

Media discourse and coalition dynamics: Playing safe is the new trend in media coalition

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Abstract

This study investigates the cautious approach adopted by media coalitions in framing the discourse surrounding the alteration of the age limit policy for vice presidential candidates in Indonesia in 2024. Using the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) and Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), the research explores how media outlets form coalitions through nuanced discourse strategies. This study aims to analyze how online media in Indonesia builds narratives related to changes in the policy of the age limit for vice presidential candidates in the 2024 election. The analysis finds that MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co take a non-oppositional stance, crafting narratives that are intentionally cautious and open to multiple interpretations to avoid direct challenges to the MK's decision. This careful positioning often involves complex language that can obscure understanding for the general public, limiting non-experts' grasp of the legal context. Viva.co.id, however, diverges by presenting clearer narrative patterns that align with specific political coalitions, focusing on justifications and perceived benefits. The study highlights that dominant discourses are often driven by influential figures such as academics, legal experts, and politicians, who serve as primary sources and reinforce the coalition's influence over public opinion. The application of DNA provides insights into how these actors and their discourses shape public understanding and frame the urgency and legitimacy of the policy. This study underscores that in modern media coalitions, a strategy of "playing safe" is becoming a prevalent approach to managing public perception and discourse on politically sensitive issues

Keywords: Discourse Coalition Framework; Discourse Network Analysis; Media Discourse

Introduction

Controversial issues have emerged, especially in the political world related to changes in the age limit policy for 2024 vice presidential candidates in Indonesia. The policy debate began with the Constitutional Court's Decision taken in the trial of law article 169 letter (q) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning the Election of the President and Vice President. Article 169 letter q of the Election Law reads; "Requirements to become a candidate for President and vice president. The minimum age is 40 (forty) years old." Meanwhile, former President Joko Widodo's eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is currently 35 years old, is running for vice president in 2024, which is certainly in the spotlight and attracting public attention. The implementation of elections in Indonesia should be carried out in accordance with the policy of the electoral system that can be applied for a long time with the same model (Mamonto, 2019).

The media is not just spreading news, the media builds the meaning of the events that occur and the existing reality (Ibrahim et al., 2023). In this case, the case of the policy of changing the age limit for 2024 vice presidential candidates reported on several online news portals received various responses, both for and against, from politicians or observers. Civil society, academia, and non-governmental organizations often speak out against policies that are considered detrimental to democracy or justice. Public understanding and support for policy decisions are often influenced by the narratives formed by groups that support the policy or vice versa (Atkinson & Cooley, 2019).

According to information from the official website of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, the decision received criticism from various parties because it was considered politically motivated and made the court branded as a "Family Court" due to the alleged involvement or relationship between the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the family of President Joko Widodo (Pujianti & Agustina, 2024). According to information from the official

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website of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, the decision received criticism from various parties because it was considered politically motivated and made the court branded as a "Family Court" due to the alleged involvement or relationship between the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the family of President Joko Widodo (Pujianti & Agustina, 2024). Research reveals the Chinese government's efforts to influence public opinion through active participation in debate and efforts to convince other actors, such as the media, to join a coalition of supporters (Jin et al., 2022). Next, about how the actors in this debate influence each other through arguments and position themselves in the production of discourse (Fergie et al., 2019). The important role of the media in policy communication is also highlighted by research (Wang & Wang, 2017). Political leaders are strategically using Facebook as part of their campaign strategy. They focus on addressing hot topics and issues that stand out in the media and public agendas, such as house prices and the cost of living. In addition, what distinguishes this research from previous studies is the use of the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) Theory. The Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory, which is a theory initiated by Maarten Hajer, is used in policy formation that emphasizes the process of meaning, symbol formation and use of language when actors debate and fight discourse. Each actor voices the truth of their own discourse, moral claims, and so on (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). People can have a variety of opinions related to a public issue, and through storytelling, that diversity can be brought together.

This research aims to address the following questions: *How do online media outlets construct narratives in response to the Constitutional Court's (MK) decision?* and *What does the trend of playing it safe reveal about media coalitions?* The study investigates how three media outlets—MediaIndonesia.com, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co—interconnect in the context of forming a discourse coalition related to the Constitutional Court's (MK) decision to change the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024. It explores the strategic role played by these media in constructing discourse related to policy changes, particularly in the legal and political context. The research focuses on the framing of the MK's decision by these outlets and the narratives they build around public policy. The importance of language as a tool for power politics is highlighted, as language functions as a medium, means, and object of contestation, through which social relations are determined and actors exert influence (Krebs, 2015). The study assumes that each news portal presents a discourse influenced by the dominant interests of the actors involved. It posits that a discourse coalition exists between media outlets with similar political tendencies or shared views on the role and authority of the Constitutional Court. MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co adopted a non-opposition stance, constructing a careful and multi-interpretation narrative, avoiding open challenges to the Constitutional Court's decisions. In contrast, Viva.co.id displays clear narrative patterns that align with supporting specific political coalitions, emphasizing justification and perceived benefits of the decision. This strategic approach reflects a broader trend in media coalitions, where "playing safe" becomes a favored tactic to navigate politically sensitive issues while maintaining a balanced public image.

The researchers employed two major theoretical frameworks in this study: the discourse coalition theory or commonly known as Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) by Maarten Hajer and the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method by Philip Leifeld. By integrating these two perspectives, the study not only identifies the influential actors behind specific discourses but also uncovers the formation of media coalitions. Both the actors and the coalitions play crucial roles in shaping media narratives, highlighting their significance in guiding public understanding and framing political issues. The Discourse Coalition Framework by Maarten A. Hajer sees that the policy process is a battle of discourse that involves the interpretation of reality and the use of language (Eriyanto, 2022; M. Hajer, 2006). According to Hajer, argumentative discourse is the core of the Discourse Coalition Framework Theory, which emphasizes the importance of arguments from actors in policymaking. Debates and battle of arguments related to certain discourses built by each actor, are carried out by debate and persuasion, or sometimes through methods of manipulation and use of power. According to the Discourse Coalition Framework theory, the realist view is unable to answer the question of why in many conditions actors with limited resources are able to win the battle in formulating policies. This is because realist theory focuses more on the aspect of rationality and ignores the urgency of forming meanings, symbols, and narratives (Eriyanto, 2022).

Policy formulation in this theory involves the process of giving meaning, forming symbols, and using language (Eriyanto, 2022; Hajer, 2003).

The point of concern of realist theory is to look at how actors will fight for interests through their resources such as money, networks, organizations, and so on (Eriyanto, 2022). Meanwhile, discourse is a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena (M. A. Hajer, 1993). This means that discourse frames certain issues. The success of a discourse (a discourse becomes dominant) is often not because the discourse is the best but because of the success of the actors in packaging and constructing the message so that it can be accepted by the public. This theory assumes that each actor comes up with an argument to convince the public that what they are conveying is true. In this study, it can be seen through how the actors involved in the discourse on changing the age limit for the 2024 vice presidential candidate in Indonesia formed a coalition based on the arguments they submitted. The Discourse Coalition Theory helps explain the use of language used by actors in the three news portals MediaIndonesia.com, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co.

Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) emerged as an innovative analysis method in analyzing the discourse or discourse of an issue (Leifeld, 2016). In uncovering the dominant discourse of an actor, whether it is an institution or a group in an issue, DNA can help understand the structure and dynamics of meaning construction, thus allowing researchers to explore the role and impact of narrative in certain contexts (Angermuller, 2014). This research will highlight the relationship of discourse coalitions between media in conveying attitudes or responses to changes in the age limit of Vice Presidents which is interpreted as a form of discourse coalition. The application of DNA in dominant discourse analysis provides an opportunity to identify key elements and relationship patterns that reinforce the dominant narrative. For example, research by Wiederkehr and Maier (2017) uses DNA to analyze the dominant discourse around environmental issues and climate change. By mapping the relationship between actors and discourse in a network, DNA can uncover patterns of linkages between actors, discourse, and the media, thus providing in-depth insights into the dynamics of public communication (Müller, 2020).

In Discourse Network Analysis, actors do not necessarily refer to individuals, but rather can include organizations, concepts, or even ideologies. This approach allows observation of the interrelationship between elements in the discourse to understand the social and political structures that form a particular narrative. For example, in the context of changing the age limit for 2024 vice presidential candidates, actors can be political parties, government agencies, civil society groups, or ideas such as "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct" or "The Constitutional Court's decision is substantively problematic". These actors are connected through their affiliation to a particular argument, discourse, or policy. Discourse Network Analysis also describes how actors interact in a network based on common views, affiliation to issues, or involvement in the discourse process. For example, a political party that supports changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates can form a network with academics who support the argument "Conflict of interest". In this case, their interconnectedness is not only due to institutional relationships but also through their contribution to a particular narrative.

Method

This study applies the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method developed by Philip Leifeld. This method is a combination of discourse analysis, a qualitative approach to understanding content, and a social network method that analyzes the relationship between actors (Leifeld, 2017). The discourse network analysis method functions to map both the discourses circulating on a particular topic (with a focus on identifying the 'what' being discussed), as well as the actors who initiated the discourse ('who' is involved). Content or discourse analysis focuses solely on mapping the content of the issue, and network analysis is used to examine actors and network relationships among those involved in the discussion of the issue. In this study, the DNA method is used to map the development of discourse related to changes in the age limit for vice presidents set by the Constitutional Court, as well as to identify the most dominant actors or discourses in this issue.

The DNA research process follows the steps suggested by Leifeld and Haunss (2010, 2012), and Leifeld (2017). The first step is to gather materials. The unit of analysis for DNA research is the

statements of the actors. In this study, actors' statements were obtained from comments or arguments taken directly from online news.

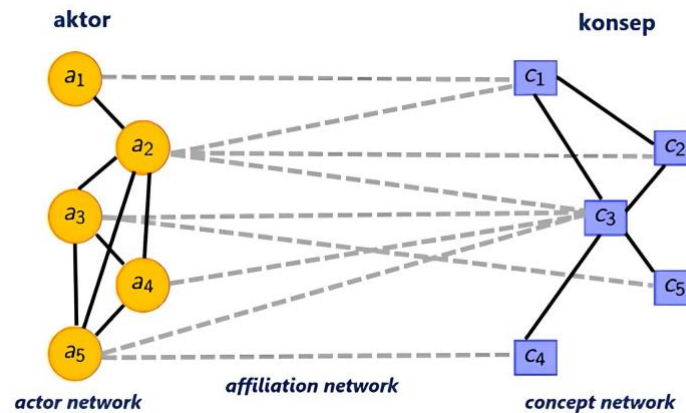


Figure 1. Concept network (Leifeld & Haunss, 2012)

The collection of statements was obtained from three online media outlets MediaIndonesia.com, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co, which were collected manually and selected in a relevant manner to the determination of the period October 16, 2023 – January 1, 2024 because it was in accordance with the period when the Constitutional Court decided on the policy of changing the age of the 2024 Vice President. In total, there are sixty-three (63) news generated from three news portals relevant to the study. The following is the encoding of statements in the DNA Analyzer software version 2.0 (Leifeld, 2017). A total of one hundred and twenty-nine (129 statements), were coded statements consisting of people, organizations, categories and approvals. People represent the name of the actor, while an organization represents the organization in which the actor works, for example, the government, academics, political parties, community organizations, and so on. For categories, it shows what concepts or discourses actors are doing in online media reporting, while approval shows whether the discourse supports or rejects the issue. Then, followed by the data visualization process, the formation of a network of relationships between concepts by person to see what issues or discourses are the most dominant.

In order to Analyze the data, this study utilised *Visone apps* to measure the extent to which actors and concepts are connected to other actors and concepts. after manual input and categorization of statements, the data is exported and processed using VISIONE software (Brandes & Wagner, 2004; Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). Then, it is followed by the data visualization process, including affiliate networks, actors, and concepts. Analyze data with Visone apps to measure the extent to which actors and concepts are connected to other actors and concepts. The concept of freeman centrality is used in visone application software algorithms to form network visualizations (Ghini & Steiner, 2020). In the context of this study, actors or concepts (discourses) with a high degree of centrality are said to be the most frequently mentioned or have the most dominant issue or voice. Frequency, which is usually used to measure and analyze how often an actor (node) appears in a particular context or is involved in a particular interaction within a network (Scott & Carrington, 2011). The high frequency and degree of centrality indicate that this topic often appears in the news and has many connections with other topics and individuals. The media tends to highlight controversial topics and attract the attention of many people, thus increasing the frequency of appearances in the news

Results and Discussion

In the analysis using the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) and Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), the discourse surrounding the change in the age limit for 2024 vice presidential candidates can be examined in the context of how media actors aim to prioritize or marginalize certain narratives. The three media outlets analyzed—MediaIndonesia.com, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co—demonstrate a "playing safe" approach, particularly due to the issue's sensitivity, as it involves the sitting president. MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co avoid a firm oppositional stance,

instead constructing narratives that are purposefully ambiguous and open to interpretation. This strategy reflects an inclination to publish news “for the sake of reporting” rather than actively fulfilling their function as the fourth estate. In contrast, Viva.co.id presents a clearer narrative pattern, supporting specific political coalitions by focusing on justifying the decision and its perceived benefits. This cautious coalition approach among media outlets reveals how they navigate politically sensitive topics while maintaining a non-confrontational stance, subtly shaping public discourse without challenging the status quo. The analysis of these discourses underscores how such cautious approaches shape public understanding while allowing the media to maintain its relevance in reporting the current issue.

Narrative Construction: Ambiguity and Caution in Media Reporting MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co

With a descriptive approach, this study describes how key concepts, such as violations of the code of ethics, political dynasties, and public trust, are connected through discourse delivered by various parties, with the aim of mapping the structure of the discourse network that emerges from news on online news portals MediaIndonesia.com related to changes in the age limit policy for vice presidential candidates carried out by the Constitutional Court (MK). This network visualization shows the interconnectedness between concepts and how these ideas are related to the role of certain figures, such as Anwar Usman, Chairman of the Constitutional Court, who are the subject of various important issues. Through Visone apps this visualization depicts the relationship between actors, ideas, and the main topic raised in the news. For example, the concept of "there is a violation of the code of ethics against Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman)" has become the center of a number of narratives related to the decline in public trust, the lack of neutrality in the implementation of elections, and the insistence that the Majelis Kehormatan Mahkamah Konstitusi (MKMK) work professionally. In addition, this visualization also reflects public criticism of the alleged existence of political dynasties carried out by President Jokowi, which adds to the complexity of the discourse of policy change. The network provides a comprehensive overview of the actors who contribute to building narratives and their influence on public opinion.

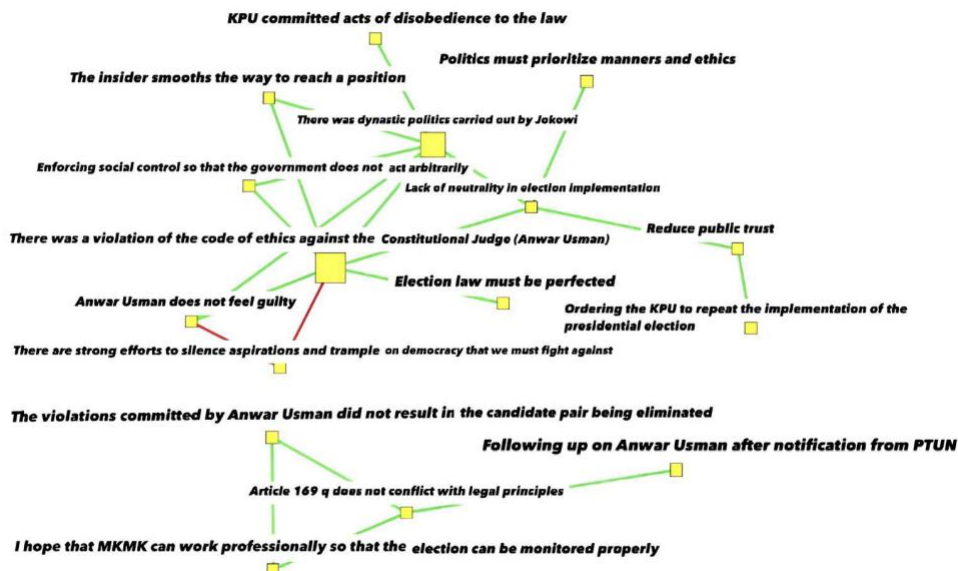


Figure 2. Visualization of Concept Networks by Person MediaIndonesia.com

The figure above illustrates the structure of a concept network that summarizes various issues related to violations of the code of ethics by Anwar Usman in the context of holding elections in Indonesia. The main node, namely "There is a violation of the code of ethics against the

Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman)," is at the center of this conceptual network. The node connects various important subtopics such as the KPU's disobedience to the law, dynastic politics, and the impact of these violations on the decline in public trust. This network also shows the link between criticism of the neutrality of election organizers, the importance of social supervision, and expectations for the professionalism of institutions such as MKMK to oversee fair elections.

Table 1 : Processed Data of Researchers MediaIndonesia.com

| Concept | Frequency | Degree (%) |
|---|-----------|------------|
| Dynastic politics carried out by Jokowi | 11 | 15 |
| There was a violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman) | 10 | 17.5 |
| Lack of neutrality in the implementation of elections | 4 | 10 |
| Lowering public trust | 2 | 5 |
| Ordal smoothed the way to a position | 2 | 5 |
| There are strong efforts to silence aspirations and trample on democracy that we must fight | 2 | 5 |
| The violation committed by Anwar Usman did not make the candidate eliminated | 2 | 5 |
| Anwar Usman does not feel guilty | 2 | 7.5 |
| Article 169 q does not conflict with legal principles | 2 | 7.5 |
| Enforce social control so that the government is not arbitrary | 1 | 5 |
| Hopes that MKMK can work professionally so that the election can be well controlled | 1 | 5 |
| The KPU commits an act of disobedience to the law | 1 | 2.5 |
| Ordering the KPU to resume the implementation of the presidential election | 1 | 2.5 |
| Politics must prioritize manners and ethics | 1 | 2.5 |
| Election Law must be perfected | 1 | 2.5 |
| Following up on Anwar Usman after a notification from the PTUN | 1 | 2.5 |

Source: By Visone

From some of the discourses above, it can be seen that the most dominant discourse is the first, "There is dynastic politics carried out by Jokowi". The discourse on dynastic politics reflects concerns that the decision to change the age limit for vice presidential candidates may be driven by personal interests or the incumbent's family, in this case President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Dynastic politics often refers to the practice of extending power or family influence through political channels, which can limit opportunities for other candidates who are not part of the family or close circle of power. In this context, if the change in the age limit is felt to benefit a family member or close ally of Jokowi, this criticism is increasing. Second, "There was a violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman)", the violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge, especially when it comes to Anwar Usman, who has a family relationship with President Jokowi, is the main highlight in this case. This issue arises from concerns that the Constitutional Judge is not neutral or does not maintain a sufficient distance from political interests. If Anwar Usman continues to decide cases that can be considered to have a conflict of interest, this will be considered an ethical violation and reduce the credibility and integrity of the Constitutional Court. Third, "Lack of neutrality in the implementation of elections" The lack of neutrality in the implementation of elections refers to the perception that decisions or actions taken by election organizing institutions both the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) may be influenced by certain interests that benefit one party. In the case of this change in the age limit, non-neutrality can arise if the change is considered to benefit a particular party, especially those affiliated with the current power.

Then, the statement "violations committed by Anwar Usman do not eliminate candidates" describe the existence of policies or decisions driven by certain discourse coalitions, which consider that the violations are not serious enough to affect the election results. This could show an alliance between parties who feel that the Constitutional Court's decision must reflect political stability and not interfere with the election process. On the contrary, the opinion that "Anwar Usman does not

feel guilty" reflects a defensive stance, in which the Constitutional Court, as a legal institution, seeks to maintain its image as a guardian of the constitution, despite criticism regarding the objectivity and professionalism of the institution.

The discourse coalition is also seen in the view that "Article 169 Q does not contradict legal principles". This statement can be interpreted as a form of defense of the existing rules, which are understood by certain groups as a legitimate basis to overcome problems in elections. For those who support this article, there is an assumption that the existing legal regulations are adequate and in accordance with the principles of justice. However, the statement that "the Election Law must be improved" shows dissatisfaction with the prevailing legal system. The discourse coalition that supports the change or improvement of the law consists of parties who feel that the existing regulations are not fair or effective enough in overcoming problems that arise in the implementation of elections.

The statement about the importance of "enforcing social control so that the government is not arbitrary" indicates a desire to maintain accountability and transparency in the political system. In the discourse coalition theory, this can be considered an effort to form a discourse that challenges the domination of power, with the aim of strengthening democracy and people's rights. On the other hand, "the KPU committed an act of disobedience to the law" highlighted the role of the General Election Commission which is considered to have failed to carry out its obligations in a transparent and in accordance with existing rules. The discourse coalition that supports this action includes groups that want to assert that the integrity of elections must be strictly guarded and that the institutions involved must be held accountable for violations that occur. The next discourse, "the hope that the MKMK can work professionally" reflects an effort to reaffirm the importance of the integrity of state institutions in overseeing the election process. The discourse coalition that supports professionalism argues that only with high professionalism, elections can be carried out well and the results can be accepted by all parties.

"Violations committed by Anwar Usman do not make the candidate eliminated" this statement emphasizes that the violations committed by Anwar Usman, if any, do not directly affect the election results or cause certain candidate pairs to be eliminated. In discourse coalition theory, this narrative builds the perception that individual mistakes do not necessarily have an impact on the legitimacy of institutional decisions. "Politics must prioritize good manners and ethics", this discourse highlights the importance of ethical values and good manners in political practice. In discourse coalition theory, this is an effort to build a moral framework that emphasizes that political actions must always consider high moral standards, including at the level of legal decision-making. Next, "Ordering the KPU to resume the implementation of the presidential election" this statement shows direct intervention in the election process by asking the KPU to repeat the implementation of the presidential election.

In the discourse coalition theory, this narrative creates dynamics that affect public trust in the election process and the independence of the KPU. This narrative is supported by groups who feel that the previous election had significant legal or ethical flaws that required substantive improvement through the repetition of the process. In the context of discourse coalition theory, actors in the public sphere build narratives that support or reject these issues based on their respective interests. The coalition of critics tends to use this discourse to call for ethical and legal reforms at the individual (Anwar Usman) and institutional (MK and KPU) levels. Meanwhile, the defense coalition seeks to maintain stability by emphasizing that certain violations do not necessarily have a major impact on the outcome or legitimacy of the election process.

Visualization of Tempo.co Concept Networks

The network visualization from this Tempo.co shows sharp criticism of the Constitutional Court (MK) and the Chairman of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, regarding alleged violations of the code of ethics and conflicts of interest. The main node, namely "There is a conflict of interest", is the center of attention with various connected issues. The main criticism is directed at Anwar Usman who is considered to have deliberately created a space for intervention, where his decision-making is considered awkward and triggers the loss of the Constitutional Court's common sense, as reflected in the application of Articles 90 and 91.

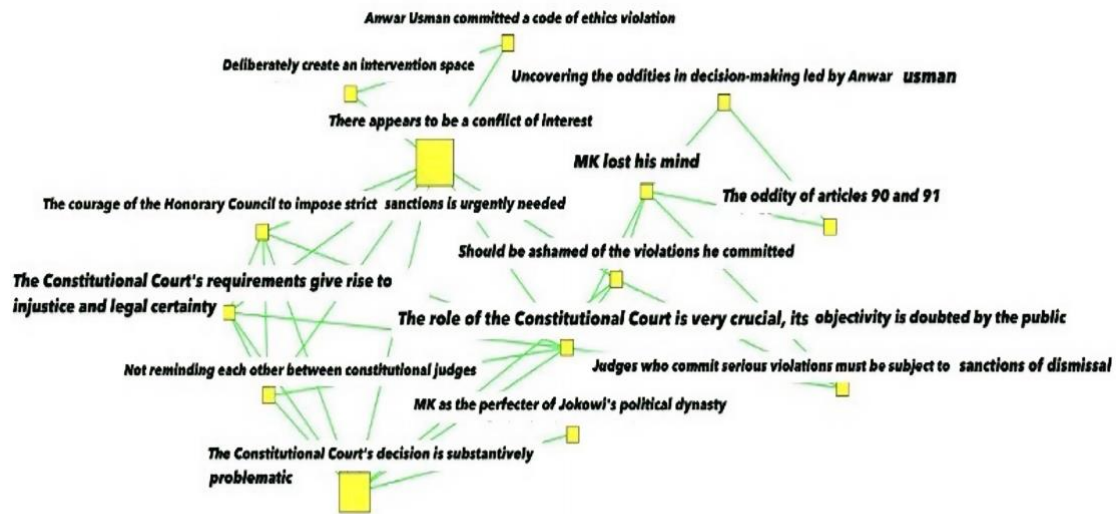


Figure 2. The form of a network concept by person Tempo.co

From Figure 3, this visualization is important to observe how this conflict has a wide impact on public perception of the highest judicial institution in Indonesia. Harsh criticism of the Constitutional Court, including calls for the imposition of strict sanctions and the dismissal of judges found guilty of serious violations, indicates a public push for institutional reform. The network reflects concern over the potential politicization of the judiciary, which not only affects the image of the Constitutional Court but also raises legal uncertainty and injustice in society. This visualization is a reminder that transparency and integrity are important foundations in maintaining public trust in state institutions.

Table 2: Processed Data of Researchers Tempo.co

| Concept | Frequency | Degree (%) |
|--|-----------|------------|
| There is a conflict of interest | 12 | 13.333 |
| The Constitutional Court's decision is substantially problematic | 4 | 11.667 |
| Constitutional Court as a refiner of Jokowi's political dynasty | 2 | 1.667 |
| Constitutional Court loses its mind | 2 | 8.333 |
| The Constitutional Court's conditions give rise to injustice and legal certainty | 2 | 8.333 |
| Should be ashamed of the violations he committed | 2 | 8.333 |
| Anwar Usman violated the code of ethics | 2 | 3.333 |
| The role of the Constitutional Court is very crucial, its objectivity is doubted by the public | 2 | 13.333 |
| Irregularities in articles number 90 and 91 | 1 | 3.333 |
| Not reminding each other between constitutional judges | 1 | 8.333 |
| Judges who commit serious violations must be sanctioned with dismissal | 1 | 5 |
| The courage of the Honorary Assembly to impose strict sanctions is urgently needed | 1 | 8.333 |
| Deliberately creating an intervention room | 1 | 3.333 |
| Revealing the irregularities in decision-making led by Anwar Usman | 1 | 3.333 |

Source: By Visone

The table above shows several concepts from Tempo.co that build a narrative about alleged conflicts of interest in the Constitutional Court (MK), which can be analyzed using the theory of

discourse coalitions. This theory explains how actors in society shape and mobilize certain narratives to support or oppose a view. Based on the order, the most dominant discourse in the Tempo.co with the highest frequency is "There is a conflict of interest". Conflicts of interest are at the center of the discourse that builds criticism of the Constitutional Court, especially against the personal integrity of judges or Constitutional Court leaders. This narrative is the starting point for a coalition of critics who have taken issue with decision-making at the Constitutional Court. Second, "The Constitutional Court's decision is substantially problematic", this discourse covers technical and substantial issues in the Constitutional Court's decision, which are considered unfair or not in accordance with public expectations. This narrative strengthens a coalition that wants to discredit the Constitutional Court by highlighting internal weaknesses in decision-making. "The Constitutional Court as a perfecter of Jokowi's political dynasty", this discourse builds a narrative that the Constitutional Court is no longer a neutral institution, but a tool to perpetuate certain political interests. This narrative seeks to form a coalition that supports the elimination of politicization of the judiciary.

"The Constitutional Court has lost its mind" uses emotional language to attract public attention, portraying the Constitutional Court as an institution that is no longer rational or conforms to high moral and ethical standards. "The Constitutional Court's requirement gives rise to injustice and legal certainty" touches the core of the Constitutional Court's function, namely as a guardian of the constitution and legal justice. This narrative builds on the discourse that the Constitutional Court has failed to fulfill its leading role, which can strengthen a coalition of critics from various parties, including academics and legal practitioners. Next, "Should be ashamed of the violations committed" this discourse focuses on the ethical and moral dimensions, with a call for the Constitutional Court and individuals in it to be responsible for the mistakes that have occurred. The next discourse, "Anwar Usman violated the code of ethics" this discourse uses language that targets directly at the individual leader of the Constitutional Court, highlighting the alleged violation of the code of ethics committed by Anwar Usman. In the discourse coalition theory, this is a strategy to form a perception that the problems of the Constitutional Court institution are rooted in leadership that lacks integrity. "The role of the Constitutional Court is very crucial, its objectivity is doubted by the public" directly targeting individual Constitutional Court leaders, highlighting alleged violations of the code of ethics committed by Anwar Usman. In the discourse coalition theory, this is a strategy to form a perception that the problems of the Constitutional Court institution are rooted in leadership that lacks integrity.

"Irregularities in articles 90 and 91" this discourse focuses on the technical and legal aspects of the Constitutional Court's decision, where certain articles are considered irregular. In the discourse coalition theory, this narrative aims to raise doubts about the technical competence and quality of the Constitutional Court's decisions. Then, "Not reminding each other between constitutional judges" highlights the work culture in the Constitutional Court, where constitutional judges do not carry out the function of social control over their fellow colleagues. This reflects a collective failure to maintain the integrity of the institution. The next discourse emphasizes the need for dismissal for judges who are proven to have committed serious violations. In the context of discourse coalition theory, this is a direct call for concrete action in response to various violations, namely "Judges who commit serious violations must be sanctioned with dismissal". Then, expect the Honorary Assembly to act decisively in dealing with ethical violations. This narrative functions as a discourse that pressures the Constitutional Court's internal mechanism to work more effectively. "The courage of the Honorary Assembly to impose strict sanctions is urgently needed" Tempo.co to bring a discourse that expects the Honorary Assembly to act decisively in dealing with ethical violations. This narrative functions as a discourse that pressures the Constitutional Court's internal mechanism to work more effectively. In addition, "Deliberately creating a space for intervention" this discourse illustrates the alleged intentionality in creating opportunities for intervention in the Constitutional Court's decision-making. This reflects the perception that the Constitutional Court is no longer independent. The last discourse presented by Tempo.co seeks to highlight that the decision-making process at the Constitutional Court is full of irregularities, especially under the leadership of Anwar Usman. This prompted a coalition that called for

transparency and reform in the Constitutional Court procedure, namely "Exposing the irregularities in decision-making led by Anwar Usman".

Viva.co.id: A Stronger Narrative in Support of Political Coalitions

Within the framework of Discourse Coalition Theory, the discourse that emerges in Viva.co.id shows the existence of narrative patterns that support the formation of certain political coalitions with a focus on the justification of decisions and the legitimacy of the actors who benefit. This theory states that socio-political actors form alliances through mutually reinforcing discourses to achieve common goals, either directly or indirectly. In this case, Viva.co.id narrative tends to show support for the Prabowo-Gibran pair, while questioning legal steps that have the potential to hinder the dominant narrative.

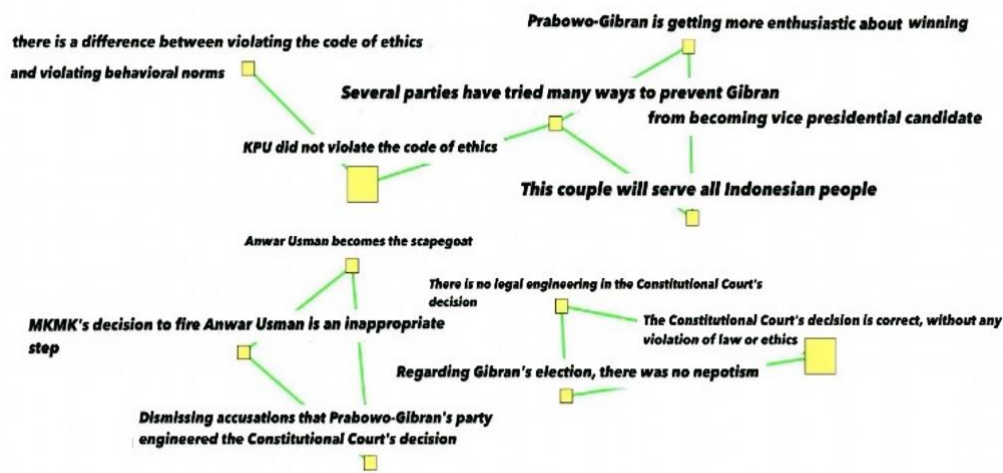


Figure 3. Visualization of Concept Networks by Person Viva.co.id

The figure above is a conceptual network structure consisting of three main clusters that describe issues surrounding political and legal dynamics related to the election of vice presidential candidates and the role of the Constitutional Court. The main node in this network is the statement that "the KPU did not violate the code of ethics," which links various other statements, including claims about the difference between violations of the code of ethics and norms of conduct, as well as the efforts of various parties to influence the decision not to run for vice president. This cluster also includes a narrative about the Prabowo-Gibran pair, who is described as a party who will serve all Indonesian people.

The second cluster focuses on the Constitutional Court's decision regarding Anwar Usman and allegations of nepotism in the election of Gibran as vice presidential candidate. This statement seeks to affirm that the Constitutional Court's decision is appropriate and not against the law or ethics, as well as dismissing allegations of fabrication carried out by certain parties. The final cluster described the narrative that Anwar Usman was a "scapegoat," with criticism of the MKMK's move that was deemed inappropriate in sacking him. This structure illustrates how legal, ethical, and political issues are intertwined in shaping public perception and narratives put forward by the media.

Table 3: Processed Data of Researchers Viva.co.id

| Name | Frequency | Degree (%) |
|---|-----------|------------|
| The KPU did not violate the code of ethics | 4 | 9.090 |
| The Constitutional Court's decision is correct, without any violation of the law and ethics | 4 | 9.090 |
| There are many ways to do it so that Gibran does not become the Vice President | 2 | 13.636 |
| Dismissing accusations that Prabowo-Gibran fabricated the | 2 | 9.090 |



| Name | Frequency | Degree (%) |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Constitutional Court's decision | | |
| This couple will serve all Indonesian people | 1 | 9.090 |
| The more enthusiastic about winning Prabowo-Gibran | 1 | 9.090 |
| There is a difference between a violation of the code of ethics and a violation of the norm of conduct | 1 | 4.545 |
| MKMK's decision to fire Anwar Usman is an inappropriate step | 1 | 9.090 |
| Anwar Usman has become the scapegoat | 1 | 9.090 |
| Regarding Gibran's election, there is no nepotism | 1 | 9.090 |
| There is no legal engineering in the Constitutional Court's decision | 1 | 9.090 |

Source: By Visone

The first cluster "KPU does not violate the code of ethics" became the discourse that had the highest frequency value and became the most dominant in Viva.co.id. This statement reflects the discourse of those who support the decision of the KPU or the Constitutional Court, which states that the KPU works in accordance with existing rules and still maintains ethics in carrying out its duties. This discourse was expressed by Yusril Ihza Mahendra who is a legal and political figure in Indonesia. He is known as a constitutional jurist, academic, and politician. Specifically, the statement expressed is: *"If 'firmly' is interpreted in a limited manner in PKPU, the postulate seems to be true. KPU regulations expressly state that the registration of vice presidential candidates can be processed if they are 40 years old or older. If the process continues, then the commissioners can be subject to administrative legal sanctions, in addition to being subject to ethical sanctions,"* he said. This discourse aims to dismiss criticism and create the perception that the KPU acts professionally, without violations. The discourse that emerged in Viva.co.id clearly shows the existence of a narrative pattern that supports the formation of certain political coalitions with a focus on the justification of decisions and the justification of actors or domains that benefit. Ideologically, this statement is based on the protection of the authority and credibility of state institutions.

Second, "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct, without any violation of law and ethics" This discourse is broader because it involves the institution of the Constitutional Court (MK). This statement serves to build legal legitimacy over the Constitutional Court's decision, which in this context supports reducing or changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates. In the discourse coalition theory, the actors involved include Constitutional Court judges, political figures who agree with this decision, and those who want to strengthen the role of the Constitutional Court as the main interpreter of the constitution. The interest behind this discourse is to maintain the rule of law and avoid ethical debates that weaken the position of the Constitutional Court. Ideologically, there is an attempt to prioritize legal provisions over ethical views that contradict the decision.

Third, "There are many ways to do it by several parties so that Gibran does not become Vice President" This statement tends to come from actors or groups who want to position themselves as victims of political sabotage attempts. This discourse serves to create a narrative that there is resistance to Gibran's candidacy as vice presidential candidate, with the impression that various parties are trying to hinder him through methods that are considered unethical. The actors in this discourse coalition include Gibran's support team or political figures who are interested in his candidacy. The goal is to shape public opinion to be more sympathetic to Gibran and reduce support for those who oppose his candidacy. Ideologically, this discourse puts forward the idea of justice in democracy and the right to be nominated without external obstacles. Through the lens of discourse coalition theory, it shows the efforts of certain actors to build or maintain a narrative that supports or protects their interests in the context of elections. This discourse coalition actively frames arguments in a way that strengthens the position of each party, both in terms of legal legitimacy, ethical credibility, and public sympathy for certain candidates.

Then, "This couple will serve all Indonesian people" and "The more enthusiastic about winning Prabowo-Gibran" indicate that the discourse Viva.co.id designed to build a positive image of this couple as leaders who are inclusive and oriented to the interests of the people. It seems that it

has been identified who will benefit from this policy. This narrative creates a symbolic coalition between the couple and an audience that supports political stability, emphasizing their role as figures that are acceptable to all circles. In the discourse coalition theory, this statement serves to strengthen the position of the dominant actor (Prabowo-Gibran) and provide legitimacy to the political process involving them. Narratives like these also indicate an attempt to align the interests of certain groups (e.g., supporting coalitions) with the broader public interest, although they may not fully reflect political reality.

Discourse "There is a difference between violation of the code of ethics and violation of norms of conduct" This statement reflects an effort to distinguish the level of violation in the context of ethics and norms of conduct. In discourse coalition theory, it is a form of defensive narrative that aims to mitigate criticism of individuals or institutions by underlining that not all violations are fatal. Next, Viva.co.id presented a discourse that tried to build a discourse that strict action against Anwar Usman, such as dismissal, was unnecessary or disproportionate. "The MKMK's decision to fire Anwar Usman is an inappropriate step", the discourse seems to be able to be used to create a coalition that maintains Anwar Usman's position in the Constitutional Court. Viva.co.id always seems to create a discourse that Anwar Usman is targeted to cover up systemic weaknesses in the Constitutional Court. In the discourse coalition theory, "Anwar Usman became a scapegoat " is an attempt to shift the focus from the individual to the institutional, thus maintaining his personal legitimacy. Then, "Regarding the election of Gibran, there is no nepotism " in a political context, this narrative seeks to refute the allegations of nepotism related to the election of Gibran Rakabuming as regional head. This shows an effort to protect the Constitutional Court from accusations of siding with the interests of President Jokowi's family. The last discourse presented by Viva.co.id is "There is no legal engineering in the Constitutional Court's decision" which serves as a direct defense against the Constitutional Court's decision which is considered controversial. In the discourse coalition theory, this narrative aims to eliminate the public perception that the Constitutional Court is manipulating the law for certain interest.

Conclusion

This study shows that in the case of policy changes in Indonesia in online media related to the issue of changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024, it is articulated through three online media, namely MediaIndonesia.com, Tempo.co, and Viva.co.id, which seem to be dominated by non-opposition narratives. Thus, it can be said that there is no online media in Indonesia that clearly positions itself as the opposition. However, these media tend to be in favor of the Constitutional Court's (MK) decision, by adopting a narrative approach that plays it safe. MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co, prefer a cautious approach without showing firm opposition to the Constitutional Court (MK) decision. This strategy can be seen from the use of complex terms that are difficult for non-expert audiences to understand, which indirectly limits the public's understanding of the legal issues raised. As a result, the discourse raised by Tempo.co regarding the issue of "not reminding each other among constitutional judges" describes how the problem is placed in the framework of collective error, or even as something that is not necessarily considered a mistake. A "not reminded" statement does not directly indicate that the relevant party has made a mistake; On the contrary, it only shows indications that are still tentative. This narrative is reinforced by framing that Anwar Usman, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court, seems to be used as a scapegoat in the issue. This approach reflects how the media shapes a careful narrative, avoids direct confrontation, and prefers to focus on presenting issues implicitly. This also shows the tendency of the media to navigate sensitive issues while still considering the prevailing political and social context. In contrast to Viva.co.id, it clearly shows the existence of a narrative pattern that supports the formation of certain political coalitions with a focus on the justification of decisions and the justification of actors or realms that benefit.

Through Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), it was found that the dominant narrative tends to be influenced by actors with high authority, such as academics, legal experts, and politicians, who direct public opinion on the legality and urgency of the Constitutional Court's policies. Thus, this study succeeded in identifying that the discourse built by the media not only reflects the position of the actors, but also strengthens the pattern of coalition dominance through

the delivery of narratives that direct public perception. This choice of multi-interpretation and complex narratives has an influence on how people understand certain legal issues. These findings provide new insights into how the media plays a role in shaping public opinion and influencing the understanding of policies involving legal and political aspects. Further research is suggested to explore more deeply the role of alternative media or other digital platforms (such as social media) in shaping public opinion related to legal issues and political policies.

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