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Stigmatization toward Gibran Rakabuming Raka in YouTube Commentary: Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

Public perceptions of political competence are increasingly shaped by digital discourse, with social media functioning as a central arena for evaluating leadership, meritocracy, and political legitimacy. In this context, online commentary has been shown to operate as a site for the construction and circulation of stigmatizing discourse toward political figures. This study was conducted to examine the stigmatization of perceived incompetence directed at Gibran Rakabuming Raka in YouTube commentary. A corpus-based approach was employed by integrating corpus linguistics with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Health Stigma and Discrimination Framework (HSDF). The data consisted of 1,500 YouTube comments collected from responses to the video "Generasi Muda, Bonus Demografi dan Masa Depan Indonesia" *(The Younger Generation, the Demographic Bonus, and Indonesia's Future). The analysis was conducted in three stages. First, corpus analysis was applied to identify recurrent evaluative lexical patterns through word frequency and concordance examination. Second, these patterns were interpreted using CDA to analyze how linguistic choices discursively constructed political legitimacy, power relations, and resistance within the YouTube comment space. Third, HSDF was used as an interpretive framework to map stigma drivers, manifestations, and broader social implications. The findings indicate that stigmatization was predominantly produced through sarcastic language, resistance narratives, and meritocratic ideology, particularly in relation to perceived dependence on textual prompts, digital technology, and familial privilege. Methodologically, this study demonstrates how corpus-assisted CDA can be systematically combined with stigma analysis to examine evaluative political discourse in digital environments. Nevertheless, the analysis was limited by its focus on a single video and the absence of user demographic information.*

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Introduction

The study of discourse, particularly in the context of digital media, has become increasingly crucial for understanding how language shapes public perception and social dynamics. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) offers a robust framework for examining the relationship between language, power, and ideology, uncovering how texts construct social realities (Fairclough, 2015). In recent years, the proliferation of online platforms such as YouTube has changed the way political discourse is disseminated and consumed, providing a rich corpus for analyzing public sentiment and ideological positions. (Tapsell, 2017). These platforms serve as public spaces where diverse voices meet, often reflecting broader social tensions and power struggles.

YouTube, as a global platform, hosts a diverse range of user-generated content, including comments that reflect unfiltered opinions, biases, and social attitudes. These comments provide a valuable dataset for discourse analysts to explore how individuals articulate their views on political figures and events. State media narratives create a complex political memory framework, which can then be analyzed alongside public responses as a reflection of how individuals articulate their views on political events and figures (Khlevniuk et al., 2024). In Indonesia, where digital media has become a central arena for political engagement, YouTube commentary can provide important insights into how public figures are perceived and evaluated, especially in highly polarized contexts. Controversial public figures are often "dialectical icons" that spark strong emotions and divide audiences into opposing ideological camps, reinforcing social polarization through highly fragmented discussions on social media (Bittner, 2023; Xu & Xiong, 2020). The accessibility and nature of YouTube make it a unique space to study public discourse in real-time, especially in a politically charged environment.

The rise of political figures in Indonesia, especially those associated with prominent families or political dynasties, has sparked fierce public debate. Gibran Rakabuming Raka (GRR), as the former President Joko Widodo's son and a young political figure, has taken center stage in highly polarized public discussions, especially on social media (Hidayah et al., 2025; Mukhibun & Saputri, 2024; Nursalim et al., 2025; Santoso, 2024). Public perceptions of Gibran are very diverse, ranging from rejection due to legal process issues and accusations of dynastic politics, to support that highlights his innovative image and closeness to the younger generation (Amini & Setiawan, 2024; Febriandy et al., 2024; Maulana & Andriani, 2024; Ryandaresta & Amali, 2024). As a relatively young politician, Gibran's rapid rise to the political stage has elicited a variety of reactions, ranging from admiration to skepticism. Public discourse around his competence, legitimacy, and political actions often reflects broader public attitudes toward nepotism, meritocracy, and governance in Indonesia.

CDA, as a methodological approach, is well-suited to unravel these dynamics, as it highlights how language is used to maintain or challenge power structures in society through media narratives (Yudhi & Tanto, 2022). This approach examines the relationship between language practices, ideology, and power, as well as how discourse can legitimize, conceal, or even oppose the dominance of elite groups and institutions (Cutting & Fordyce, 2020; Farhadytooli, 2025; Van Dijk, 1993). By analyzing linguistic choices, rhetorical strategies, and ideological foundations, CDA allows researchers to uncover how public figures are constructed in discourse (Elsanhoury et al., 2020). In the context of YouTube comments, CDA can reveal how users use language to reinforce or counter narratives about political competence, legitimacy, and authority.

Stigmatization of public figures, especially related to the perception of incompetence, is a recurring theme in the study of political discourse. Stigma as a social construct is very often maintained through language that marginalizes or weakens individuals based on perceived shortcomings. Language used in society, media, and institutions can attach negative labels to certain groups, such as the use of the term "perpetrator" versus "person with a criminal history," which reinforces threat perceptions and encourages social

exclusion (Denver et al., 2017; Hu et al., 2024; Tyler & Slater, 2018).

YouTube comment sections function not merely as spaces for audience reaction but as sites of discursive production where meanings, evaluations, and ideological positions are actively constructed and contested (Sukma et al., 2023). User-generated comments on YouTube play a significant role in shaping political discourse by enabling collective meaning-making, polarization, and resistance toward dominant narratives (Hidayat & Saifullah, 2020; Xu & Xiong, 2020). From a CDA perspective, such comments operate as dialogic texts in which linguistic choices reflect broader social ideologies and power relations (Baker et al., 2008; Taylor & Marchi, 2018). In the Indonesian political context, YouTube commentary has been shown to facilitate the circulation of evaluative and stigmatizing discourses toward public figures, particularly through sarcasm, labeling, and moral judgment, which are amplified by anonymity and interactivity (Nurwahid et al., 2025; Shofi & Hadiutomo, n.d.; Tarigan, 2025). This confirms that YouTube comments are not peripheral to political communication but constitute a critical arena for the discursive construction of political legitimacy.

Given the discursive density and ideological complexity of YouTube commentary, a methodologically robust approach is required to systematically capture recurring linguistic patterns while simultaneously interpreting their socio-political meanings (Suryani & Suhandano, 2025). The corpus-based approach in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is growing in popularity because it allows for systematic analysis of large datasets, thereby increasing objectivity and depth in identifying linguistic and ideological patterns (Cheng, 2012; Nartey & Mwinlaaru, 2019; Taylor & Marchi, 2018). By combining quantitative and qualitative methods, corpus-based CDA allows researchers to identify recurring themes, lexical choices, and rhetorical strategies across large text sets. This approach is especially important in digital contexts, where volumes of data can be huge, yet discourse patterns can reveal underlying social ideologies and attitudes.

While there is a lot of research on political discourse in digital media, there is still a lack of understanding of how stigmatization, particularly related to perceptions of incompetence, is built into user-generated content on platforms like YouTube. Several studies have examined YouTube users' responses to public figures and political discourse using corpus-based approaches and sentiment analysis, such as in the study of Hidayat and Saifullah (2020) which analyzed users' speech actions related to President Joko Widodo's speech, as well as the research of Amalia et al. (2024) Saputra et al.(2024) which utilizes BERT and CNN algorithms to detect hate speech and sentiment against the 2024 presidential candidate, there are research gaps that have not been widely explored. These studies tend to focus on the analysis of general sentiment or the classification of hate speech without delving deeply into the relationships between language, power, and ideology that shape public perceptions of certain public figures, such as GRR, in the context of the stigma of incompetence.

In addition, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in an integrated manner with linguistic corpus tools such as AntConc and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model, Norman Fairclough (2010), is still minimally applied to analyze YouTube comments related to the vice presidential figure, especially in the context of the issue of demographic bonus and the role of the younger generation. This study seeks to fill this gap by combining AntConc-based analysis of word frequency and relationships with the CDA approach to uncover the ideological and power dynamics hidden behind netizens' comments on GRR, with a focus on the stigma of incompetence in the *Wakil Presiden Indonesia* (Vice President of Indonesia) YouTube video.

This study aims to address the gaps that have been identified by conducting a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of YouTube comments on videos from the *Wakil Presiden Indonesia* channel, focusing on the stigmatization of the perception of GRR's incompetence. In particular, this research will examine the lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, and discursive practices that

construct Gibran as incompetent, exploring how this contributes to a broader narrative of political legitimacy and power in Indonesia. The objectives are to: (1) identify repetitive linguistic features in comments that stigmatize Gibran, (2) analyze how these features reflect public attitudes towards political issues in Indonesia by analyzing critical discourse, (3) analyze how incompetence stigmatizes Gibran, and (4) assess YouTube's role as a platform for political discourse in Indonesia. By focusing on this specific context, this research contributes to a broader discussion of political communication, digital media, and the role of language in shaping public perception in Indonesia.

Methodology

This study employed a mixed-methods design by integrating quantitative corpus-based analysis with qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the stigmatization of perceived incompetence toward Gibran Rakabuming Raka (GRR) in YouTube commentary. This approach was adopted to ensure both empirical rigor and critical interpretation, allowing linguistic patterns identified through corpus tools to be systematically interpreted within their socio-political context.

The analysis was guided by Fairclough's (1995, 2010) three-dimensional model of CDA, namely text, discursive practice, and social practice (the analysis of social practice in this study includes socio-historical contextualization, whereby discursive patterns are interpreted in relation to broader historical, institutional, and ideological structures (Fairclough, 1992, 2001). It was combined with the Health Stigma and Discrimination Framework (HSDF) proposed by Stangl et al. (2019). Corpus linguistics functioned as an empirical entry point to identify salient lexical patterns and recurring evaluative expressions, while CDA provided interpretive depth by linking these linguistic features to power relations and ideology. HSDF was applied to conceptualize how discursive representations of incompetence operate as stigma drivers, facilitators, manifestations, and impacts within digital political discourse.

The integration of corpus linguistics and CDA followed the principles of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), which posits that quantitative frequency patterns and concordance analysis can reduce researcher bias and strengthen qualitative discourse interpretation (Baker et al., 2008; McEnery & Hardie, 2011).

The primary data consisted of 1,500 YouTube comments collected from the video entitled *"Generasi Muda, Bonus Demografi dan Masa Depan Indonesia"* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ldxzVrtqXFg) published on the *Wakil Presiden Indonesia* YouTube channel. This video was selected purposively because it positioned GRR as a national leader addressing Indonesia's opportunities and challenges in facing demographic bonuses and global competition, as well as the important role of the younger generation in advancing the nation (Adriani & Yustini, 2021; Sriwahyuni et al., 2025; Warsito, 2019), which subsequently triggered intense public evaluation and criticism in the comment section.

Comments were downloaded automatically, not manually, using the Apify platform (https://apify.com/) through its *YouTube Comments Scraper* tool (https://apify.com/streamers/youtube-comments-scraper). This tool enabled systematic extraction of comments, including replies, usernames (anonymized), timestamps, and like counts. Automated scraping was preferred to ensure data completeness, replicability, and transparency in corpus construction, which are essential standards in corpus-based discourse research (McEnery & Hardie, 2011).

From the total retrieved comments, 1,500 comments were selected based on the following criteria: (1) relevance to GRR and the video topic, (2) presence of evaluative or critical language, and (3) engagement level, indicated by likes and replies. Irrelevant, spam, and duplicated comments were excluded during the data-cleaning process. The cleaned corpus was analyzed using AntConc (v.4.2.4), a widely used corpus analysis software in discourse studies. AntConc was selected due to its reliability and transparency in generating word lists, keyword frequencies, concordance

lines, and collocation patterns, which are central tools in corpus-assisted CDA (Anthony, 2022; Baker et al., 2008).

The corpus features employed in this study included 1) Word List to identify high-frequency lexical items; 2) Keyword Analysis to detect salient words associated with evaluative and stigmatizing meanings, 3) Concordance (KWIC) to examine words such as *baca*, *AI*, and *nepotisme* within their immediate co-text, and 4) Collocation Analysis to observe semantic associations reinforcing stigma. These features supported the micro-level (textual) analysis in Fairclough's (1995, 2010) CDA by providing empirical linguistic evidence for lexical choice, evaluative patterns, and rhetorical positioning.

The quantitative corpus findings were subsequently interpreted through Fairclough's (1995, 2010) CDA dimensions to analyze meaning-making processes at the levels of text, discursive practice, and social practice. The HSDF framework (Stangl et al., 2019) was then applied to map how recurrent linguistic patterns function as stigma drivers, facilitators, tagging mechanisms, manifestations, and social impacts. To ensure analytical validity, the study employed theoretical triangulation by cross-referencing corpus results, CDA interpretation, and stigma theory. Systematic documentation of analytical steps and repeated concordance checks were conducted to enhance reliability and transparency.

Results and Discussion

This section presents an integrated analysis of 1,500 YouTube comments from the video "Generasi Muda, Bonus Demografi dan Masa Depan Indonesia" on the *Wakil Presiden Indonesia* YouTube channel.

1. Text: Micro-Level Linguistic Analysis with Corpus Evidence

The Text dimension of Fairclough's (1995, 2010) framework attends to the formal linguistic features of discourse: lexical choice, syntactic structures, rhetorical devices, and intertextual relations (Delfia et al., 2023). In the present study, these features are examined in direct conjunction with corpus data produced by AntConc, which identified ten high-frequency keywords across the 1,500-comment dataset (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Rather than treating frequency statistics as a self-contained finding, this dimension uses corpus evidence as the primary evidentiary base for linguistic analysis, consistent with the methodological principles of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), which hold that meaning emerges not from isolated lexical items but from patterns of co-occurrence, collocation, and context (Baker et al., 2008; Hunston, 2010).

a. Lexical and Semantic Patterns

Concordance analysis of the keywords Gibran (106 occurrences) and Wapres (177 occurrences) served as the initial retrieval nodes rather than as thematic constraints from which the ten stigmatization-related keywords were identified. Following corpus-assisted discourse studies, these nodes served to retrieve relevant discourse segments, allowing additional referential expressions (e.g., “Anak Presiden”, nepotism-related labels) to emerge inductively through concordance patterns and contextual evaluation (Baker, 2006; Baker et al., 2013).

In this study, the term “keyword” is used in a functional and discourse-analytical sense rather than in its strict statistical definition that requires comparison with an external reference corpus. The analysis focused on identifying salient high-frequency lexical items within a closed and topic-specific corpus of YouTube comments responding to a single video. Such an approach is commonly adopted in corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), where frequency patterns within a specialized corpus are examined to reveal dominant evaluative and ideological tendencies without relying on general reference corpora (Baker et al., 2008; Gries, 2021). Therefore, the identified keywords represent discourse-salient items that recur prominently in stigmatizing contexts rather than keywords derived from statistical keyness calculations. The distribution of these keywords is presented in Table 1 below.

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Table 1. Frequency of Keywords Related to Incompetence Stigma

No	Keyword Stigmatization of Incompetence	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.	Baca (Read)	68	45.33 %
2.	AI (Artificial Intelligence)	21	14.00 %
3.	Bocah (Kid)	5	3.33 %
4.	Anak Presiden (President's Son)	4	2.67 %
5.	Pencitraan (Imaging)	10	6.67 %
6.	Kosong (Empty)	10	6.67 %
7.	Nepotisme (Nepotism)	10	6.67 %
8.	Kurang (Less)	10	6.67 %
9.	Buruk (Bad)	5	3.33 %
10.	Omon-Omon (empty talk/lip service)	7	4.67 %

To visualize the distribution of keywords, here is a bar graph and table showing the frequency of those words:

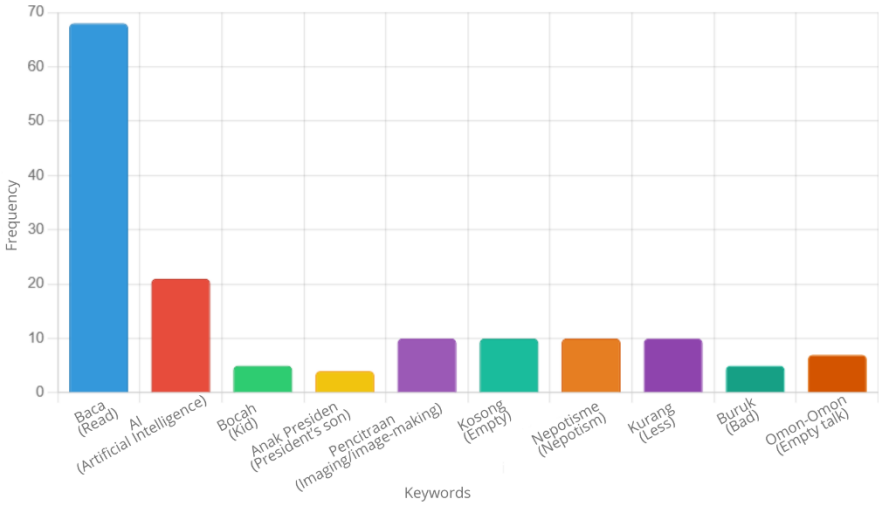


Figure 1. Keyword Frequency Bar Graph Related to Incompetence Stigma

The lexical item with the highest frequency is *baca* (to read/reading, 68 occurrences; 45.33%), followed by *AI* (Artificial Intelligence, 21 occurrences; 14.00%), and a cluster of terms, *pencitraan* (imaging), *kosong* (empty), *nepotisme* (nepotism), and *kurang* (less/lacking), each appearing 10 times (6.67%). Less frequent but discursively significant items include *omon-omon* (empty talk, 7 occurrences), *bocah* (kid, 5 occurrences), *buruk* (bad, 5 occurrences), and *Anak Presiden* (President's Son, 4 occurrences). The dominance of *baca* and *AI* is particularly significant. They account for nearly 60% of all keyword occurrences, indicating that public evaluation of GRR converges overwhelmingly on the themes of inauthenticity and technological dependency.

Although *baca* is semantically neutral in everyday Indonesian usage, its concordance lines reveal a consistent evaluative function. The term recurs in contexts that accuse GRR of intellectual dependency, lack of spontaneity, and absence of original thought. Concordance analysis reveals that *baca* frequently collocates with *teks* (text), *prompter*, and *ChatGPT*, signalling a semantic prosody of inauthenticity. Consider the following examples from the corpus:

1) *Ah ini di setting karena baca teks coba klo face to face planga plongo gibran* (Ah, this is clearly staged because [he] reads the text; try [having him speak] face to face and Gibran would be dumbfounded)

This comment uses the discourse-deictic marker *ini* (this) to point to the immediate video event as evidence of staged performance. The conditional structure *coba klo face to face* (try if face to face) implicitly constructs an authentic communicative standard against which GRR is judged to fail. The colloquial Indonesian informal expression *planga plongo* (dumbfounded, confused) reinforces the evaluative judgment by imagining a competence gap the moment textual support is removed.

2) *baca teks udah gitu teks nya dibuat pake ChatGPT* ([He] reads the text, and on top of that, the text itself was made using ChatGPT)

The syntactic simplicity of this comment, a bare declarative with no explicit subject, reflects an assumed shared knowledge between commenters. The assertion that the speech text was itself generated by ChatGPT extends the stigmatization beyond GRR's delivery to the authenticity of the speech content itself, compounding the charge of intellectual incompetence.

These patterns align with Hunston's (2010) concept of evaluative prosody, the word *baca* does not carry inherent negative valence, but its repeated co-occurrence with markers of dependency and artificiality constructs a negative evaluative frame around GRR's public persona. Martin & White (2005) Appraisal framework further contextualizes this, *baca* functions as an implicit judgment of capacity, attributing to GRR a deficiency in the social esteem category of normality and tenacity.

The second most frequent keyword, *AI* (21 occurrences; 14.00%), operates with a similarly negative evaluative prosody, though its rhetorical range is broader. Concordance lines include both direct accusation and satirical hyperbole:

3) *Naskahnya dibuat sama AI* (His speech script was made by AI)

This comment, again structurally bare and declarative, attributes the authorship of GRR's speech to artificial intelligence, positioning the Vice President as a mere conduit rather than an originator of ideas.

4) *Lebih baik wapres nya AI aja, efisiensi APBN* (It would be better if the Vice President were AI, it would save the state budget)

This comment escalates from accusation to replacement logic; if GRR merely executes AI-generated content, he is interchangeable with the technology itself. The addition of *efisiensi APBN* (state budget efficiency) introduces economic rationality as a discursive resource, rendering the sarcasm doubly damning by framing the removal of GRR as fiscally sound policy.

The mid-frequency keywords, *nepotisme*, *pencitraan*, *kosong*, and *kurang,* contribute an ideological dimension to the stigmatization discourse. *Nepotisme* and *Anak Presiden* explicitly invoke GRR's familial relationship with President Joko Widodo as the disqualifying factor for legitimate leadership:

5) *Tumbuh Dari Nepotisme Dan Tumbuh Dari Perusak Konstitusi* (Grew from Nepotism and Grew from [being] a Destroyer of the Constitution)

The parallel repetition of *Tumbuh Dari* (Grew from) constructs a genealogical argument, GRR is discursively constituted not as an individual achiever but as a product of institutional corruption. The phrase *Perusak Konstitusi* (Destroyer of the Constitution) alludes to the Constitutional Court ruling that lowered the minimum age for presidential candidates in 2023 (Ardhi, 2023), embedding legal-historical context into the stigmatization.

6) *Salah lu bukan anak presiden wkk* (Too bad you're not the president's son, wkk)

The rhetorical use of a counterfactual (*if you weren't the president's son*) implies that GRR's position is entirely contingent on kinship rather than competence. The informal laughter marker *wkk* signals sarcasm and communal mockery rather than sincere inquiry.

The term *kosong* (empty, 10 occurrences) and *omon-omon* (empty talk, 7 occurrences) form a semantic cluster of substantive vacuity, targeting the intellectual content of GRR's speech rather than its mode of delivery:

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7) *kosong isi ceramah Hokage 13* (Empty, the content of the speech of Hokage 13)

The intertextual reference to *Hokage*, a fictional ninja leader from the Japanese manga *Naruto*, performs a dual function; it trivialises GRR's authority by comparing him to a fictional character while also invoking a cultural text familiar to Indonesian youth, the primary audience of this video. This move simultaneously demeans the speaker and signals generational solidarity among commenters.

The lower-frequency keywords *bocah* (kid) and *buruk* (bad) function as intensifiers of the dominant evaluative stance, adding markers of immaturity and moral failure to the stigmatization repertoire. *Pencitraan* (imaging/image-making) attacks the performative rather than substantive dimension of leadership:

8) *emang gak ada ini video cuma pencitraan* (Obviously this video is nothing but image-making)

The pragmatic particle *emang* (indeed/obviously) expresses resigned certainty, framing the video's sole purpose as political image management, devoid of genuine leadership content.

b. Syntactic, Stylistic, and Rhetorical Features

Syntactic analysis of the comments reveals a repertoire of structures that amplify evaluative stance and construct intersubjective solidarity among critical commenters. Imperative constructions are particularly prominent, functioning as direct challenges to GRR's authority:

9) *coba bicara langsung mas, jangan baca teks* (Try speaking directly, man, don't read from a text)

10) *buktiin ente bisa apa untuk kemajuan bangsa, jangan omon omon wkwkwk* (Prove what you can do for the nation's progress, stop with the empty talk, wkwkwk)

Both examples deploy the imperative to position the commenter as a demanding interlocutor rather than a passive audience. In Fairclough (2001) terms, imperative structures in resistance discourse serve to mobilize audiences by reconfiguring authority relations: the citizen-commenter assumes the right to issue directives to an elected official. The colloquial address form *mas* (older brother) in the first example simultaneously domesticates and diminishes GRR, stripping him of formal authority through familiarity.

Repetition and typographic intensification are deployed as affective-rhetorical strategies throughout the corpus. The reduplication

11) *"Baca, baca, bacaaaa..."* (Read, read, read…) and the exclamation

12) *"anda yang seharusnya representative anak muda!"* (You are the one who should represent young people!)

They amplify emotional dissatisfaction and, as Fairclough (1992) notes serve to foreground ideological messages and build solidarity among audiences sharing the same critical stance.

Humour and sarcasm constitute a significant rhetorical register across the corpus. Rather than functioning as mere comic relief, sarcasm operates as a face-threatening act that publicly demeans the target while maintaining a veneer of indirect discourse:

13) *Hehehe, kalau cuma baca, anak saya yang kelas 2 SD juga bisa, leee… Leee* (Hehehe, if it's just reading, even my child in Grade 2 of elementary school can do it, Lee… Lee)

The comparison of GRR's performance to that of a second-grade elementary school student is structured as an ostensibly light-hearted observation, yet its evaluative intent is unambiguous. The elongated *Leee* is a Javanese-inflected discourse particle expressing mock sympathy, reinforcing the communal, culturally embedded nature of the critique.

14) *2 juta % baca teks* (2 million percent [sure he's] reading from a text)

The hyperbolic quantifier *2 juta %* (2 million percent) functions as an ironic absolute, performing certainty through

numerical exaggeration. Its rhetorical effect lies in its apparent absurdity: the extremity of the claim signals consensus rather than evidence.

c. Intertextual and Cultural Dimensions

The comments exhibit rich intertextual patterning, drawing on Indonesian political history, legal events, and popular culture to embed the stigmatization within broader social narratives. References to *keputusan MK* (the Constitutional Court ruling) appear across the corpus:

15) *Yang Jd ancaman itu bukan AI, tapi keputusan MK* (The real threat is not AI, it is the Constitutional Court ruling)

This comment reframes the video's thematic concern, the threat of AI to the younger generation, by redirecting it to what the commenter constructs as the real institutional threat: the court ruling that enabled GRR's candidacy. The syntactic parallelism (*bukan X, tapi Y (not X, but Y)*) enacts a discursive substitution, displacing GRR's chosen topic with the commenter's counter-agenda.

The use of local and colloquial linguistic forms, *planga plongo*, *omon-omon*, *wkwkwk*, *ente,* throughout the corpus performs a function beyond mere informality. These forms signal cultural-generational identity and construct a discourse community of young, urban Indonesian speakers who simultaneously share linguistic codes and critical political orientations. Taken together, the Text-level analysis demonstrates that the corpus is not merely a collection of expressions of dissatisfaction; it constitutes a systematically structured discourse of stigmatization, organised around evaluative lexis, resistant syntax, and culturally inflected rhetoric.

2. Discursive Practice: Production and Consumption of the Stigmatization Discourse

Fairclough (2010) second dimension attends to how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed, processes that mediate between formal linguistic structures and the broader social conditions in which discourse operates. In the context of this study, discursive practice encompasses the platform affordances of YouTube, the rhetorical strategies through which commenters produce the stigmatization discourse, and the patterns of audience interpretation.

a. The Production of Stigmatizing Discourse

The YouTube comment section functions as a digital public sphere (Fairclough, 1992) that affords a particular form of discursive production; anonymous, low-stakes, and horizontally distributed. Unlike formal political discourse, which is bound by institutional protocols of civility and accountability, the comment environment enables the unmediated expression of affect, sarcasm, and direct challenge without personal consequence for the commenter. This structural condition is pivotal to understanding why stigmatizing discourse in this corpus is produced with such intensity and directness.

The production of the stigmatizing discourse is clearly responsive to the video itself. Commenters do not produce their evaluations in a vacuum; they are reacting to specific features of GRR's performance as perceived through the screen, his reading posture, speech delivery, and physical demeanour. This is evident in the discourse-deictic framing of many comments:

16) *Jangan kasih saran pak berupa tulisan pak, dia ga punya budaya baca di keluarganya Hahahaha* (Don't give him advice in writing, sir, his family has no reading culture, hahaha)

The ironic performative contradiction here, criticising reading by reference to a *lack* of reading culture, is produced in direct response to GRR's apparent dependence on written texts. The commenter repositions their own negative appraisal as a constructive suggestion, a rhetorical move that masks the stigmatizing force of the comment behind a veneer of civic advice.

Sarcasm and humour are the dominant rhetorical modes of production across the corpus, functioning as strategies for building

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solidarity among critical audiences. As Fairclough (2001) notes, the formation of discursive communities in opposition to an official narrative involves the construction of shared affective stances through linguistic resources. In this corpus, the laughter marker *wkwkwk*, hyperbolic quantifiers such as *2 juta %*, and mock-sympathetic exclamations construct a community of resistance that recognises and validates one another's evaluations. The use of informal colloquial registers, Indonesian mixed with Javanese expressions and internet slang, further reinforces this communal identity, marking critical commenters as culturally literate insiders who share both the linguistic code and the political critique.

b. The Consumption and Negotiation of Meaning

While the dominant interpretive frame in this corpus is critical, approximately 60% of comments mobilise stigmatizing keywords, the corpus also contains a minority of supportive readings that reveal active negotiation of meaning:

17) *Pesan tentang AI yang bukan sebagai ancaman, melainkan peluang, semakin menegaskan bahwa kecerdasan manusia ditambah kecanggihan teknologi akan menciptakan sinergi luar biasa* (The message that AI is not a threat but an opportunity reinforces the idea that human intelligence combined with technological sophistication will create extraordinary synergy)

This comment interprets GRR's speech on artificial intelligence positively, aligning with the official discursive framing of the video. However, its presence as a minority position within a corpus dominated by stigmatizing discourse is itself analytically significant: the supportive reading fails to gain traction, drowned out by the volume and affective intensity of the critical majority. This asymmetry reflects what Fairclough (2001) describes as the negotiation and contestation of dominant readings, in which alternative interpretations are possible but structurally marginalised.

Emotional catharsis is a notable feature of discourse consumption in this corpus. Several comments use the platform not primarily to evaluate GRR's performance but to articulate personal socioeconomic frustration, using the video as a vehicle for broader political complaint:

18) *Kasihaaaann kami, susah sekali pak wapres, kami nyari kerja aja susah* (We feel so pitied, Mr. Vice President, we struggle so much just to find work)

The elongated *Kasihaaaann* (pity/sorrow for us) performs emotional catharsis while simultaneously redirecting the address from GRR's speech content to the lived material conditions of commenters. This move links the text-level stigmatization of GRR's rhetorical performance to the social-level critique of government policy, a bridging function that is further explored in Dimension 3.

The interactive architecture of YouTube reinforces chain responses and collective action, as in:

19) *Dislike adalah salah satu bentuk cara agar mereka tau, kalau kami menolak nepotisme* (Disliking [the video] is one way to let them know that we reject nepotism)

Here, the digital affordance of the dislike button is discursively reframed as a form of political participation, transforming a platform interaction into an act of democratic resistance. This reflects Fairclough's (2001) observation that the consumption of mediated discourse is never merely passive but can generate its own forms of agency and social mobilisation.

3. Social Practice: Power, Ideology, and Socio-Political Implications

Fairclough (2010) third dimension situates discourse within the broader social structures of power, ideology, and historical conditions that both shape and are shaped by discursive practice. In this study, the stigmatization of GRR's incompetence is not an isolated communicative event but a discursive site in which ideological contests over meritocracy, nepotism, democratic legitimacy, and generational aspiration are actively negotiated.

a. Power, Ideology, and Discursive Struggle

The discourse in this corpus constitutes what Fairclough (1992) terms a site of ideological struggle, a terrain on which competing visions of legitimate leadership are contested through language. The dominant ideological framework mobilised by critical commentators is meritocracy: the belief that political authority should be earned through demonstrated competence, intellectual independence, and personal achievement rather than inherited through familial networks (Bovens & Wille, 2017; Saunders, 2006). Within this framework, leadership legitimacy is closely tied to perceptions of capability, merit, and individual qualification, while familial privilege and political inheritance are frequently constructed as undermining democratic fairness and public trust (Sundell, 2014). Consequently, criticism toward GRR is not merely personal but reflects a broader ideological tension between merit-based political legitimacy and dynastic political succession. The corpus-level dominance of *baca* (45.33%) and *AI* (14.00%) is ideologically coherent within this framework: both keywords construct GRR as an individual who does not produce his own thought but consumes and reproduces others', thus failing the meritocratic standard of intellectual self-sufficiency.

The keywords *nepotisme* and *Anak Presiden* directly contest the ideological legitimacy of GRR's position. Comments such as:

20) *Tumbuh Dari Nepotisme Dan Tumbuh Dari Perusak Konstitusi* (Grew from Nepotism and Grew from [being] a Destroyer of the Constitution)

It functions as an ideological counter-narrative to the official framing of GRR as a forward-thinking young leader for Indonesia's demographic bonus generation. By constituting GRR's political trajectory as the product of nepotism and constitutional manipulation, commenters construct an alternative, and, in their framing, more truthful account of how he came to hold office. This is precisely the mechanism Fairclough (1992) describes; discourse does not merely reflect power relations but actively constructs them, legitimating or delegitimating authority through the accumulation of evaluative language.

The counter-ideology expressed in this corpus is not simply anti-Gibran sentiment; it reflects a broader ideological tension in post-Indonesian Reformation between democratic aspirations for meritocratic governance and the persistent reality of dynastic political power. The Constitutional Court ruling of 2023, which lowered the minimum age for presidential candidates, is a recurring historical-political anchor in the discourse:

21) *Yang jd ancaman itu bukan AI, tapi keputusan MK* (The real threat is not AI, it is the Constitutional Court ruling)

The substitution of GRR's own framing, AI as a threat, with the Constitutional Court ruling as the real threat reveals the degree to which the stigmatization of GRR's incompetence is inseparable from critiques of institutional integrity. In this sense, the discourse operates at two levels simultaneously: as personalised stigmatization of an individual and as systemic critique of institutional failure.

b. Social-Historical Structures and the Legacy of Nepotism

The stigmatizing discourse in this corpus does not emerge in a historical vacuum. Fairclough (2001) emphasises that discourse is always embedded in and responsive to social history; understanding its ideological force requires attention to the structural conditions that make particular discursive moves intelligible and resonant. In the Indonesian context, the dominant historical referent is the *Reformasi* movement of 1998, which overthrew the Suharto regime's three-decade authoritarian rule and inaugurated a democratic transition premised on the rejection of corruption, collusion, and nepotism (*korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme* or KKN) (Aspinall, 2005; Mietzner, 2007). Reformasi was widely framed as a political and moral struggle against authoritarianism, oligarchic power, and entrenched patronage networks associated with the New Order regime (Hadiz, 2004). Consequently, contemporary public criticism toward political dynasties is often

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interpreted through this historical memory of anti-nepotism and democratic reform. The term *nepotisme* in this corpus carries the full weight of this historical memory:

22) *Makanya Indonesia gak bisa maju, rakyatnya susah dididik sihh memang nepotisme* (That's why Indonesia cannot advance, its people are hard to educate, and indeed [there is] nepotism)

The comment positions nepotism not merely as GRR's personal failing but as the structural impediment to national progress, linking individual stigmatization to a macro-level narrative of Indonesia's stunted democratic development. The fatalistic tone, *gak bisa maju* (cannot advance), reflects historical disenchantment rather than reactive anger, suggesting that the stigmatization of GRR is experienced by commenters as a continuation of longstanding structural patterns rather than a novel political disappointment.

The theme of the demographic bonus, the central topic of the video, intersects critically with the socioeconomic dimensions of the stigmatizing discourse. GRR's speech frames Indonesia's young population as a strategic asset for national development, yet commenters consistently reframe this official narrative against the backdrop of their own material experiences:

23) *nyatanya kita tidak bahas lawan politik anda. jelas2 Wapres ini kurang literasi dan tidak punya bukti pencapaian yg nyata* (The fact is, we are not discussing your political opponents. It is clear that this Vice President lacks literacy and has no evidence of real achievement)

24) *kami nyari kerja aja susah, malah diajakmikirin gimana caranya bersama-sama untuk berkembangnya negara ini* (We struggle just to find work, yet we are being asked to think together about how to develop this country)

25) *Jangankan buat mikirin negara, buat makan aja pusing pak wapres* (Let alone thinking about the country, we are struggling just to put food on the table, Mr. Vice President)

These comments articulate a fundamental disconnect between the aspirational rhetoric of the demographic bonus and the lived reality of unemployment, food insecurity, and social immobility experienced by young Indonesians. The juxtaposition of GRR's official discourse, which enjoins youth to participate in national development, with the commenters' counter-narratives of economic precarity constitutes a discursive delegitimation not only of GRR's competence but also of the government's broader developmental agenda. This is the register in which personal stigmatization becomes social critique.

c. Discursive Transformation, Social Change, and the HSDF

The stigmatizing discourse analysed in this study has implications beyond its immediate communicative context. Fairclough (1992) argues that discourse can function as a vector of discursive transformation, in which resistance accumulates sufficient critical mass to reshape public consciousness, institutional behaviour, or policy priorities. Several comments in the corpus gesture toward precisely this transformative aspiration:

26) *Dislike adalah salah satu bentuk cara agar mereka tau, kalau kami menolak nepotisme* (Disliking [the video] is one way to let them know that we reject nepotism)

27) *coba sebut kan di dunia yang tidak ada nepotisme nya?* (Can you name a place in the world where there is no nepotism?)

The first comment explicitly articulates the dislike button as a form of political voice, a digitally mediated expression of anti-nepotism sentiment addressed directly at the political establishment. The second, with its rhetorical question about a world without nepotism, oscillates between resigned scepticism and implicit demand, reflecting the ambivalence that characterises much of the resistance discourse in this corpus: the desire for change combined with the doubt that it is achievable.

The analysis is further illuminated by Stangl et al. (2019) Health Stigma and Discrimination Framework (HSDF), adapted here to the political-communicative domain. The HSDF's five components map coherently onto the discursive patterns identified across the three Fairclough dimensions:

Stigma drivers are identifiable at the Text level in the evaluative prosodies of *baca* and

AI: the fear that GRR lacks genuine intellectual competence motivates the high-frequency accumulation of these terms. *Stigma facilitators* operate at the Discursive Practice level: YouTube's anonymity, the platform's interactive architecture, and Indonesia's cultural norms of political accountability all lower the threshold for stigma expression. *Stigma tagging* is achieved through lexical labelling at the Text level; terms such as *bocah*, *kosong*, and *nepotisme* function as classificatory markers that distinguish GRR from the standard of competent, legitimate leadership. *Stigma manifestations* are the concrete discursive acts, sarcasm, ridicule, imperative challenge, and collective rejection that enact the stigma in the comment space. Finally, *stigma consequences* are legible at the Social Practice level: the erosion of institutional trust, the intensification of political polarisation, and the channelling of socioeconomic frustration into digital resistance all constitute real social effects of the stigmatizing discourse, extending its impact beyond the comment section into the broader public sphere.

The polarisation between critical commenters (the majority) and a small minority of supportive voices reflects the dynamic Fairclough (2001) describes as hegemonic contestation, a process in which dominant and counter-hegemonic discourses compete for public legitimacy without achieving a stable resolution. In the context of this corpus, the critical discourse holds clear numerical and affective dominance, yet its transformative potential remains constrained by the structural persistence of the political conditions it critiques. The recommendation embedded in comments such as

28) *"coba bicara langsung mas, jangan baca teks"* (Try speaking directly, man, don't read from a text)

It suggests that authentic, unmediated communication is experienced as a minimal threshold of communicative legitimacy, a threshold that GRR is discursively constructed as having failed to meet.

In sum, the integrated analysis across Fairclough's (2001, 2010) three dimensions reveals that the stigmatization of GRR's incompetence in this YouTube comment corpus is not reducible to personal animus or partisan opposition. It is a structured, ideologically coherent discourse that mobilises corpus-traceable linguistic resources, high-frequency evaluative keywords, resistant syntactic structures, sarcastic rhetorical modes, and intertextual cultural references, to contest the legitimacy of dynastic political power, express socioeconomic frustration, and articulate an alternative vision of democratic leadership grounded in meritocracy, accountability, and authentic communication.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the stigmatization of perceived incompetence toward Gibran Rakabuming Raka (GRR) in YouTube commentary is discursively constructed through the integration of corpus-based linguistic evidence, Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis, and the Health Stigma and Discrimination Framework. The findings reveal that recurring evaluative lexis, interactional resistance practices, and socio-historical ideologies related to meritocracy and political legitimacy collectively shape public perceptions of GRR's competence in digital political discourse. These results contribute to existing studies on online political communication by showing that stigmatization operates not only at the individual level but also as a reflection of broader structural dissatisfaction expressed through language.

Despite its contributions, this study is limited by its focus on a single video and the absence of user demographic data, which may affect the generalizability of the findings. Future research may expand the corpus by examining multiple videos over time or conducting cross-platform analyses to further explore the dynamics of political stigmatization in digital environments.

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