

The Changing Trends

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Article

The Changing Trends in The Live Streaming of Indonesian Political Debate

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Abstract: The year 2024 will be an important year in the political history of Indonesia, with the holding of general elections (Pemilu). These elections and democracy became a test of the independence and credibility of the media in implementing their political journalism. Narasi TV shows this through its "Musyawarah Nobar Debat Cawapres 2024" program. Targeting youth audiences, Narasi TV use an innovative diversifying programming, by packaging a live stream of presidential debates in a new model and broadcasting via Najwa Shihab's YouTube channel. There is also a "fact-checking," where the research team will immediately check the accuracy and truth of the statements during the debate. This can help to attract young audiences who may be looking for fresh and exciting content. This is the answer to criticism of live broadcast programs that are often boring to watch. Narasi TV also presents Najwa Shihab, Andovi Da Lopez, and Jovial Da Lopez, which are fresh collaborators in creating journalistic content. Narasi TV also invites speakers from each candidate team, to explore the debate that suits the characteristics of young voters. A checklist guides is also provided for audiences, to assist them in assessing the credibility of presidential candidate. This shows a changing trend from the media when streaming political debates live and stage it as a new mode of online participation. This is Narasi's concern, to take full advantage of the functions of the Internet and social media to drive the Net Generation, without losing opportunities to gain commercial profits.

Keywords: Changing; trend; Narasi TV; live streaming; Indonesia; political debate

Introduction

Indonesia's political history enters a new chapter in 2024, with the holding of general elections. This year is a political year, not only for Indonesia, but also for almost half the population in the world. More than 50 countries, representing 46% of the world's population, will vote. For Indonesia, the momentum of the election, which will be held on February 14, 2024, is a proof and affirmation of Indonesia's commitment as a democratic country. Moreover, Indonesia has managed to pass five elections democratically. Thus, Indonesia can be a reference for other countries regarding how democracy can be run well. This election is also a means of generational transfer that will determine the blueprint for a "Indonesia Emas (Golden Indonesia) 2045". At that time, Indonesia was even 100 years old, aka a century. At that time, Indonesia was targeted to have become a developed country on par with superpowers. The existence of the younger generation today will bring and determine Indonesia's progress at that time (Kemenko PMK, 2022). Meanwhile, in the 2024 election, young people aged 22-30 years will dominate voters nationwide, with a share of 56%, or around 114 million. In other words, Indonesia's fate for at least in the next five years, will be determined by the young voters who dominate the election. Of those, more than 68 million are millennials born between the early 1980s and mid-1990s. The remaining 46 million are Generation Z, born between the mid-1990s and the first decade of this

millennium, some of them first-time voters. In this election, Indonesians will see more Gen Z involved in the election. In fact, Gen Z is usually known as a politically apathetic group.

As the number of young voters is so large, political parties and candidates have started implementing social media strategies to attract them. It also changes the political landscape, where there will be more encouragement from dynamic, adaptive, and responsive youth voters, especially a shift in their interest in political issues and characteristics of national leadership. The very diverse character of the younger generation group also creates diverse needs for the choice of presidential and vice-presidential pairs. For this reason, it is essential for candidates to be able to communicate these things to these young voters. Another factor that ²⁹ermines first-time voters' political direction and preferences is internet penetration and the increasing use of social media. The high use of social media is feared to increase the potential for polarization, misinformation, and disinformation, especially given the many polemics accom¹²panying this election's implementation. They were starting with the issue of political dynasties, wh²⁴ the Constitutional Court granted changes to the age limit requirements for candidates for vice presidents. President Jokowi's eldest son and Mayor of Solo, ¹²bran Rakabuming Raka, has the opportunity to run after the Constitutional Court granted the application for case Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 filed by a student named Almas Tsaqibbiru.

²⁰ The dynamics of the campaign itself were quite fierce between the three candidate-vice president pairs, Anies Rasyid Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar; Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD; and Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The initial polemic emerged PDIP, one of the biggest political parties in Indonesia and as the main initiator of the coalition, attacking Jokowi and Gibran who were considered disobedient to this party. This condition also intensified when Mahfud MD decided to resign his position as coordinating minister for political affairs. As result, Megawati invited all parties to win Ganjar-Mahfud in one round and asked people not to move to vote due to social assistance. The final campaign event of the three couples went lively. The Anies-Muhaimin campaign closed at the Jakarta International Stadium (JIS). Meanwhile, Ganjar-Mahfud and Prabowo-Gibran closed their campaigns at Gelora Bung Karno (GBK), Jakarta. The moment of debate held by the KPU also did not escape the public's attention. In the first debate, the three candidates discussed the issue of Kanjuruhan, KM50 to democracy. In line with the emergence of these polemics, the public is also worried about political polarization in the 2024 election. Defamation, slander, fake news, hate speech, and identity politics are vulnerable to color this moment. On the other hand, many people, especially novice voters, still need various information related to the pair of presidential candidates and vice presidents. For this reason, the KPU held a debate event to get to know more about the profile of the figure and work program of each couple.

The presidential and vice-presidential debates will be held at the KPU building in Jakarta and broadcast live on national television channels. The broadcast of political debates has become increasingly important in modern media, serving as a critical test of the media's independence and credibility in political journalism. These broadcasts allow the public to assess whether media outlets can maintain neutrality and provide balanced coverage, which is essential for fostering an informed electorate. Recent studies highlight how the framing and presentation of debates can influence public perception, making the role of media even more significant in shaping political outcomes. The ability of media to cover these debates without bia⁵ is a key factor in maintaining public trust and up³⁰holding democratic principles (Bennett & Pfetsch, 2018). **The mass media has the power to influence the media agenda to the public agenda.** The tendency of journalism to become a propaganda tool, especially during election competition seasons, is largely attributed to the concentration of media ownership within a group of economic power elites. Several conglomerates, whose business interests are closely tied to political forces currently in power or seeking power, influence media practices. This concentration creates a situation where media outlets may prioritize the interests of their owners and political allies over impartial reporting (McChesney, 2015). In elections, media journalism must present independent facts and information about events and ⁶ues that will be a reference for the public in making decisions. The most important goal for the masses is to provide citizens with the information they need. For this reason, media independence is very important. Independent of political, social, or business authorities, and no personal bias. The med⁶ is expected to be able to voice the truth, neutral, proportional, and side with the community and the nation. **Media ethics are important for proper broadcasting, avoiding misrepresentation**

of information, to avoid conflict of interest. It is important to promote universal values, truthfulness, accountability and rule of law of equality (Tilak, 2020). The press is considered responsible for the public space that should guarantee the independence of the implementation of elections, one of which is in broadcasting debates.

Debates in presidential election contestations become an instrument of political communication to gain public sympathy. They are strategically used by candidates to influence public perception and sway voter opinion. Mutz (2015) explores how media and political strategies, including debates, are employed to engage with the electorate and shape public opinion, underscoring the role of such debates in political communication. Debate strategies are not limited to delivering programs, ideas, and visions, but also strategies in argumentation, body gestures, emotional intelligence, and various other stage mastery tricks. The presidential debate is considered to still be able to influence people who seek clarity regarding the programs carried by each candidate. Therefore, the debate of presidential candidates becomes a means to help the public in making choices. Debate becomes a means for public participation, where they can pay attention to the details of each couple and find out what is the most interesting thing to pay attention to. Not surprisingly, many media then broadcast this activity live.

Literature Review

A debate is a game of roulette. There is no telling which way that marble will bounce. Debaters must assimilate the particulars of live TV debate, a form of political communication that depends on a separate set of skills—skills only rarely pressed into service. “Political debate is not, of course, like other forms of debate,” says journalist James Fallows. “It is not primarily a dispassionate contest of logic, in which ideas are pitted against each other to see which is most compelling. It is debate as political combat, in which the contest of ideas is subordinate to the struggle for dominance between the debaters. Translated into show business terms, debates are a battle to determine which performer on the stage deserves to have his name above the title (Schroeder, p.77).

Televised presidential debates were not always staged in previous decades, but now they have evolved into a standard element of any election season. Not only do the major party nominees’ debate, but intraparty debates also normally occur during the primary periods. Each occasion stands as an important opportunity to make positive impressions on the electorate, while avoiding any mishaps. Because a widely watched debate, which inevitably receives substantial news discussion afterward, can sometimes become a key contributing factor in winning or losing an election, a candidate’s campaign team is thoroughly involved in prepping the politician for the event, generally coaching him or her in advance on what questions to expect and how they should be answered (Cogan, p.136).

New modes of cyber participation via the internet and social media should be of concern to relevant stakeholders. One thing that must be done is to take full advantage of the functions of the Internet and social media to mobilize Net Generations. What is equally important is that more needs to be done to gain deeper insight into user characteristics, both the characteristics of the users themselves and the technological features and functions of new media that are unique in creating different impacts on learning, politics, political efficacy, and political participation (Tan, p.198). Another important thing that can be done is to formulate a platform that allows youth involvement in decision making to have a positive impact on capacity development and youth contribution to government (Sani & Saad, p.1).

The YouTube Web site is one of the great success stories of the twenty-first century and has revolutionized how political messages (as well as old episodes of “Sesame Street” and clips from current cable shows and homemade movies) can be disseminated quickly. During the 2006 and 2008 elections, YouTube was increasingly used by candidates of all stripes to get their message out, and the Democrats in particular used YouTube not only for disseminating information (such as the widespread sharing of the Hillary Clinton Sopranos campaign commercial) but also for spoofs such as “Obama Girl.” On July 23, 2007, the Democratic candidates also took part in a live debate where the questions were submitted previously online on YouTube—the questioners included a snowman. Later in November 2007, the Republicans also took part in a combination CNN/YouTube debate. While many questioned the process (CNN co-sponsored the debate and promised to

not use embarrassing or “gotcha” questions, leading some to think that the debate had been co-opted before it had begun), it was a sign that YouTube had spawned a new way of sharing that could not be overlooked by the major candidates (Cogan, p.355).

For the media, though, livestreaming has become almost a necessity for important news events as government press conferences, street protests and major celebrations. All that’s required to do something that until 2015 was the domain of big broadcasters is a smartphone and a wireless connection. Facebook Live is particularly popular because it will appear on the accounts of your followers without you doing anything at all and will be available for later viewing. However, this kind of content is not findable through search engines and has no connected monetizing options. YouTube Live, on the other hand, is less easy to set up but productions can be searched for and, with Google being the owner, may get higher rankings in search. However, content is kept within YouTube’s site and is used for its advertising.” (Clarke, p.75).

“Narasi” is a digital media startup founded in 2017 by senior journalist Najwa Shihab with her two Co-Founder colleagues, Catharina Davy and Dahlia Citra. “Narasi” exists because of concerns about the many restrictions that must be passed in presenting free to air content to the audience. For this reason, “Narasi” chose to present content through the YouTube platform with the “Narasi” channel. Starting from “Mata Najwa” program, the three founders saw an opportunity for digital media in the future. Starting from ten employees, “Narasi” has evolved into a media startup trusted by many young people and millennials who are its targets.

Najwa Shihab's name is certainly very familiar to Indonesian television viewers. Her expertise in extracting information from sources has made Najwa known as a critical presenter. This is certainly inseparable from his seventeen years of experience in the world of journalism. Najwa is increasingly known through a television program called "Mata Najwa" on Metro TV. The television program, which premiered in November 2009, is often rewarded with the title as the highest rated talk show in Indonesia. Through the program, Najwa often receives awards as the best news host. Not infrequently, Najwa Shihab is considered the Queen of Indonesian Political Talk Show.

The “Narasi TV” that was later founded by Najwa Shihab and her colleagues then gave a fresh color to the media in Indonesia. One of the programs, "Musyawarah" brings the latest issues in Indonesia, as well providing many interesting insights. This program is packaged interestingly, because it is not only guided by Najwa Shihab, but also Andovi da Lopez and Jovial da Lopez, young people who inspire the younger generation in Indonesia. During this election period, the "Musyawarah" program was filled with watching events together with "Nobar" all presidential and vice-presidential debates. “Narasi TV” become a medium for youth voters to be able to understand elections in a more exciting way, typical of young people.

This raises the question of whether the politics discussed on the shows had evolved into a product of the communication market. As the national election approached, this study focuses on talk shows that present live streaming of the Presidential Debate in a different way than other media. The primary objective of the study is to see how media products portray in packaging political events, including seeing them as commodified products. This study has examined it audio visual textual analysis. This study's primary research question is: How does talk show broadcast live Indonesian Presidential Election Debate.

17. Methodology

The research employs a qualitative approach that involves textual analysis of the talk shows to accomplish this. All five political talk show are chosen for this research. “Musyawarah Nobar Debat Pilpres 2024 | Musyawarah” (12 December 2023); “Nobar Debat Cawapres 2024 | Musyawarah” (22 December 2023); “Debat Capres 2024, Nobar Debat Ronde Ketiga di Musyawarah | Musyawarah” (07 January 2024); “Debat Cawapres 2024, Nobar Debat Ronde Keempat di Musyawarah | Musyawarah” (21 January 2024); and “Layar Tancap Mata Najwa, Nobar Debat Capres Ronde Kelima | Mata Najwa” (04 February 2024).

The topics for these five talk shows are in accordance with the distribution carried out by The General Elections Commission (KPU). There are five election debates for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Three debates are allocated for presidential candidates, and the rest two are for vice presidential candidates. The first debate is scheduled for Tuesday, December 12, 2023, and will feature three presidential

candidates. The second debate will be for vice presidential candidates on December 22, 2023. The third debate is for presidential candidates January 7, 2024. The fourth debate is set for January 14, 2024, for vice-presidential candidates, while the final debate will be for presidential candidates on February 4, 2024.

Topics of the first debate cover issues of government, law, human rights, eradicating corruption, strengthening democracy, and improving public services and citizen harm. In the second debate, vice presidential candidates will debate over the issues of the economy including the people's economy and digital economy, finance, investment, taxes, trade, management of the state budget or regional budget, infrastructure, and urban areas. The third debate will feature the presidential candidates debating over the issues of defense, security, international relations, and geopolitics. The fourth debate for the vice-presidential candidates will be on sustainable development, natural resources, the environment, energy, food, agrarian affairs, society, and villages. The final topics for the presidential candidates' debate include social welfare, culture, education, information technology, health, employment, human resources, and inclusion. Each debate will be moderated by one male and one female moderator who are considered competent in the respective topics. The KPU had prepared a list of the debate panelists.

The methods of qualitative data analysis described in the following are originally designed for the data type 'text' and texts will be used in the examples shown. Theoretically, these methods can be transferred to other types of qualitative data such as images, movies, audio-recordings, etc. Qualitative data analysis refers to the analysis of qualitative data in the above sense of texts, images, films, etc (Kuckatz, p.2). In this study, researchers will use qualitative text in five impressions on Najwa Shihab's YouTube channel. This text is then analyzed to figure out how the Live Streaming of Indonesian Political Debate is portrayed today. The analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. The qualitative analysis is mainly inductive, grounding the examination of topics and themes, as well as the inferences drawn from them, in the data. In some cases, qualitative content analysis attempts to generate theory.

Samples for this research consist of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated, which produces descriptions or typologies along with expressions from subjects reflecting how they view the social world. By doing this, researcher try to pay attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon.

Findings and Discussion

Targeting young audiences, "Narasi TV" uses several approaches to increase the number of audience engagement, one of which uses innovative diversifying programming, by packaging live stream of Presidential Debates in a new model and broadcast through many internet platforms (figure 1).

1. Selection of terms "Musyawarah" and "Nobar"

In the "Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia" (Indonesian Dictionary), "musyawarah" (deliberation) is defined as a joint discussion with the intention of reaching a decision on solving a problem; negotiations; crushing. TV narratives and viewers are expected to achieve this, when talking about various issues or topics that develop in society.



Figure 1. "Musyawarah" Program on Najwa Shihab YouTube Channel

While "Nobar" is short for "Nonton Bareng" or watching together. "Nobar" is a tradition carried out by Indonesian people, usually to watch puppet performances, ludruk, ketoprak, or other arts, films, as well as sports matches, such as football (figure 2).



Figure 2. "Nobar" Movie and Football Match

In "Nobar", there is a unity of diverse communities, cultures, and emotions. Adopting traditions that occur in the community, "Nobar" debates for presidential candidates and vice presidents conducted by "Narasi TV", are carried out by presenting live audiences inside and outside the studio (figure 3 and 4). "Nobar", became a way for Narasi TV to directly involve the audience in a joint discussion on topics that emerged in the debate. On the other hand, "Nobar" is often done to make the audience feel excitement and tension together, just like being on the debate location.

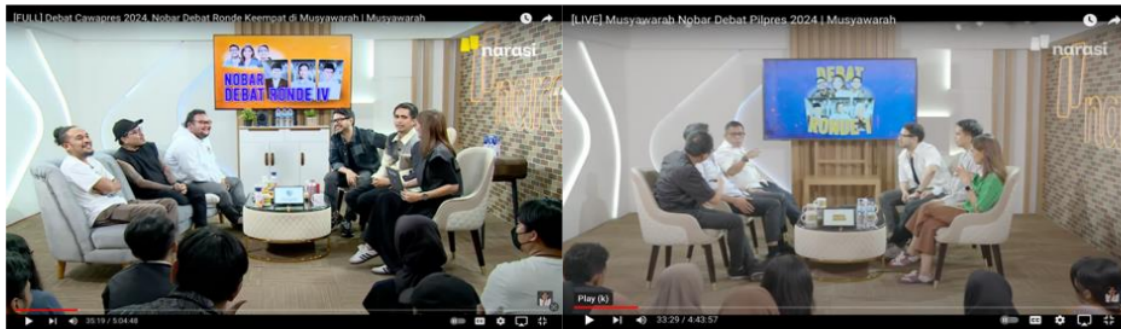


Figure 3. "Nobar" The Presidential and Vice President Debate at Narasi TV Studio

"Narasi TV" then uses long-rooted traditions among Indonesian society, namely "Musyawarah" and "Nobar", to ensure the involvement of the younger generation, in important moments of elections, namely the presidential and vice-presidential debates. Not only that, but also participate in discussing together critically, to be able to achieve a common goal¹¹ which is to have a valid decision, who will be the partner to be chosen in the election. This is in line with the impact of the in¹¹net on democratic societies promoted by cyber-optimists, where the internet emphasizes it's potential to strengthen the institutions of civil society and encourage greater public participation the democratic process (Horst, p.96)



Figure 4. "Nobar" The Presidential and Vice President Debate at Chillax Sudirman

Watch the debate become very interesting, because presidential debates are not about money, they pose a striking contrast to campaign commercials. With political advertising, a candidate is able to enhance his profile only by raising and spending more cash; debates are a meritocracy in which each participant stands before voters on an equal footing. Messages in campaign ads must be stated in a short amount of time and are selected by political pros; debates allow for a more thorough discourse, on topics chosen by voters and the press. Most important, disembodied advertisements encourage negative campaigning, while face-to-face debates raise accountability among office seekers. A candidate making a claim against his opponent in a presidential debate must do so personally, as the entire nation looks on. Inevitably the dynamic is more tempered than the nasty tone that so often prevails in political commercials.

2. Research and Fact Checking

In this event, there is also "fact checking" where the research team will immediately check the accuracy and truth of the statements that appear during debate. This team will then submit data related to the statement, as a matter of discussion in the live event. This is important for the young audience that is the target of this show. Youth voters are usually branded as more politically apathetic and unmotivated than the population at large.

The power of the media in forming and strengthening the structure of political knowledge among new young voters is a significant thing. The importance of the structure of political knowledge, especially in the dimension of democratic information, election information and political party information is reported to be able to encourage new young voters to participate in political activities. In addition, a strong political knowledge structure confirms the action of new young voters to vote with rational and mature judgment based on a high level of political knowledge (Allam, Mustafa, Ali, p.139). A large body of statistics supports the case that the proportion of young people who vote is generally smaller than the portion of older citizens who cast their ballots at the polls. Yet because they represent a sizable constituency, youth voters are still identified as an important market, especially when an election is expected to be close. Lately, to activate this hard-to-stimulate segment, campaigns and interest groups have experimented with a number of novel approaches (Cogan, p.171). This new approach will provide new knowledge for youth voters regarding candidates. In addition, this can also help them in making choices in the general election process later. For example, when one of the candidates, Ganjar Pranowo, gave a statement regarding the budget for national defense in the "Produk Domestik Bruto" (PDB)/Gross Domestic Product" (GDP) did not reach 1-2% (figure 5). The research team immediately searched for data on this. The fact conveyed is that the amount of the state budget for defense functions in 2022 is 0.7% of PDB. Thus, it can be concluded that the statement conveyed by Ganjar Pranowo is true.

and unrest that are being faced during the upcoming elections. While "DPR Musikal" means "Manusia Setengah Dewa (demigod)" where the people have chosen and trusted them, but they have betrayed the people and are indifferent to the people.

In 2024, they will again create a work entitled "Rap Battle of Presidency 2024". This work represents the voice of young people to provide comments and criticisms on the political conditions of Indonesia, where the relationship between the three pairs of candidates is heating up. Through this work, it is hoped that no community, especially young people, will not exercise their voting rights in general elections. Just like Najwa Shihab who became an inspiration for Indonesian journalists, Andovi and Jovial have succeeded in becoming inspirations for Indonesian YouTubers, who are famous for their "crazy" and out of the box content. The collaboration of these three smart figures who have different backgrounds provides an interesting color for a political literacy program targeting young people.



Figure 7. Speakers in the studio

These three figures already have a community base that is in line with their way of thinking. So, it's not wrong, if this show is broadcast through Najwa Shihab's YouTube channel. In her profile, this channel is described as part of Najwa Shihab's official Narration and YouTube account, hosted directly by Najwa Shihab, with political, legal, social, religious, and other actual issues packaged in packaging that is not only entertaining, but also insightful. The selection of this channel became appropriate, such as the use of MTV for the campaign program "Rock the Vote". MTV sought to target youth in general with comparable tactics, honed by the products of popular culture. The music channel MTV, a vehicle that is commonly identified as a key component of youth culture, again sponsored its "Choose or Lose" campaign.

In addition, "Narasi TV" also invites speakers from each candidate team, to explore the debate using an approach that suits the characteristics of young audiences. However, what is interesting is that, in the third debate, "Nobar" the Deliberation debate this time was enlivened by comedians, Abdur Arsyad, Coki Pardede and Fico Fahriza (figure 7). This certainly gives an interesting touch to a political program.

The existence of speakers from various stages of the profession and parties allows for critical discourse about the three pairs of candidates. Talk shows were based on audience participation in televised debates on a wide range of social topics and issues, during which, championed by the host, voices of a 'lay' public were regularly heard challenging and calling to account the 'experts' who represented political positions or academic/scientific, legitimised, institutional knowledge (Thornborrow, p.14). Creative elements are also added in the program, in the form of a checklist guides to assist them in assessing the credibility of presidential candidate (figure 8).



Figure 8. Checklist guides for assessing the credibility of presidential candidate

4. Commodification of Presidential Debate’s Live Streaming

The broadcast of this debate live streaming is content with promising earning potential. Moreover, the broadcast was carried out on various media platforms owned by “Narasi”. Not only on narasi.tv website; Instagram @narasi.tv; and X @NarasiNewsroom, but also on Najwa Shihab's personal channels, which are @matanajwa, and @najwashihab; and Tik Tok @najwashihab (figure 9 and 10).

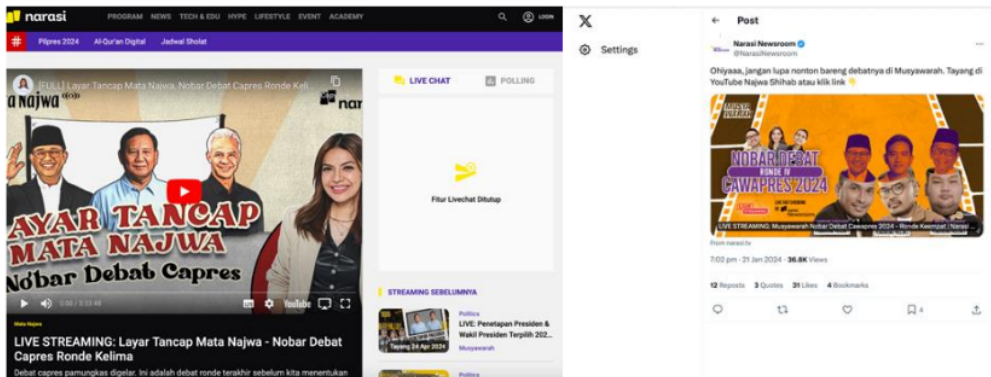


Figure 9. “Narasi TV” website and X @NarasiNewsroom

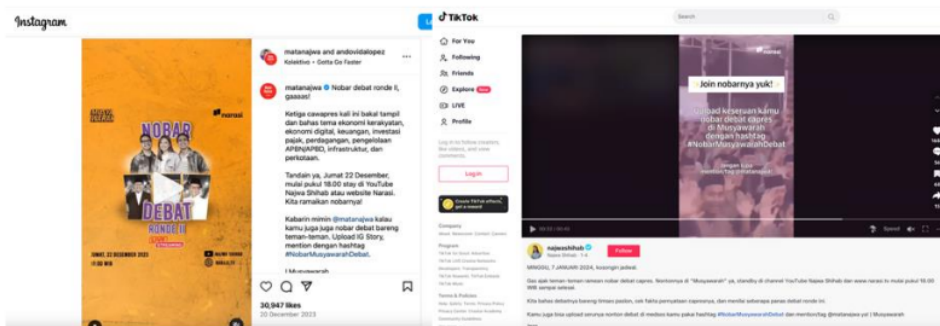


Figure 10. Instagram @matanajwa, Instagram @najwashihab; and Tik Tok @najwashihab

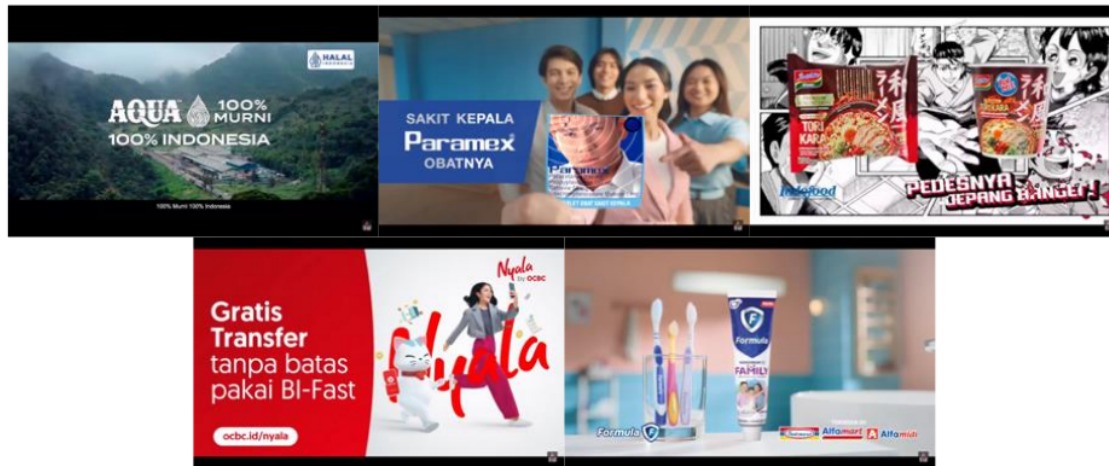


Figure 11. Commercial Advertising at "Nobar" Presidential Debate



Figure 12. Political Campaign Advertising at "Nobar" Presidential Debate

In the end, new forms of live streaming of the presidential debate were done to increase the number of advertisements. There are at least five brands that specifically advertise in this program, namely Aqua, Paramex, Indomie Pop Mie, OCBC Bank, and Formula (figure 11). Not only that, but this program also attracted the three pairs of candidates also placed their campaign ads repeatedly throughout the impression (figure 12).

The display of campaign ads is inevitable in the implementation of general elections. Money is used primarily to buy media time in order to get a candidate's message in front of a large target audience—those people who are the most likely to go to the polls on election day. Nowadays, many people will also be going to the Internet and using social networking sites to see who people they know support. The information gleaned from their social networks may be the information they find most credible and persuasive (Baker, p. xxvii)

Conclusion

Broadcasting presidential debates live is a common practice in holding elections. However, TV Narrative shifts the trend that is usually done by conventional media or television. Not only presenting debate events as the main dish, Narasi also provides some fresh new touches, which are in accordance with the characteristics of young people as the target audience. By using terms "Musyawarah" and "Nobar", to ensure the involvement of the younger generation, in important moments of elections, namely the presidential and vice-presidential debates. Another way this is done is by adding research and fact checking segments to educate the public, as well as media and journalistic functions. The airing of this program is even more interesting because it presents various speakers to collaborate and creative elements to maintain interactivity with youth audiences. In the end, this shift in trends by Narasi certainly increases the number of audience's engagement, which then leads to a commodification process, with many advertisements appearing during the program. Televised presidential debates are staged as a new mode of online participation. This is Narasi's concern, to take full advantage of

the functions of the Internet and social media to drive the Net Generation, without losing opportunities to gain commercial profits.

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