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Typology of discourse coalition networks and actors in the coverage of electric vehicles on tempo.co and kompas.com

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Abstract

Since 2019, the Jokowi government has implemented policies on electric vehicles (EVs) to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. While controversial, these policies generated diverse responses and spurred multiple discourses, which were widely reported in mainstream media. Based on Talkwalker data, Tempo.co and Kompas.com were selected for analysis as both consistently covered EV issues in 2023. This article examines the types of actors and discourse coalition networks that emerged in the EV debates reported by Tempo.co and Kompas.com. To do so, the discourse and discourse coalition theories, mediation theory, and Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method were adopted. Data from 194 news articles collected through observation and documentation during May 7–14 and May 20–27, 2023, were coded using an established framework, analyzed with Visone software, and qualitatively interpreted. The findings reveal pro, contra, and evaluative discourse coalition networks in Tempo.co and Kompas.com. The government successfully identified all dominant actors in the first phase but failed in the second phase. In the second phase, researchers became dominant actors in Tempo's reporting, with discourses largely focused on criticism and evaluation of EVs. The data shows that the Central Government failed to anticipate the discourse that developed in the media. In addition, the difference in the selection of actors and discourses shows the powers of the mediation processes carried out by each medium. This study contributes to DNA analysis by separating results based on media sources and confirms the role of dominant actors in shaping the electric vehicle discourse.

Keywords: actors; networks; discourse coalition; discourse network analysis (DNA); electric vehicles

Introduction

One of the government policies, which had been widely discussed in the mass media, especially online media, between 2019 and 2023 is the electric vehicle policy. The government began promoting electric vehicle utilization in 2019 with the release of regulations on electric vehicles, one of which is Presidential Decree Number 55 of 2019. This decree outlines the goals of electric vehicle implementation, which include increasing energy efficiency, enhancing energy security, improving air quality for a more environmentally friendly atmosphere, and supporting the country's commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions (Presidential decree of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). In 2023, the government introduced a new policy offering subsidies for purchasing Battery Electric Vehicles (KBLBB), specifically electric motorcycles and cars. This regulation represents the government's effort to encourage the public to buy electric vehicles. Through the subsidy, the government hopes electric vehicles can serve as an alternative solution to environmental pollution triggered by vehicle carbon emissions (Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform, 2023).

Although intended to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, the electric vehicle policy sparked controversy. The BRIN Political Research Center (2023) argues that air pollution issues cannot be solved by technical solutions like electric vehicles. They emphasize the importance of examining political relations among dominant actors, noting that the policy may serve as a means for capital owners to generate wealth by exploiting the air pollution issue. Moreover, the government's focus on subsidies suggests prioritizing economic concerns over environmental ones.

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The subsidy policy triggered debates in Indonesian media, notably criticism from presidential candidate Anies Baswedan during his May 7, 2023 speech at the Declaration and Inauguration of Amanat Indonesia (CNBC Indonesia, 2023). He argued that subsidies favor affluent buyers and do not address air pollution effectively, claiming that carbon emissions from private electric cars might exceed those from fossil-fueled public buses. Anies Baswedan's criticism reignited discussions about the electric vehicle policy and drew attention from the government, politicians, practitioners, and the public. Media coverage of electric vehicle policy issues contains various discourses that present arguments from multiple actors. Such coverage is part of the discourse, understood as a set of ideas, concepts, notions, and categorizations produced, reproduced, and transformed by actors through specific practices by assigning meaning to physical and social realities (Hajer in Eriyanto & Ali, 2020).

Discourse consists of a set of ideas, concepts, and categories that give meaning to phenomena (Hajer, 2002). Discourse circulating in society, including that in mass media coverage, holds the power to shape public thinking and can ultimately influence both individual and collective behavior. Castell (2009) emphasizes that discourse and communication are significant sources of power, as they impact public thinking, individual and group behavior, and have global effects. Meanwhile, news text is information written systematically, clearly, logically, and communicatively using relevant concepts and contexts to ensure readers receive the message well (Ariyadi & Utomo, 2020). Therefore, the discourse in the form of news text related to the issue of electric vehicles certainly has the power to influence the perceptions of various parties, including the public and policymakers, through the information presented.

In recent years, the public has increasingly relied on news from online media rather than print media (Burggraaff & Trilling, 2020). Online media has a faster process of news production than print media, including the production of news related to electric vehicles. Electric vehicle news in online media is part of a discourse that includes ideas, concepts, and categories discussing electric vehicles. News coverage and discourses related to electric vehicles, which are part of public policy, indicate that discourses are closely related to a particular policy. This aligns with Hajer's (2002) argument that the language or the narrative plays a role in explaining policy situations. Policy discourse, as reported by the media, is always linked to the concept of political communication due to the strong connection between journalistic practices, discourse, policy, and politics (Ahmad, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2022). While Ahmad (2020) highlights that the news media productions are likely to be determined by some structural systemic factors, including the existing political system and the state/government ideology, Castells (2009) explains that policies or regulations made by the government are highly dependent on politics. These authors hinted that those who hold political power commonly determine the capacity to implement policy, so the government often considers the political impact of its policies.

Various actors presented in the news offer different arguments. Actors in the media are viewed as "active agents" in defining and interpreting an issue in a certain way (Eriyanto, 2022). Only certain actors can appear in the media when portraying actors within discourse (Leifeld, 2017). To be featured in the news, actors appearing in the coverage are selected through an internal media procedure adjusted to various factors, such as ideology, resource availability, and the relevance of the information to the target audience.

According to Leifeld (2017), actors featured in the mass media are typically relevant to the political sphere, so the explanations provided by various actors in the media are inherently connected to their political backgrounds and interests. Political communication, as a process conducted to achieve specific goals (Syarbani et al., 2021), turns out to be one of mass media's distinctive characteristics, serving as a medium for actors to present their arguments.

The actors appearing in the media and presenting arguments regarding electric vehicles then form a network, with the emergence of dominant actors who carry the discourse. Discussions surrounding electric vehicles subsequently became a public debate, where actors put forward ideas to make their discourse dominant. The emergence of various arguments from numerous actors has led to an increase in the mass media's news coverage related to electric vehicles. Based on our observations, the mass media's news coverage of electric vehicles surged in May 2023 soon after Anies Baswedan criticized the willingness of Jokowi's government to implement the electric vehicle policy.

During the observation of news coverage on electric vehicles, various actors were identified, including the Central Government, Politicians, the Private Sector, Researchers, and Society. Research on the connection between actors and discussions about electric vehicles has become an interesting topic. Previous studies on how electric vehicle policies are reported in the media have been conducted by Alhalabi (2023) and Azizi (2023). Alhalabi (2023) analyzed pro and contra discourses on electric vehicle subsidies in Kompas.com using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis, finding that the platform sought to present criticism and facts neutrally. Similarly, Azizi (2023) examined Tempo.co and Kompas.com through framing analysis, showing that Tempo.co maintained a more neutral stance, while Kompas.com published more opinion and public responses. While these studies provide valuable insights into media narratives and framing, they remain limited in explaining which actors dominate the discourse, what types of discourses emerge, and how actors and discourses are interrelated in news coverage of electric vehicle policies. This study addresses that gap by employing Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), which enables a systematic mapping of actors, discourses, and their interconnections within media reporting.

Based on this, we, as researchers, aim to explore how diverse actors, as reported by the mass media, construct discourses in response to Jokowi's electric vehicle policy, including subsidies. Data were collected in two phases: Phase 1 (May 7–14, 2023), capturing discourses following Anies Baswedan's criticism, and Phase 2 (May 20–27, 2023), during a surge of electric vehicle news. This two-phase approach enables analysis of discourse evolution in the mass media across these periods. Based on observations using Talkwalker software, Tempo.co and Kompas.com were selected for this study because they consistently produced news on electric vehicles throughout May 2023. Keywords like "electric vehicles" alongside hashtags such as #TempoVideo, #TempoBisnis, #TempoOtomotif, #OtomotifKompas, #KompasOtomotif, and #Kompascom appeared prominently in Talkwalker's Top Themes, indicating steady coverage. Both media are registered with the Press Council, have strong national reputations, and are among the most trusted outlets by Indonesians (Katadata.co.id, 2023). We can obtain news data from more credible sources by selecting these two media.

To understand the relationship between the actors and discourses they produced, Maarten Hajer developed the concept of discourse coalitions to explain the connection between the actors and discourses. Hajer (2002) explains that actors construct discourses to attract public attention by defining specific issues (Hajer, 2002). This concept is often referred to as an argumentative discourse, where discourse is defined as the ideas, concepts, and categories through the meanings given to phenomena (Hajer, 2002). Discourse coalitions can be analyzed using the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method. Philip Leifeld developed this method to analyze the discourse and actors, as well as the agreements and disagreements among each of these actors (Leifeld, 2013). This DNA method can also illustrate and analyze the actors' positions and the networks among actors and discourse in the context of public policy. In this research, actors refer to individuals or informants who present arguments related to the electric vehicles policy and are featured in the news media reports. Meanwhile, discourse refers to the media coverage related to the electric vehicles released by Tempo.co and Kompas.com. This analysis focuses on the media discourse because it is one of the five types of discourse that can be researched (Friginal & Hardy, 2021).

The application of Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) in media studies has been conducted in several previous studies. Kasih (2023) employed DNA to analyze discourses surrounding the Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Rail (KCJB) project in 25 online media outlets and found a dominance of counter-discourses. Similarly, Eriyanto and Ali (2020) applied DNA to COVID-19 coverage in Detik.com and Kompas.com, showing that the government failed to build a discourse coalition with experts. Edvra and Ahmad (2023) also investigated discourses on the new Omicron variant, identifying three types of discourse networks involving government actors, the Covid-19 Task Force, the military, and parliament. Unlike previous studies, this research focuses on electric vehicle policy, a topic rarely analyzed using discourse network analysis (DNA). Moreover, by distinguishing between Tempo.co and Kompas.com, this study addresses a gap in previous DNA-based research and enables a clearer identification of differences in media discourse construction. This study addresses the research gap by offering a novel perspective on mapping actors, discourses, and their interrelations within media coverage of electric vehicle policy.

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In this study, it is assumed that the discourses formulated by the actors, as reported by Tempo.co and Kompas.com, are likely to form a discourse coalition network. It is expected that this research can provide a comprehensive overview of the typology of discourse coalition networks and actors related to the electric vehicles policy as reported by Tempo.co and Kompas.com. By using the discourse network analysis method, this research will be able to examine how the actors construct the discourse on electric vehicles reported in these media and explore the discourse coalition networks formed by the actors. Based on the extraction of Tempo.co's and Kompas.com's news reports related to this policy; we will show the key actors and main discourses. Considering the importance of electric vehicles in reducing greenhouse gas emissions within policy frameworks, this study is crucial for understanding the dynamics of political communication, government policy, and the role of mass media in transmitting discourse through the mass media. This study aims to map how discourses and actors interact in media coverage of the electric vehicle policy and to identify the typology of discourse coalition networks that emerge from these interactions.

Method

This study uses the discourse network analysis (DNA) method developed by Philip Leifeld (2011; 2013; 2017; 2020). Leifeld and Hauns (2011) explain that the discourse network analysis method is a social network analysis that evaluates the relationships between actors and the content of discourse through several stages. This method is a combination of qualitative content analysis and social network analysis (Leifeld & Hauns, 2011; Leifeld, 2013; 2020) to visualize the development of discourse coalitions and networks within a specific period. DNA describes discourse structure and generative processes using network analysis tools (Leifeld, 2017). Leifeld designed a tool called a Discourse Network Analyzer to facilitate the qualitative coding process and the conversion of actors' statements into network data (Leifeld, 2013; 2017). Discourse Network Analyzer software is a qualitative content analysis package that allows for actor-based annotations regarding the use of 'concepts' by actors (Leifeld, 2020). In this software, text data can be imported, actors' statements can be coded manually, and the resulting data can be exported as one of several types of networks.

DNA reveals societal and political power structures by analyzing who says what and examining actors' positions and networks around public policy. Actors use discourse to express agreement or disagreement and construct arguments to attract public support (Eriyanto, 2022). Using DNA, this study presents typologies of discourse coalitions constructed by actors in Tempo.co and Kompas.com news coverage on Indonesia's electric vehicle policy in early 2023. News articles were collected via Octoparse in two phases: May 7–14, 2023, following Anies Baswedan's criticism on May 7, and May 20–27, 2023, capturing a surge in related media coverage to observe discourse evolution. Based on the results of the selection process using Octoparse software with the keyword restrictions "electric vehicles," "electric motorcycles," and "electric cars", we collected the relevant news articles related to the electric vehicles policy and its implementation. We removed the articles that contain irrelevant information.

We processed 194 news articles and identified statements of the actors reported in these articles. We found that each of these articles contains more than one concept and more than one actor. We therefore collected statements and categorized them based on actors and discourse during the identification stage of actors and concepts (discourse). Using this approach aligns with the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method. We did so to identify the connections between two nodes: node 1 consists of actors, and node 2 consists of the concepts or discourse categories. Below is the complete data regarding the number of news articles, the number of statements (concepts) we analyzed, and the grouping of actors and discourses we identified in this study:

Table 1: Data on Number of News Articles and Number of Concepts

Media	Number of News Articles		Number of Concepts		Number of Actor Groups		Number of Discourse Groups	
	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 1	Phase 2
Tempo.co	43	53	65	111	9	7	24	33
Kompas.com	35	63	56	88	7	10	21	25
Total	78	116	121	199				
Overall Total	194 News Articles		320 Concepts					

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The analysis process is conducted through the following stages. In the first stage, we collect news related to electric vehicles from Tempo.co and Kompas.com using Octoparse software. In the second stage, we identify the concepts or discourses, where the collected statements are categorized or grouped based on discourses (concepts) and actors. After grouping actors and statements, all statements are entered into a tool called the Discourse Network Analyzer, a software that offers several ways to create dynamic discourse networks or to integrate dynamic data into static representations (Leifeld, 2010). In this software, textual data can be imported, actors' statements can be manually coded, and the resulting concept or actor maps can be exported as one of several network types (Leifeld, 2013). The next step is data visualization using Visone software. The identification results from the Discourse Network Analyzer are exported and visualized in this software. After completing all these stages, we presented the data visualization results by narrating them with qualitative explanations. These stages enabled us as researchers to map and analyze the typology of coalition networks and actors in electric vehicle news on Tempo.co and Kompas.com.

Results and Discussion

Typology of Discourse Coalition Networks and Actors in the Electric Vehicle News on Tempo.co' News Coverage

This study aims to identify the typology of discourse coalition networks and actors in electric vehicle news on Tempo.co and Kompas.com. During the analysis, we evaluate the degree, closeness, and betweenness centrality of each actor and discourse in both media across two phases. The following table summarizes the degree, closeness, and betweenness scores for actors and discourses on Tempo.co:

Table 2. Degree, Closeness, and Betweenness on Tempo.co

Category	Phase 1				Phase 2			
	Frequency	Degree	Closeness	Betweenness	Frequency	Degree	Closeness	Betweenness
State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN)	2	1.47	3.06	0	2	1.78	1.91	0.08
Society	2	1.47	0.44	0	10	3.57	2.51	1.94
Organization/Community	12	14.7	4.98	24.90	9	4.46	2.55	2.97
Central Government	20	14.7	5.18	27.13	30	13.39	3.18	19.51
ASEAN Leaders	1	1.47	2.73	0	-	-	-	-
Researchers	1	1.47	2.67	0	24	12.5	3.39	23.20
Private Sector	1	1.47	0.44	0	-	-	-	-
Politician	12	4.41	1.32	0.52	12	6.25	2.13	8.07
Producer	14	8.82	4.30	11.37	24	8.03	2.78	9.05
Anies and Luhut: Popular Figures Related to Discussions on Electric Vehicle Subsidy Policies	-	-	-	-	3	0.89	2.35	0
Electric Vehicle Subsidy Regulations Were Implemented Late	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	1.91	0
Electric Vehicle Battery	3	2.94	3.3	4.03	1	0.89	2.25	0
Support for Electric Vehicle Policies	-	-	-	-	5	2.68	2.55	1.44
Carbon Emissions of Electric Cars Are Higher Than Those of Fuel Buses	6	1.47	0.79	0	3	0.89	1.67	0
Supporting Facilities for Electric Vehicles Are Still Limited	1	1.47	3.53	0	3	1.78	3.05	4.44
Jakarta Formula E 2023	1	1.47	0.44	0	-	-	-	-
High Prices of Electric Vehicles	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	2.25	0
Indonesia Has Potential in the Electric Vehicle Industry	1	1.47	3.43	0	3	1.78	2.25	0.72
The Electric Vehicle Industry Creates Job Opportunities	2	1.47	3.53	0	-	-	-	-
Government Intervention Is Not Limited to Electric Vehicles	-	-	-	-	1	0.89	1.67	0
Electric Vehicle Policies Only Shift Emissions	-	-	-	-	2	1.78	2.43	0.34
Electric Vehicle Subsidy Policies Are in Demand	1	1.47	3.10	0	7	2.68	3.19	6.10
Electric Vehicle Subsidy Policies Benefit Certain Parties	-	-	-	-	7	1.78	2.43	0.34
Electric Vehicles Are Implemented in Various Countries	5	1.47	3.53	0	1	0.89	2.04	0

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Electric Vehicles Are More Efficient	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	2.25	0
Electric Vehicles Reduce Fuel Subsidies	1	1.47	3.43	0	-	-	-	-
Environmentally Friendly Electric Vehicles	6	4.41	5.29	8.95	3	1.78	2.59	1.90
Electric Vehicle Conversion	2	2.94	4.70	4.24	-	-	-	-
Lack of Urgency in Implementing Electric Vehicle Subsidies	2	1.47	0.44	0	2	0.89	2.35	0
Periklindo Electric Vehicle Show (PEVS)	2	2.94	3.97	1.84	1	0.89	2.25	0
Electric Vehicle Technician Training	1	1.47	3.53	0	-	-	-	-
Electric Vehicle Marketing	2	1.47	3.43	0	4	0.89	2.04	0
The Government Must Develop Renewable Energy	-	-	-	-	2	1.78	2.55	2.57
The Government is Building an Electric Vehicle Ecosystem	1	1.47	3.53	0	2	0.89	2.25	0
Electric Vehicle Owners Do Not Need Subsidies	4	1.47	0.79	0	8	2.68	2.63	4.03
The Implementation of Electric Vehicle Incentives Is Appropriate	1	1.47	3.433	0	3	2.68	2.83	3.94
Implementation of Electric Vehicle Policies	4	2.94	4.70	4.24	5	1.78	2.28	0.68
Policy Implementation Should Start with the Grassroots Community	-	-	-	-	1	0.89	2.35	0
Implementation KTT ASEAN	4	4.41	4.23	6.90	-	-	-	-
Acceleration of the Electric Vehicle Ecosystem	3	2.94	3.63	4.03	7	2.68	2.51	2.11
The Requirements for Electric Vehicle Incentives Are Too Inflexible	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	2.04	0
Electric Vehicle Products	9	2.94	3.97	1.84	11	1.78	2.73	2.55
Electric Vehicle Products Are in Demand	1	1.47	3.10	0	7	2.68	2.55	1.44
The Public Needs Clarification on Electric Vehicle Subsidy Policies	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	2.35	0
Incentives Should Be Redirected to Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (UMKM)	-	-	-	-	2	0.89	2.35	0
Electric Vehicle Subsidies Should Be Allocated for Public Transportation	-	-	-	-	3	1.78	2.55	2.57
Electric Vehicle Subsidies Contribute to Traffic Congestion	2	1.47	0.79	0	2	0.89	1.67	0
Proposed Electric Vehicles as Public Transportation	-	-	-	-	1	0.89	2.25	0

Source : Author

As shown in Table 2, Central Government actors dominated the discourse network in Tempo.co's first phase, evidenced by their high degree, closeness, and betweenness scores. The Ministry of Industry emerged as the most prominent, emphasizing a holistic approach to electric vehicle development and highlighting its potential benefits, including emission reduction, job creation, and support for the government's nickel downstream program. Similarly, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenko Marves) asserted that electric vehicle implementation has been thoroughly studied and adopted globally. This reflects Hajer's view (1993; 2005) that actors, in constructing discourse, seek to impose their perspective by utilizing their power. The centrality measures confirm the Central Government's role as the dominant and most influential voice in this phase.

In the first phase of Tempo.co's coverage, the dominant discourse emphasized electric vehicles as environmentally friendly, as indicated by its highest closeness and betweenness scores. The high closeness reflects its strong visibility, while the high betweenness suggests its central role in linking related discussions. This discourse was primarily promoted by Central Government actors and supported by organizations/communities and producers. For instance, the Indonesian Electric Motorcycle Industry Association (Aismoli) highlighted that incentives are essential to accelerating carbon emission reductions and criticized opposition to this policy, asserting that adopting electric vehicles is now a necessity rather than a choice. Below is a visualization of the discourse coalition network and actors in electric vehicle news during the first phase of Tempo.co:

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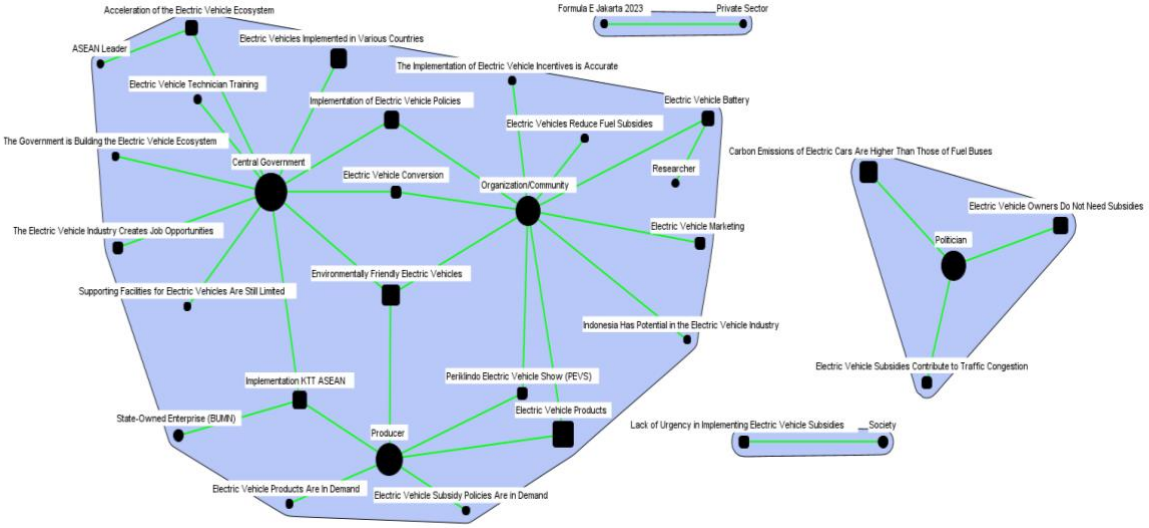
Figure 1. Discourse Coalition Network and Actor Phase 1 on Tempo.co



Source: Processed Data by Researchers Using Discourse Network Analyzer Software and Visone Software

Figure 1 illustrates the formation of four separate discourse coalition networks in Tempo.co's first-phase coverage has no interconnection among them. The primary coalition, dominated by Central Government actors and supported by Organizations Communities and Producers, conveyed most pro-electric vehicle discourses, along with narratives related to policy and implementation. Although less prominent, actors such as Researchers, State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN), and ASEAN Leaders contributed by reinforcing the dominant discourse.

In contrast, other coalitions, consisting of the private sector, politicians, and society remained unconnected to the main network. The private sector stood apart due to expressing a single, unsupported discourse, while politicians and society conveyed perspectives that were generally opposed to electric vehicles. Anies Baswedan, a 2024 presidential candidate, argued that electric cars produce higher emissions than fuel-powered buses, which can carry more passengers, and questioned the effectiveness of subsidies, noting they often benefit those who do not need financial assistance. Similarly, members of the public, particularly netizens, raised concerns about the urgency and relevance of electricity subsidies.

Data from the second phase of Tempo.co's coverage reflects a more complex discourse dynamic. The Central Government remained the dominant actor, as shown by its highest degree score in Table 2, demonstrating its dominant position within the discourse. On the other hand, researchers had higher closeness and betweenness scores than the Central Government. The researchers' high closeness score suggests their accessibility to various actors and narratives, while their high betweenness score highlights their role as intermediaries within the electric vehicle discourse.

The dominant discourse in this phase centers on public interest in electric vehicle policies, marked by the highest closeness and betweenness scores among all discourses. Its centrality suggests that it is both widely accessible and instrumental in linking different actors and narratives. Visualization of the coalition network further shows that multiple actors engaged with this discourse, generating both support and criticism, which is represented by blue and red lines connecting actors to the concept.

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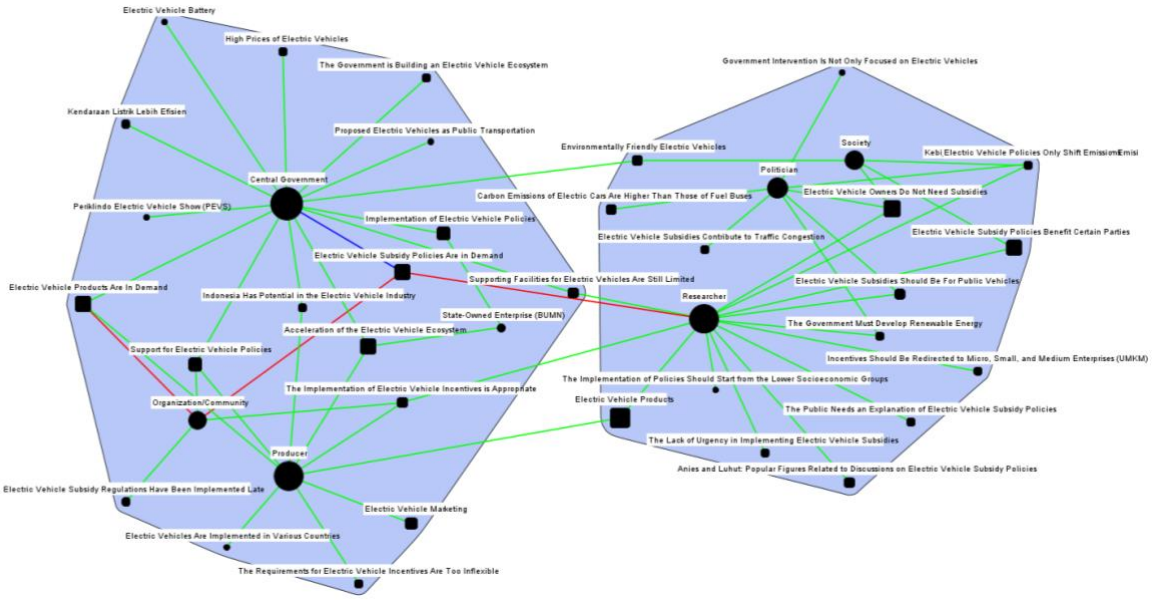
Figure 2. Discourse Coalition Network and Actor Phase 2 on Tempo.com



Source: Processed Data by Researchers Using Discourse Network Analyzer Software and Visone Software

The visualization reveals the emergence of two interconnected discourse and actor coalitions in the second phase, marking a shift from the first. The first coalition consists of predominantly pro-electric vehicle actors, including the Central Government, supported by Producers, Organizations/Communities, and State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). The second coalition, led by researchers and reinforced by politicians and society, is composed of actors critical of electric vehicles. This division indicates a more developed discourse, with clearer expressions of actor alignment.

During this phase, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenko Marves) re-emerged as the most active central government actor promoting electric vehicle discourse. Emphasizing Indonesia's strengths, this actor framed the electric vehicle transition as a driver for economic growth, employment, and sustainable development. Beyond discussing Indonesia's potential, Kemenko Marves also promoted the discourse on building an electric vehicle ecosystem, which included subtle critiques of those opposing electric vehicle policies.

The Central Government's position is reinforced by various actors, including PT Indika Energy Tbk from the producers' group. This company supports the view that Indonesia holds strong potential in the electric vehicle industry, asserting that government policies contribute positively by increasing product demand and stimulating the development of supporting sectors such as steel and nickel. Representatives of PT Indika Energy Tbk also emphasized that these policies reflect the government's commitment to promoting environmentally friendly industries, enhancing the competitiveness of local products, and advancing the goal of net-zero emissions.

In a separate coalition of discourse and actors apart from the central government, the position of researchers is supported by politicians and the public. The researcher most frequently mentioned in the second reporting phase is the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (Indef), a public policy research institute. Indef raised critical views on electric vehicle policy implementation, arguing that subsidies are misdirected, as electric vehicle buyers largely come from higher-income groups while lower-income communities remain unable to afford them. They further suggested that the subsidy policy benefits specific interests, indicating the presence of potential conflicts of interest.

Another researcher expressed a similar perspective, the Institute for Demographic and Poverty Studies (IDEAS). This organization argued that the policy of providing electric vehicles for official government use as a misplaced policy. According to IDEAS, this reflects a lack of alignment with public interests, particularly those of low-income groups. They also argued that electric vehicle policies merely shift emissions, noting that approximately 60% of the electricity supply still depends on coal-fired power plants. As such, subsidies for electric cars and motorcycles were seen as a

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superficial response to emission reduction. IDEAS recommended redirecting subsidies toward electric public transportation, particularly buses, arguing that this would better support sustainable mass transit and avoid worsening traffic congestion.

Another critical discourse raised by Researchers concerns the lack of urgency and appropriateness in implementing electric vehicle subsidies. The Center of Economics and Law Studies (Celios) argued that such incentives risk leading ministries and agencies to inefficient spending. They suggested reallocating the budget toward expanding social assistance, fertilizer subsidies to address El Niño, and efforts to combat extreme poverty. Celios also noted that the current infrastructure for electric vehicles remains limited and emphasized the need to build a proper ecosystem before encouraging widespread adoption. In line with this view, the Narasi Institute labeled the policy a misdirected government ambition. While subsidies for electric motorcycles are intended for low-income groups, they argued that these communities prioritize basic necessities such as fuel, LPG, groceries, and cooking oil over electric vehicles.

Although most researchers in the second phase of Tempo.co's coverage presents counterarguments and critiques of the electric vehicle policy, some support it. The Segara Institute, for instance, views the incentives as appropriate and states they would adopt similar measures if in the government's position to develop the electric vehicle ecosystem. They argue that electric vehicle purchases can boost industrial growth and generate employment. This divergence within the researcher group reflects the policy's complexity and underscores the need for inclusive dialogue in determining effective implementation strategies.

Based on the visualization in Figure 2, arguments formulated by the researcher actors are supported by politicians and the society. In the second phase of Tempo.co's news coverage, several politicians expressed critical views on electric vehicle policies. Anies Baswedan argued that electric cars produce higher per capita carbon emissions per kilometer than fossil-fuel-powered buses and suggested that subsidies would be more effective if directed toward public transportation. Similarly, Jusuf Kalla criticized the policy for merely shifting emissions from vehicle exhausts to coal-powered electricity generation**.** He argued that the electric vehicle subsidy policy is ineffective, as it is not supported by the development of environmentally friendly power plants. He also urged Indonesia to be confident in building cleaner energy sources to reduce carbon emissions. From the society actors, netizens voiced concerns that the electric vehicle policy primarily benefits certain parties. Indef's Twitter analysis showed that nearly 60% of criticisms highlighted this issue. Many netizens also argued that the policy merely shifts emissions, as electric car batteries still rely on coal-based electricity. Nevertheless, some expressed optimism, viewing electric vehicles as a cleaner alternative to fossil fuel-powered cars.

In this study, we also analyze each actor's degree, closeness, and betweenness, and discourse on Kompas.com' news coverage related to Jokowi's electric vehicle policy. The following table presents the degree, closeness, and betweenness values for the actors and discourse on Kompas.com:

Table 3. Degree, Closeness, and Betweenness on Kompas.com

In the first phase of Kompas.com's coverage, the Central Government emerged as the dominant actor, evidenced by its highest degree, closeness, and betweenness scores. Mirroring the pattern in Tempo.co, the Ministry of Industry played a key role by framing the acceleration of electric vehicle (EV) adoption as part of Indonesia's emission reduction strategy. It also emphasized EV development to achieve green economic transformation and job creation. Alongside this ministry, the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenko Marves) contributed significantly, arguing that EVs had undergone thorough studies and do not produce pollution. This actor also highlighted that various countries have adopted policies to support the adoption of electric vehicles, and Indonesia is targeted to become a key player in the global electric vehicle industry.

The dominant discourse in this phase centered on the environmentally friendly electric vehicle narrative, reflected in higher degree, closeness and betweenness scores. This discourse, promoted by the Central Government and Producers, was further reinforced by ASEAN leaders. The following is a visualization of the coalition network of discourse and actors in the first phase of Kompas.com' news coverage related to this policy:

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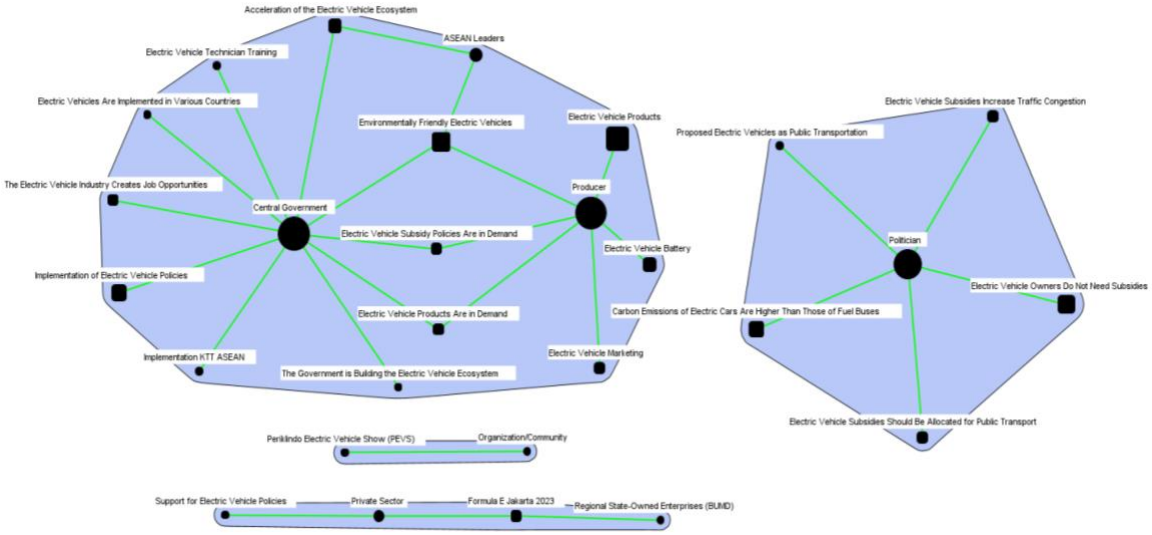
Figure 3. Discourse Coalition Network and Actor Phase 1 on Kompas.com



Source: Processed Data by Researchers Using Discourse Network Analyzer Software and Visone Software

The visualization of the discourse coalition network and actors in the first phase of Kompas.com's news coverage indicates that four separate discourses and actor coalitions have formed, which are not interconnected with one another. As in Tempo.co's coverage, the main coalition is led by the Central Government and supported by Producers, both holding dominant positions and delivering most pro–electric vehicle discourses. asean leaders also reinforced these narratives. separate from this main network, another coalition comprises organizations/communities, the private sector, and Regional State-Owned Enterprises (BUMD), which conveyed non-dominant discourses absent from the main actors. On the other hand, politicians formed a separate coalition focused on critical and evaluative discourses toward electric vehicles.

In the second phase of Kompas.com's coverage on Jokowi's electric vehicle policy, the Central Government remained the dominant actor, as shown by its high degree, closeness, and betweenness scores in Table 3. Its position was reinforced by the producer actor, whose score ranked immediately below that of the central government. This indicates that both actors played a key role in shaping electric vehicle policy during both phases of coverage on Kompas.com. The Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment (Kemenko Marves) contributed the most discourse in this phase, stating that the shift from fossil fuel to electric vehicles would reduce oil imports, which cost the country up to USD 35 billion annually. Kemenko Marves also emphasized the government's efforts to build an electric vehicle ecosystem, noting that transitioning all energy sources from coal to renewables will take time.

The position of the Central Government is also strengthened by the presence of other actors, as shown in the visualization of the discourse coalition network and actors. Below is the visualization of the discourse coalition network and actors in the second phase of Kompas.com' news coverage related to Jokowi's electric vehicle policy:

Figure 4. Discourse Coalition Network and Actor Phase 2 on Kompas.com

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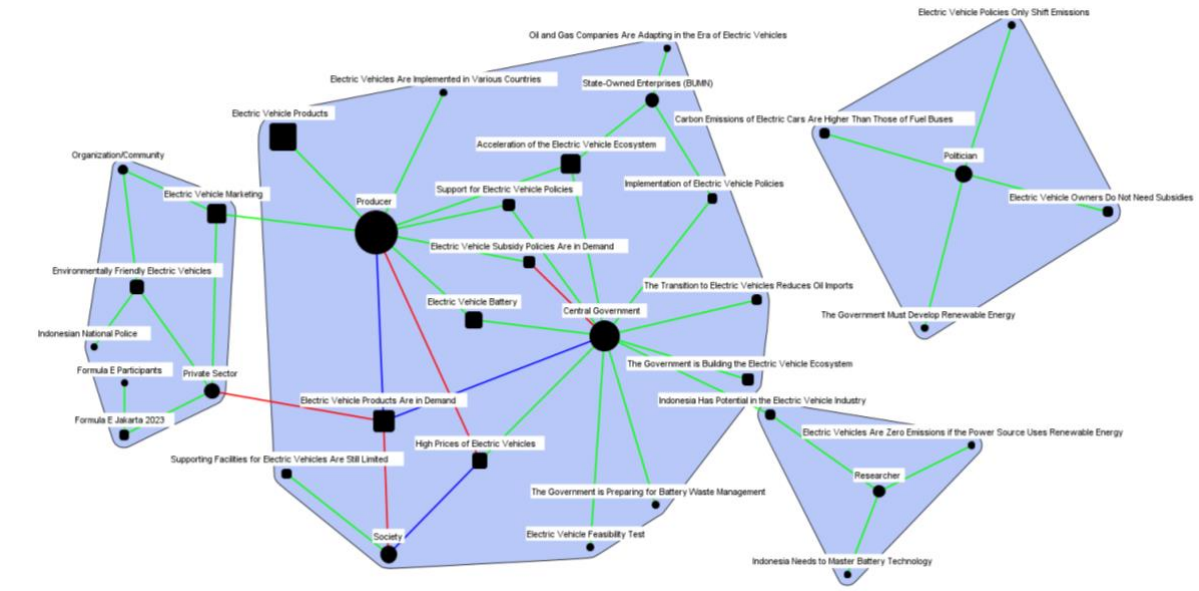

Source: Processed Data by Researchers Using Discourse Network Analyzer Software and Visone Software

Based on the visualization of the coalition network of discourses and actors in the second phase, the network structure differs from that of the first phase. Four coalition networks emerged, with three interconnected and one separate. The main coalition network is dominated by the Central Government and Producer actors, whose positions are reinforced by State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) and the Society. A smaller coalition, still linked to the main network, consists of the Private Sector, Formula E Jakarta 2023, Organizations/Communities, and the Indonesian National Police, which conveyed non-dominant discourses yet remain connected to the central coalition.

Another connected coalition involves Researcher actors presenting both supportive and evaluative discourses on electric vehicles. The Center for Conversion and Conservation Research voiced support by highlighting Indonesia's potential as Asia's largest hydrogen producer, with hydrogen as an alternative energy source for electric vehicles. In a related initiative, the Energy Storage Technology Research Center at Sebelas Maret University (UNS) proposed developing a more competitive domestic electric vehicle ecosystem through local battery production, emphasizing Indonesia's resources such as nickel, cobalt, and manganese. Additionally, the Electric Energy Conversion Laboratory at Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) states that electric vehicles could achieve zero carbon emissions if both power plants and production processes adopt environmentally friendly practices.

The coalition network of discourses and actors that remains separate from the main network is formed by Political actors. They advance discourses focusing on criticism and evaluation of electric vehicle implementation, which are not shared by other actors. Similar to the reporting in Tempo.co, the second phase of Kompas.com's coverage highlights Anies Baswedan's statement that carbon emissions from electric vehicles per capita per kilometer exceed those of oil-fueled buses. He also argued that environmental issues should not be addressed by subsidizing electric car owners who do not need such assistance. In the same phase, Kompas.com featured Jusuf Kalla, another political actor, who noted that emissions previously released through car exhaust pipes have shifted to the smokestacks of coal-fired power plants (PLTU) supplying electricity for these vehicles. He further emphasized that the government should focus on developing renewable energy.

In this phase, the dominant discourse concerns public interest in electric vehicles, which records the highest degree, closeness, and betweenness compared to other discourses. Visualization of the coalition network shows this topic being debated by various actors, both proponents and opponents. Central government actors promote the view that electric vehicle products are in demand, with the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources reporting a growing public interest in converting

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motorcycles from fuel to electricity. In contrast, Moeldoko, a Presidential Staff member, acknowledged the low public interest in electric motorcycles.

The discourse on the demand for electric vehicles is also debated by Producer actors, who present both supporting and opposing views, illustrated by blue lines in the discourse coalition network visualization. PT Kurnia EVCBU International (Kurnia Motors) claimed high demand, reporting hundreds of unit orders, mostly from the Jabodetabek area. Similarly, Wuling stated that its Air EV model sales rose by nearly 100% following the implementation of electric vehicle subsidies in April 2023. In contrast, PT Kreta Indo Artha (KIA) reported low demand by citing supply issues with only about 420 units sold by April 2023 and a target to increase sales by year's end. Private Sector and Society actors also voiced a weak interest in electric vehicles. Zurich Indonesia noted that although the growth rate of electric vehicle ownership is relatively high, total market sales remain small. Similarly, Society actors highlighted limited service facilities, the niche appeal of electric motorcycle conversions, and high conversion costs, including service fees, spare parts, and the price of the modified motorcycle, as reasons for low demand.

This research adopts Maarten Hajer's (1993, 1995, 2002) concept of discourse, understood as a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories that attribute meaning to phenomena. When discourse is conveyed in the mass media, the role of the mass media is not merely as a tool or "vehicle" for delivering messages, but rather, the media conditions and transforms these messages and presents them to the audiences (Spöhrer, 2017). In the news coverage by Tempo.co and Kompas.com on Jokowi's electric vehicle policy and its implementation, both in the first and second phases, various actors present discourses reflecting their roles and interests.

In the first phase, the Central Government emerges as the dominant actor in discourse related to the policy, fitting given its role as policymaker. Data shows that central government actors utilize the media to disseminate information about electric vehicles to the public, which aligns with Castells' (2009) argument that actors use media to achieve specific goals. The Central Government successfully maximized its media presence to propagate its discourse and became the dominant actor by gaining support from other actors. This suggests that they effectively identified potential contra-discourse actors early on and strategically managed their communication to secure a dominant position within the discourse network.

In the second phase, the discourses, actors, and discourse coalitions identified in Tempo.co and Kompas.com became notably more dynamic and complex than in the first phase. Tempo.co reported the Central Government as the dominant actor with high centrality, while Researchers also held significant closeness and betweenness scores. The data indicate that although the Central Government remained dominant, Researchers' discourse was more accessible, suggesting their role as intermediaries connecting various actors and discourses in the electric vehicle policy debate. In contrast, Kompas.com's second-phase coverage consistently portrayed the Central Government as the dominant actor, as in the first phase. This consistency indicates that Government actors effectively used Kompas.com to disseminate discourses, including informational narratives and expressions of support. The finding indicates that Kompas.com positions the Central Government as the primary actor and features its discourse more prominently than others.

Data extracted from the first and second phases of mass media coverage indicate that while Central Government actors successfully identified all dominant actors in the first phase, they failed to do so in the second. Researchers emerged as dominant actors in Tempo.co, with most discourse criticizing and evaluating electric vehicles, revealing the Central Government's inability to anticipate such discourse in this media. The differing portrayal of dominant actors between Tempo.co and Kompas.com confirms that each media strategically selects actors to feature. This supports Leifeld's (2017) argument that media strategically manage actor visibility, as not all actors are equally allowed to appear. Some actors are more mediagenic due to their official responsibilities. Unlike Kompas.com, which consistently highlights the Central Government, Tempo.co also emphasizes Researchers as key actors in its second-phase coverage and presents more discourse from both.

The findings also show that each media portrays and positions actors differently. Tempo.co predominantly highlights Researchers opposing electric vehicle policies and providing critiques, whereas Kompas.com features Researchers supporting policy implementation. The selection of societal actors also varies: Tempo.co focuses on Netizens expressing concerns, while Kompas.com

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reports that society actors are aligned with the electric vehicle target market. This reflects the media's active role in mediation, which is understood as a communication process influential in meaning-making (Couldry, 2008). Mediation also refers to transmitting something, including the government policy and political news (Ahmad, 2020), through the mass media (Ahmad, 2017), so the discourse related to the electric vehicle policy and its implementation has been mediated by Tempo.co and Kompas.com.

In Tempo.co's second phase, counter-discourses and evaluations are more diverse than supportive views, contrasting with Kompas.com, where pro-discourses are more varied. This demonstrates that each medium selectively emphasizes different aspects of similar issues, confirming the media's role in translating or transforming deliberate actions (Spöhrer, 2017). Tempo.co presents more critical coverage than Kompas.com regarding Jokowi's electric vehicle policy, suggesting that each media outlet follows its newsroom policies as news producers. This indicates that media are not merely vehicles for delivering messages but also actively shape and transform information in their reports (Spöhrer, 2017). The mediation process by the media becomes evident again as the media engages in a communication process that contributes to the construction of meaning (Ahmad, 2017, 2020). Thus, when discourse is presented in the media, the media serves to mediate the issues embedded within that discourse (Couldry, 2008).

Unlike previous DNA studies in the media, such as Kasih (2023), which examined discourses surrounding the Jakarta–Bandung High-Speed Rail, Eriyanto and Ali (2020), which revealed the government's failure to build coalitions with experts during COVID-19 coverage, and Edvra and Ahmad (2023), which mapped discourse networks on the Omicron variant, this study offers a new contribution by focusing on electric vehicle policy. It not only addresses a topic that has rarely been analyzed through discourse network analysis but also distinguishes itself by separating the results for each media outlet and comparing them. This comparative approach enables a clearer identification of differences in media discourse construction and illustrates how similar policies can be reported differently across various media platforms.

Theoretically, this study contributes to discourse theory and media studies by demonstrating how the emergence of actors and discourse coalitions in news reporting is mediated by each media outlet. Findings show that researcher-actors appear to be influential in Tempo.co but not in Kompas.com, the study underscores the importance of considering media-specific characteristics when applying DNA to discourse analysis. The results further indicate that media do not merely serve as vessels for discourse but also regulate the visibility of actors, thereby shaping the direction of policy debates presented in news coverage.

Conclusion

This study outlines the typology of discourse and actor coalition networks in Tempo.co and Kompas.com's coverage of Jokowi's electric vehicle policy and its implementation. The findings reveal that actors attempt to present that can dominate the public conversation (Leifeld & Haunss, 2011), supporting Hajer's (1993, 1995) argument that actors in discourse coalitions seek to impose their perspectives on reality. The study also shows that mass media, specifically Kompas.com and Tempo.co, do not merely deliver information but act as agents that condition and transform it into particular discourses, aligning with Castells' (2009) theory that actors use media to achieve political goals. For policymakers, especially the Central Government, it is crucial to recognize dominant actors in the electric vehicle discourse and ensure information is evenly distributed across media to avoid rejection or criticism. This calls for optimized, inclusive communication strategies spanning all media and policy phases.

As a novelty, this study separates the analysis of Tempo.co and Kompas.com, offering deeper insight into how each shapes electric vehicle discourse. The results contribute to government efforts to build effective communication and to media practitioners' understanding of their role in framing public opinion. Overall, the study highlights the dynamic interaction between dominant actors and media strategies in Indonesian electric vehicle discourse. Compared to Eriyanto and Ali (2020), who combined Detik.com and Kompas.com coverage on COVID-19, and Edvra and Ahmad (2023), who

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aggregated online reports on the Omicron variant, this research advances discourse network analysis by differentiating findings for each media outlet, thereby capturing their distinct mediating roles.

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