indonesian Population (Live)*. https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/indonesia-population/

Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press.

Yuniar, R. (2019). *Pilpres & Jurnalistik Hitam Putih* (H. P. Zaenuddin & N. B. Soemanto, Eds.). Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Yuniar, R., & Ahsan, T. F. (2024). Internalizing Pancasila Values among the Younger Generation in Jakarta in the Context of the 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, 9(1), 194–210. https://doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v9i1.1025

Zhahari Adi, R., & Nirwana, R. (2021). Face Threatening Act in US Presidential Candidate First Debate Between Joe Biden and Donald Trump on Daily Mail and YouTube's Sky news 2020. *TheGist*, 4(2).

Zharandont, P. (2015). *Pengaruh Warna Bagi Suatu Produk dan Psikologis Manusia*.

Zulkarnain, I. (2020). *Etika politik dinasti dan urgensi Pilkada 2020 dalam ancaman pendemi covid 19*.