

The Cinematic Canvas of Politics: A Framing Analysis of 'Dirty Vote' Film During the 2024 Election Cycle

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Abstract: This research discusses the documentary film "Dirty Vote" which successfully shocked the world of politics in Indonesia. This research is qualitative research by producing descriptive data. Researchers use Zongdan Pan & Kosicki's Framing analysis to see how the reality of the issue of fraud in the 2024 Election is structured, told, written and emphasized in the construction of a documentary film. The conclusions obtained from this research can be divided into four major structures, including: (1) Syntactic Structure, the film Dirty Vote tells about democracy which cannot be interpreted as limited to the implementation of elections and tells about power being misused; (2) The structure of the script prepared in the film Dirty Vote starts from a vote survey which shows symptoms of transactional politics, political practices of retribution, violations of integrity pacts, mass mobilization efforts in GBK, cases of corruption in village funds, intimidation of village heads, misuse and increase of budget funds. significant social assistance ahead of the election, the non-neutrality of the President and State Apparatus, Bawaslu failing to supervise the election, various KPU violations and the controversial Constitutional Court decision; (3) Thematic structure, shown in the narrative where it is stated that this victory has been planned and arranged in a structured, systematic and massive manner over the last 10 years and is controlled by power holders who can move the state apparatus and budget; (4) Rhetorical structure, Dandhy as the director wants to emphasize Jokowi's expressions which are very different from the current situation, where all his children are involved in the world of politics. However, it should be remembered that this film has no influence on the results of the 2024 presidential election recapitulation by the KPU which stated that the Prabowo – Gibran pair received the most votes in Indonesia.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini membahas film dokumenter "Dirty Vote" yang sukses menggemparkan dunia politik Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menghasilkan data deskriptif. Peneliti menggunakan analisis Framing Zongdan Pan & Kosicki untuk melihat bagaimana realitas isu kecurangan dalam Pemilu 2024 distrukturkan, diceritakan, ditulis, dan ditekankan dalam konstruksi sebuah film dokumenter. Kesimpulan yang diperoleh dari penelitian ini dapat dibagi menjadi empat struktur utama, yaitu: (1) Struktur Sintaksis, film Dirty Vote berkisah tentang demokrasi yang tidak dapat dimaknai terbatas pada penyelenggaraan pemilu saja dan berkisah tentang kekuasaan yang disalahgunakan; (2) Struktur naskah yang disusun dalam film Dirty Vote bermula dari survei suara yang menunjukkan gejala politik transaksional, praktik politik retribusi, pelanggaran pakta integritas, upaya

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pengerahan massa di GBK, kasus korupsi dana desa, intimidasi kepala desa, penyalahgunaan dan penambahan dana anggaran, bantuan sosial yang cukup besar menjelang pemilu, ketidaknetralan Presiden dan Aparatur Negara, Bawaslu yang gagal mengawasi pemilu, berbagai pelanggaran KPU dan putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi yang kontroversial; (3) Struktur Tematik, ditunjukkan pada narasi yang menyebutkan bahwa kemenangan ini telah direncanakan dan disusun secara terstruktur, sistematis, dan masif selama 10 tahun terakhir dan dikendalikan oleh pemegang kekuasaan yang dapat menggerakkan aparat dan anggaran negara; (4) Struktur retorika, Dandhy sebagai sutradara ingin menekankan ungkapan-ungkapan Jokowi yang sangat berbeda dengan situasi saat ini, di mana semua anaknya berkecimpung di dunia politik. Namun, perlu diingat bahwa film ini tidak berpengaruh terhadap hasil rekapitulasi Pilpres 2024 oleh KPU yang menyatakan pasangan Prabowo – Gibran memperoleh suara terbanyak di Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

The 2024 election in Indonesia will be an important milestone in the nation's democratic journey. As the third largest election in the world, this process not only involves voters spread across more than 17,000 islands but also presents complex political dynamics, including challenges to transparency, integrity and community empowerment through information.(Indonesia.go.id, 2024) The media, as the fourth pillar of democracy, has a vital role in framing political issues and shaping public perceptions of elections. Film is a form of popular media and has great potential to influence people's views and attitudes towards political issues.

One of the interesting phenomena that emerged in the context of general elections was the emergence of films that were directly or indirectly involved in highlighting political issues and competing candidates (Panuju, Redi, 2019). In this context, the emergence of the film "Dirty Vote" is an interesting phenomenon. This film is not just a cinematic work, but also a medium for criticism of dirty political practices that often occur during the electoral process.

Recently, the public has been shocked by the presence of the film "Dirty Vote" which has become a media interruption during the 2024 election which has given rise to two speculations. The first speculation is that the film aims to create voters who are intelligent and not easily influenced by the practice of money politics. However, on the other hand, this film is a divisive or propaganda tool that only benefits a handful of parties. Set against the backdrop of the 2024 elections, this film reflects the trend of using cinematic narratives as a means of political framing and social awareness.

Dirty Vote is Dandhy Laksono's second film released ahead of the general election in Indonesia after Sexy Killers in the 2019 general election. According to Dandhy, he was motivated to produce Dirty Vote, partly because of his concern about the results of the Constitutional Court's decision in November 2023 which lowered the age requirements for vice presidential candidates. The reason he chose Zainal Arifin, Bivitri, and Feri as sources was their experience in handling cases at the Constitutional Court and their ability to explain constitutional issues to their viewers. He also denied the involvement of foreign companies in funding this film project. This 117 minute film features three constitutional law experts who reveal what they call fraud in the 2024 Presidential election process (Wikipedia, 2024).

Dirty Vote is a documentary film ¹ regarding fraud in the 2024 election. This film will air on Sunday, February 11, 2024 on YouTube. This film has a duration of 1:57:21 which has been

¹ Documentary films have the concept of realism (realism) as a priority, bringing together facts related to real characters, events and also real locations (not made up or made up like fiction films). Generally, these films are produced by civil society groups or certain communities and raise various social, cultural and environmental issues. The aim is to provide new awareness and inspire the audience to encourage social transformation.

watched by more than 4 million views on the YouTube account Dirty Vote – Full Movie (OFFICIAL) as of Monday, February 12 2024 (Lana Filana, 2024). So far, the film has been watched by more than 9.5 million views (PSHK Indonesia, 2024). Now documentary film production has turned into the most vibrant form of social movement and is part of a wider phenomenon of mass media-based social movements. (Irawanto, B., & Octastefani, T, 2019).

This can certainly form democracy on behalf of the people through one informative point. The Dirty Vote used tells the story of the fraudulent design of the 2024 Election from the perspective of constitutional law experts in Indonesia. Starting from the political dynasty created by President Jokowi, the non-neutrality of public officials, the authority and potential fraud of village heads, the budget and distribution of social assistance, the use of public facilities, to state institutions that commit ethical violations.

Based on the comprehensive explanation above, this research aims to analyze the documentary film Dirty Vote. The research focuses on how this film depicts political dynamics, the characterization of political figures, and the political issues presented in the film, as well as their influence on the audience's perceptions and attitudes towards the general election process. It is hoped that this film's content analysis can provide a deeper understanding of the role of the media in shaping public opinion, especially in a political context. Through content analysis of the film "Dirty Vote", it is hoped that it can provide valuable insight into the role of the media in the political process, as well as enrich our understanding of the dynamics of general elections in this digital era.

This research is qualitative research which emphasizes the nature of the social formation of research reality (Lexy J. Moleong, 2018) The mechanism produces descriptive data in the form of words, whether written or spoken, from people or behavior observed by researchers (John W. Creswell., 2009; Denzin, K. Norman & Lincoln, S. Yvonna. 2009). The data obtained is primary data in the form of the film Dirty Vote - Full Movie on the PSHK Indonesia Youtube account, and secondary data that researchers obtained from scientific manuscripts, books, trusted websites and so on (Sugiyono. 2019). This data was analyzed using Zhongdang Pan and Kosicki Framing analysis. This model assumes that every news story has a frame that functions as a center for ideas related to meaning. In this approach it can be divided into four major structures, namely; Syntactic Structure, Script Structure, Thematic Structure and Rhetorical Structure.

Table 1. Zondang Pan & Kosicki Framing Structure (Eriyanto. 2009)

STRUKTUR	PERANGKAT FRAMING	UNIT YANG DIANALISA
SINTAKSIS Cara wartawan menyusun fakta	Skema Berita	<i>Headline, lead, latar informasi, kutipan sumber, pernyataan, penutup</i>
SKRIP Cara wartawan mengisahkan fakta	Kelengkapan berita	5W+1H
TEMATIK Cara wartawan menulis fakta	Detail Koherensi Bentuk Kalimat Kata Ganti	Paragraf, proposisi, kalimat, hubungan antar kalimat
RETORIS Cara wartawan menekankan fakta	Leksikon Grafis Metafora	Kata, idiom, gambar/foto, grafik

The researcher focuses on Framing analysis of the film Dirty Vote. It is hoped that this can achieve the goal of exploring and understanding how the filmmakers use presentation techniques to shape the audience's views and attitudes towards the politics presented in the film. This kind of analysis can provide deep insight into the influence of visual media in shaping people's opinions and perceptions about political issues.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dirty Vote Documentary

Films are a product of cultural identity (Fitri Murfianti, 2020) which can be used as a promotional tool or even propaganda. With its audio-visual nature, according to Klarer (Chelsy, 2021), films are a type of literary work because the various ways in which films are presented are in accordance with the textual characteristics of literary texts. (Effendy, 2014) in (Sayyaf, 2023) states that the main purpose of the general public in watching films is to obtain entertainment. But apart from that, films can also contain content that is informative, educational, or even persuasive. Films also being an effective means of campaigning for social change is nothing new. One of the interesting phenomena that emerged in the context of general elections was the emergence of films that were directly or indirectly involved in highlighting political issues and competing candidates (Panuju, Redi, 2019).

Recently, the public has been shocked by the presence of the film "Dirty Vote" which has become a media interruption during the 2024 election, which has given rise to two speculations. The first speculation is that the film aims to create voters who are intelligent and not easily influenced by the practice of money politics. However, on the other hand, this film is a divisive or propaganda tool that only benefits a handful of parties.



Figure 1. Dirty Vote 2024 film

Dirty Vote is Dandhy Laksono's second film released ahead of the general election in Indonesia after Sexy Killers in the 2019 general election. According to Dandhy, he was motivated to produce Dirty Vote, partly because of his concern about the results of the Constitutional Court's decision in November 2023 which lowered the age requirements for vice presidential candidates. The reason he chose three constitutional law experts, namely; Zainal Arifin Mochtar from Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Bivitri Susanti from Jentera Indonesian Law School, and Feri Amsari from Andalas University as resource persons are their experience in handling cases at the Constitutional Court and are able to explain constitutional issues to their viewers. He also denied the involvement of foreign companies in funding this film project. This 117 minute film features three constitutional law experts who reveal what they call fraud in the 2024 Presidential election process (Wikipedia, 2024).

Dirty Vote is a documentary film about fraud in the 2024 Election. This film will be broadcast on Sunday, February 11 2024 on YouTube. This film has a duration of 1:57:21 which has been watched by more than 4 million views on the YouTube account Dirty Vote – Full Movie (OFFICIAL) as of Monday, February 12 2024 (Lana Filana, 2024). Until now, the film has been watched by more than 9.5 million shows (PSHK Indonesia, 2024). Now documentary film

production has turned into the most vibrant form of social movement and is part of a wider phenomenon of mass media-based social movements (Irawanto, B., & Octastefani, T, 2019). Journalistic methods are applied in making documentary films by involving people or sources who are also facts. The performance of journalists is represented as describing and explaining in detail the data from the results of news coverage or journalist documentation.

Dilemma when we watch the documentary film *Dirty Vote* with a duration of 1:57:21, this can certainly form democracy in the name of the people through one informative point. The *Dirty Vote* used tells the story of the fraudulent design of the 2024 Election from the perspective of constitutional law experts in Indonesia. Starting from the political dynasty that was created during President Jokowi's leadership, the non-neutrality of public officials, the authority and potential fraud of village heads, the budget and distribution of social assistance, the use of public facilities, to state institutions that commit ethical violations. For information, the film *Dirty Vote* is slightly similar to *Sexy Killers* (Murfianti, F, 2020; Mustika, H. D., & Kurnia, S. S, 2020; Niluh Wiwik Eka, 2019) which tells about the involvement of central officials in indications of fraud in the 2019 election.

Various reactions emerged after the *Dirty Vote* film was uploaded on the PSHK Indonesia Youtube account because it was considered news that provoked and contained hate speech, such as the following news example: Bawaslu will check the *Dirty Vote* film regarding slander and sheep fighting (detik.com, 2024), reported to the relevant police The film *Dirty Vote*, Zainal Arifin: Risks, Just Face It (Saputro, Febrianto Adi. 2024), *Dirty Vote* Crowded with Criticism on TikTok, Considered Slander and Black Campaign (Dicky Prastya, 2024), Bahlil says the film '*Dirty Vote*' is a hallucination (AntaraNews , 2024). These broadcasts and reactions have become a fact that there is a successful social movement based on social media just to criticize deviations from those in power. According to Dandhy, the challenge for him in producing a documentary film that reveals deviations from those in power is that it creates distractions and can move society (Uniar, 2020).

Framing Analysis of 'Dirty Vote' Film During The 2024 Election Cycle

Framing analysis is the latest version of the discourse analysis approach, which specifically analyzes media texts (Eriyanto; 2006; Sobur, 2009). Framing analysis is basically a method used to look at the style of storytelling or media packaging about an event or reality (Irawan, 2019). The concept of framing is based on the idea that a story or issue presented can influence the final result of reality construction such as the audience's perception, understanding and attitude towards it (Eriyanto, 2005; Wicks, 2005; Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele, 2006). The analysis in this research will use Zongdang Pan and Kosicki's framing device. In this approach, it can be divided into four major structures.

1. Syntactic Structure

The syntactic dimension in framing theory from Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki focuses on the grammatical structure and organization of text, especially how syntactic elements are used to build a particular framing. In the context of media and films such as "*Dirty Vote*", this dimension is relevant for analyzing how sentence structure structures political narratives. Syntactic structure relates to the way journalists organize and organize information in a storyline or report. This involves compiling events, statements, opinions, quotes and observations of events that occurred (Novin, 2013).

Syntactic analysis in this case discusses how the film *Dirty Vote* reveals indications of structured, systematic and massive fraud in the 2024 Election. This film was deliberately released during a calm period in the hope that director Dandhy Dwi Laksono could educate the public (SoloposNews, 2024). This storyline is about how the 2024 election fraud was planned long ago involving many parties by those with power who have been in power together for the last 10 years. *Dirty vote* tells about two things, including about democracy which cannot be interpreted as limited



to holding elections and tells about power being misused, because netotism is unlawful in a democratic rule of law state. Like President Jokowi's non-neutrality in supporting Candidate Candidate 02 Prabowo – Gibran, the swelling of the social assistance funding budget and the most controversial one, namely the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the 2024 CAWAPRES age limit. The film presented by the three constitutional law experts is certainly a reminder to anyone who wants to commit fraud. in the stages of collecting, calculating and recapitulating the results. Relevance of the use of theory Pan and Kosicki's theory, the syntactic dimension can help identify how the film "Dirty Vote": Framing issues such as corruption, vote manipulation, or systemic injustice through sentence structure choices. Highlighting or obscuring the responsibilities of certain political actors. Directs the audience to prioritize certain issues based on grammatical order and structure.

2. Script Structure

What is the structure of the script, in this case the sources narrate or relate events in the form of news. This structure (Novin, 2013) looks at the storytelling strategies of the sources in packaging events into the form of a story line. The script structure in the documentary film Dirty Vote is represented by three constitutional law experts, namely; Zainal Arifin Mochtar from Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Bivitri Susanti from Jentera Indonesian Law School, and Feri Amsari from Andalas University, who explained various frauds committed by Timses 02 and President Jokowi's non-neutrality during the campaign. How the series of stories are shown and presented dramatically by the filmmaker.




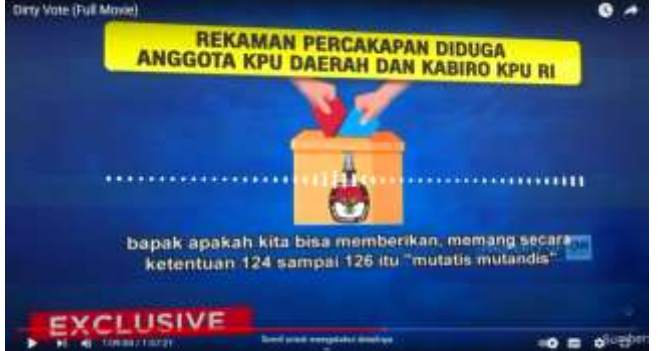
The data presented is from a collection of reports that have previously been broadcast, interviews with anonymous sources and analysis from the three constitutional law experts. There are several points of note based on the film's storyline, including;

Table 1. Framing Analysis of Dirty Vote Film Script Structure

No	Point	Movie Trailer
1	The combined votes of Jokowi and Prabowo on the island of Sumatra show symptoms of transactional politics between political elites	
2	The appointment of 20 Acting Governors and 82 Acting Mayors/Regents by President Jokowi is considered a political practice of retribution and creating loyalty to the incumbent	

<p>3 The case of Tito Karnavian's appointment as Acting Governor of Papua is considered to ignore existing regulations. This symbolizes a ruler who acts arbitrarily</p>	
<p>4 The violation of the Integrity Pact by the Regent of Sorong shows the deceit and dishonesty of public officials</p>	
<p>5 The GBK declaration by 8 village head organizations (representing 81 million voters) is suspected of being an effort to mobilize the masses for certain political interests</p>	
<p>6 The rise in cases of corruption in village funds reinforces the fact that budgets are misappropriated for political support in elections (transactional politics)</p>	

<p>7 The amount of pressure and intimidation of village heads to support the incumbent presidential candidate shows that the New Order style of politics is still ongoing</p>	
<p>8 There are officials such as Airlangga and Zulkifli Hasan who abuse social assistance for political interests in the field</p>	
<p>9 There is a significant increase in the budget for social assistance funds ahead of the election, compared to during the pandemic. This indicates the influence of money politics and vote buying.</p>	
<p>10 The Ministry of Social Affairs' data by name by address is not used in distributing aid, showing indications of fraud</p>	

<p>11 The involvement of a number of ministers and presidential candidate teams in political campaigns, outside of existing regulations, is a form of violation of the neutrality of the state apparatus</p>	
<p>12 The President's lack of neutrality in elections, including using state facilities to campaign, violates the law and tarnishes the dignity of the presidency</p>	
<p>13 Bawaslu's failure to supervise various election violations shows the weakness of independent supervision of political contestation. In this case, regarding the declaration made by Candidate Pair 02, only a warning was given.</p>	
<p>14 The KPU's various violations, in party verification and even being deemed to favor certain political parties, harmed the integrity of the election administration</p>	

- 15 The many integrity problems at the Constitutional Court, such as conflicts of interest and the controversial decision regarding the age limit in the 2024 elections, tarnish the legitimacy of the Constitutional Court as the guardian of the constitution.



Source: Dirty Vote Film – Full Movie

3. Thematic Structure

Thematic structure relates to the way the source of the story expresses his views on events into propositions, sentences or relationships between sentences that form the text as a whole (Novin, 2013). In this case there are several narratives from the three experts who fill the film.

Table 2. Thematic Structure Framing Analysis of the Dirty Vote Film

	<p>“All these plans were not designed overnight, nor were they designed alone. Most of the structured, systematic and massive fraud plans to manipulate this election were actually prepared together with other parties. They are a force that has ruled together for the last 10 years” - Feri Amsari</p>
	<p>“Political competition and power struggles, the design of power that has been prepared together ultimately falls into the hands of one party, namely the party who currently holds the key to power where he can move the apparatus and budget” - Zainal Arifin Mochtar</p>
	<p>“But this is actually not a very great plan or design. Scenarios like this have been carried out by previous regimes, in many countries and throughout history. Therefore, to organize and carry out a dirty scenario like this, you don't need cleverness or intelligence, you only need two things, a smart mentality and a shame-resistant attitude” - Bivitri Susanti</p>

Source: PSHK Indonesia YouTube account

4. Rhetorical Structure

Rhetorical Structure looks at how the source uses word choices, idioms, graphics and images that emphasize certain meanings (Novin, 2013). The framing analysis in this rhetorical structure is found in the video showing President Jokowi who said that he did not know whether Gibran was interested in politics and asked journalists to ask Gibran directly.



Figure 2. Footage of the film Dirty Vote minute 1:55:18

In the words expressed by President Jokowi, Dandhy as the director wanted to emphasize the broadcasts and analysis of previous experts. Where Jokowi's expression is very different from the current situation, where all his children are involved in the world of politics. Kaesang, who joined the PSI party, Gibran, who nominated himself as CAWAPRES 2024, and Bobby, his son-in-law, were selected as mayoral and deputy mayoral candidates in the 2020 Medan City regional elections. So, the director conveys in his film that the 2024 election was not a plan designed overnight, nor was it designed alone. Most of the structured, systematic and massive fraud plans to manipulate this election were actually prepared together with other parties during President Jokowi's rule.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of Framing Zongdang Pan and Kosicki's analysis of the documentary film Dirty Vote which reveals fraud in the 2024 Election. In this approach, it can be divided into four major structures, including: (1) Syntactic structure, the film Dirty Vote tells about two things, including democracy which cannot be interpreted as limited to holding elections and tells about power being misused; (2) The structure of the script compiled in the film starting from a survey of Jokowi and Prabowo's votes on the island of Sumatra shows symptoms of transactional politics, political practices of retribution, violations of integrity pacts, mass mobilization efforts in GBK, cases of corruption in village funds, intimidation of village heads, abuse and a significant increase in the social assistance funding budget ahead of the election, the non-neutrality of the President and State Apparatus, Bawaslu failing to supervise the election, various KPU violations and the controversial Constitutional Court decision; (3) The thematic structure in this film is shown in the narratives of the three constitutional law experts, where it is stated that this victory had been planned and arranged in a structured, systematic and massive manner over the last 10 years and was controlled by power holders who could move the apparatus and budget; (4) Rhetorical Structure, Dandhy as the director wants to emphasize the impressions and analysis of previous experts. Where Jokowi's expression is very different from the current situation, where all his children are involved in the world of politics. After conducting a Framing analysis, the researcher concluded in substance that the aim and purpose of the documentary film Dirty Vote was dissatisfaction with the decision

of the Constitutional Court which provided an opportunity for Gibran Rakabumi Raka (son of President Jokowi) to run for vice president and felt that there were other indications of fraud, especially for supporters of Gibran's opposition.

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