Dominant Actors at Online News Portals in Cases of Policy Changes

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Abstract. *The media has contributed significantly to the polemic regarding the age limit of prospective presidential candidates in Indonesia. To answer how the media contributes to this polemic, this study applies discourse network (DNA) analysis. By looking at three leading online media outlets in Indonesia, Viva.co.id, Tempo.co Dan Mediaindonesia.com in October 2023-January 2024, this study argues that the discrepancy around the age limit of presidential candidates not only affects the way the public views the issue but also exposes the public to the issue of transparency of the highest constitutional institution in Indonesia (MK). Moreover, by applying the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF), this study found that Mediaindonesia.com and Tempo.co have the same views regarding the issue of age restrictions, which are harmful to the Constitutional Court's policies. Meanwhile, Viva is relatively supportive and agrees with the policy. Media organizations use influential individuals to build discourse as part of the narrative. They use these people as their source to support certain discourses. These people range from academics, activists, and political parties to speaking experts to experts.*

Keywords: *discourse network analysis (dna), policy change, online news portal, discourse coalition theory*

INTRODUCTION

Ahead of the 2024 several controversial issues, especially in the world of politics, have attracted attention and become the public spotlight. The journey of President Joko Widodo's eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, to become vice president will also fill the 2024 kaleidoscope. The Constitutional Court's decision was taken in a trial of Law Article 169 letter (q) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning the President's and Vice President's Election. Article 169 letter q of the Election Law reads, "The requirements to become a candidate for President and vice president. The minimum age is 40 (forty) years old." Meanwhile, Gibran Rakabuming Raka from the PSI party is 35 years old. In making a policy, a debate occurs between various groups or institutions that support or oppose the policy (Schieferdecker, 2021). Along with the development of communication media, it is becoming more accessible for people to manage and receive information (Putra, Rachmawati, & Cholifah, 2021). Based on information from the official website of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, the decision was criticized by some parties because it was politically motivated and caused the court to be labeled as a "Family Court" because of the involvement or relationship that is considered to exist between the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the family of President Joko Widodo (Sri Pujianti, 2024) .

The media is not only about news; it is also about meaning. The media constructs the meaning of the events that occur and the existing reality (Ibrahim, Amirudin, & Kustiman, 2023). The

policy of changing the age limit for the 2024 vice presidential candidate reported on several online news portals received various responses, both pro and con, from political actors or observers. Civil society groups, academics, and non-governmental organizations are often vocal in criticizing decisions detrimental to democracy or justice. Public understanding and support for the Constitutional Court's decision is often influenced by the discourse built by groups that support and oppose it (Atkinson & Cooley, 2019) .

The theory used in this study applies the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory that was carried out by Hajer (1993, 1995, 2002). The role of the use of language and the social construction of reality is the core of the study of discourse. This theory assumes that each actor develops an argument to convince the public that what they convey is true. Actors seek to have their discourse used by policymakers. In the context of policy changes until the 2024 presidential age limit, actors propose a discourse on how certain groups or institutions consolidate or challenge power in a political system. One of the methods used to map discourse related to public policy and discourse competition between actors is discourse network analysis (Leifeld, 2016b; Leifeld & Haunss, 2010). Discourse networks help map emerging discourses; actors propose discourses and connections (networks) of these discourses. This study uses discourse coalition theory and discourse tissue (DNA) analysis method. However, there have not been many studies that combine the two in the context of Indonesia's political policy, especially in the case of changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates.

This study aims to answer the following questions: What is the pattern of the discourse network in supporting or opposing the Constitutional Court's policy on changing the age limit for 2024 vice presidential candidates through online news portals? In this case, discourse is understood in the context of political communication, which is a set of concepts or ideas conveyed by actors to influence public opinion and policy decisions. This study aims to analyze the role of the media in disseminating discourse on policy changes in the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024, as well as to examine the relationship between policy actors in the discourse network through the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) approach. This research also aims to understand how the media functions as the primary agent in shaping public perception and influencing political dynamics related to policy changes. The researcher assumes that each news portal presents a different discourse based on the dominant interests of the actors involved in the news. Then, the dominant actors in each news portal will be selected based on interests or political positions that align with the values of the media.

The position and urgency of previous research related to discourse networks show a variety of essential topics that contribute to the understanding of political and public policy interactions. These studies address how discourse influences political and policy decision-making on various global issues. Discourse networks have been studied extensively in several studies. The topics raised were political issues, such as research conducted by (Fisher, Leifeld, & Iwaki, 2013; Leifeld, 2016a; Leifeld & Haunss, 2012; Muller, 2015; Steinfeld, 2016; Wallaschek, Starke, & Brüning, 2020). Another topic is the debate on environmental issues and changes in advertising, such as research conducted by (Yun, Ku, Park, & Han, 2014)in South Korea, (Wagner & Payne, 2017) in Ireland, (Kukkonen & Ylä-Anttila , 2020) in Finland, and (Ghinoi & Steiner, 2020) in Italy. Another study describing a

network of discourse examines the debate over megaprojects in Germany (Nagel & Satoh, 2018). and one of these trends is the development of iconic megaprojects. Public protests against these projects occur frequently, and scholars in urban governance have diagnosed this as an emerging ?post-political? condition, that is, as a sign of a deficient democratic politics. Others criticise this kind of reasoning as a ?post-political-trap? (Beveridge and Koch, 2017Public debate on health issues (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020) , software rights in European countries (Leifeld & Haunss, 2012) , state access to information, and others. Block broadcasts in Germany and France (Breindl, 2013) , soft drink industry in the United Kingdom (Buckton, Fergie, Leifeld, & Hilton, 2019) , and the alcohol debate in the United Kingdom (Fergie, Leifeld, Hawkins, & Hilton, 2019) and is now on the policy agenda in other devolved administrations and at Westminster. Previous research has explored the arguments deployed for and against MUP, but the congruence between actors in the MUP debate has not been sufficiently examined. This study identified and mapped the discourse coalitions that emerged in the UK MUP debate through an analysis of actors' use of arguments in media coverage of the policy debates. Design: A sample of print media coverage of MUP was obtained from the LexisNexis newspaper database. The resulting sample was imported into discourse network analysis (DNAOverall, previous research suggests that discourse networks are essential in the public policy process. They allow policy actors to influence policy outcomes using structured and tailored narratives for specific audiences. Their urgency lies in their ability to explain how various actors negotiate and build consensus on complex political and social issues.

There are two essential aspects in the policy debate related to the discourse on changing the Constitutional Court's policy regarding the age limit for vice presidential candidates. First is discourse, namely ideas and arguments related to the ratification of this case. Second is the person or organization expressing his opinion (Nohrstedt & Heinmiller, 2024). Each actor expresses his or her opinion, believing that policy discourse is the best (Martinez, 2021). Actors in the news are selected objectively according to the interests of different online media backgrounds, so this study is one of the exciting communication phenomena to study because it wants to see how the media can convey different discourses from each group related to the discourse on changing the Constitutional Court's policy on the age limit of the vice president and show how the capacity of discourse affects the form of the network. Previous research in Discourse Network Analysis often did not highlight information flow as an essential factor in forming discourse networks. Most DNA studies tend to focus on the involvement of actors in the production of discourse without considering how the flow of content affects the structure and dynamics of the network. This research fills this gap by emphasizing the importance of information flows (content) in online news systems and how they shape and influence the network of discourse related to controversial political policies. Previous DNA research has focused less on how online news portals specifically influenced the formation of political discourse. These gaps include a lack of studies comparing the roles of different news portals in the context of the same policy. This study fills this gap by exploring and comparing the role of three news portals MediaIndonesia.co.id, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co in shaping and distributing discourse related to the policy of changing the age limit of vice presidential candidates. This research not only talks about the contribution of

discourse but also about each context and how each concept (issue) is connected between actors and then identifies the growing discourse that both supports and opposes the Constitutional Court's policies in different online media contexts (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020; Leifeld & Haunss, 2012)

METHODS

This study uses the discourse network (DNA) analysis method. Philip Leifeld developed this method, combining discourse analysis (qualitative content) and social network methods. Content/discourse analysis only maps the content of an issue, while network analysis focuses on actors and networks between dominant actors in the discussion of an issue. The discourse network analysis method maps every discourse that develops about an issue (what) and the actors who propose the discourse (who). In this study, discourse network analysis is applied to map the discourse that develops related to the change in the age limit of the vice president decided by the Constitutional Court and the dominant actors (people or organizations) related to the discourse.

Discourse network (DNA) analysis describes the relationship or network between the developing discourse (a concept) and the actor. Figure 1 provides an overview of the DNA method. Circles denote actors, while boxes denote discourse (concepts). DNA also maps the relationship between actors and concepts, referred to as affiliate networks. For example, is there a relationship between government officials and non-governmental organizations? Or is there a relationship between the discourse of alleged violations of the code of ethics and the discourse of public trust? Dst. Who are the actors (people or organizations) who proposed the concept (discourse)? When DNA observes the network between concepts (discourses) and actors, the results of the DNA can later be used to see the congruence or conflict of the network (Leifeld, 2017) .

A network is considered congruent if its actors offer the same concept. On the other hand, a conflict is called a conflict if the actors present a discourse (concept) that is contrary to an issue. By using DNA to obtain patterns of discourse networks by looking at how each concept (issue) is interconnected between actors and then
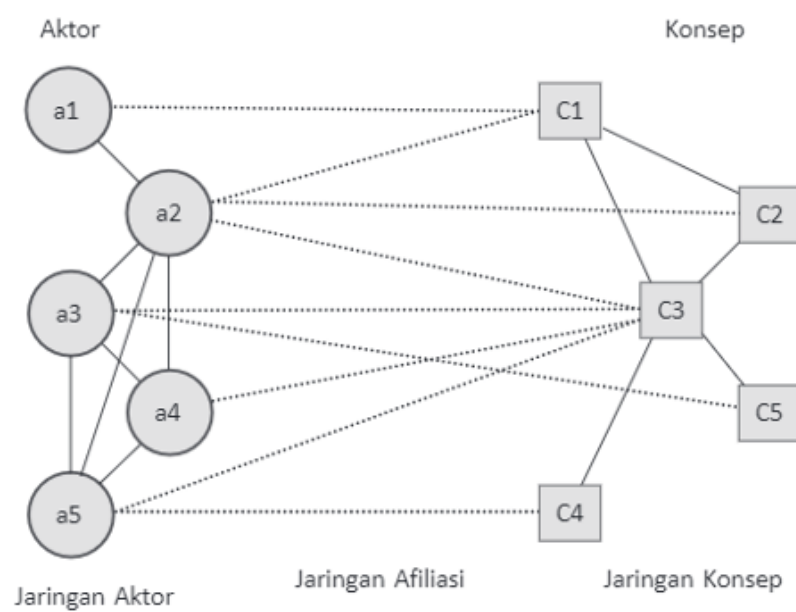

FIGURE 1. Network Form (Leifeld, 2017)

identifying the discourse that develops both for and against the Constitutional Court's policies in different online media settings, the dynamics of political communication can be understood and studied more deeply.

The DNA research process follows the steps suggested by Leifeld and Haunss (2010, 2012), and Leifeld (2017). The first step is to collect the material. The unit of analysis for DNA research is the statements of the actors. This study's statements are obtained from comments or arguments taken directly from online news. To collect statements from actors, the researcher used online media, namely MediaIndonesia.com, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co, by subscribing to a premium online news portal for 1 year, which was collected manually period October 16, 2023 – January 1, 2024.

The keywords used were the Constitutional Court-Gibran Decision and the Vice President's age limit, and 63 news stories were produced from three news portals relevant to the research. The next stage is encoding the statement, including people, organizations, categories, and consent with the application of DNA. People represent the name of the actor, while the organization represents the organization in which the actor works, for example, the government, academics, political parties, community organizations, and so on. Categories indicate what concepts or discourses the actor carries out in online media reporting, while approval indicates whether the discourse supports or rejects the issue. In addition, the researcher also selects irrelevant news to be used as data. Then, it continued with the data visualization process, including affiliate, actor, and concept networks. Analyze data with Visone applications to measure the extent to which actors and concepts are connected to other actors and concepts.

Third, all statements from each online news portal (a total of 129 statements) are included in the DNA Analyzer software version 2.0 (Leifeld, 2017). Fourth, after manual input and categorization of statements, the data is exported and processed using VISONE software (Brandes & Wagner, 2004; Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). Then, it continued with the data visualization process, including affiliate, actor, and concept networks. Analyze data with Visone applications to measure the extent to which actors and concepts are connected to other actors and concepts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research focuses on news coverage of the 2024 vice presidential age limit policy change by the Constitutional Court on October 16, 2023 – January 1, 2024, in national online media. There are three networks analyzed in this study, namely actor networks, concept networks, and affiliate networks. This study also outlines the frequency and degree of centrality in each news portal. Media representation is the act of communicating, the act of re-presenting facts or events that have been selected and positioned in a certain way and perspective through text or news stories on media pages (Ibrahim et al., 2023). The frequency of actors appearing in the discourse network shows how often the actor is involved in the discussion and how much influence it has in shaping the narrative. Meanwhile, the degree of centrality measures the number of direct connections that actors have in the network. Actors with a high degree of centrality have many connections with other actors and concepts, suggesting they are central in communication networks.

Visualization of MediaIndonesia.com Networks

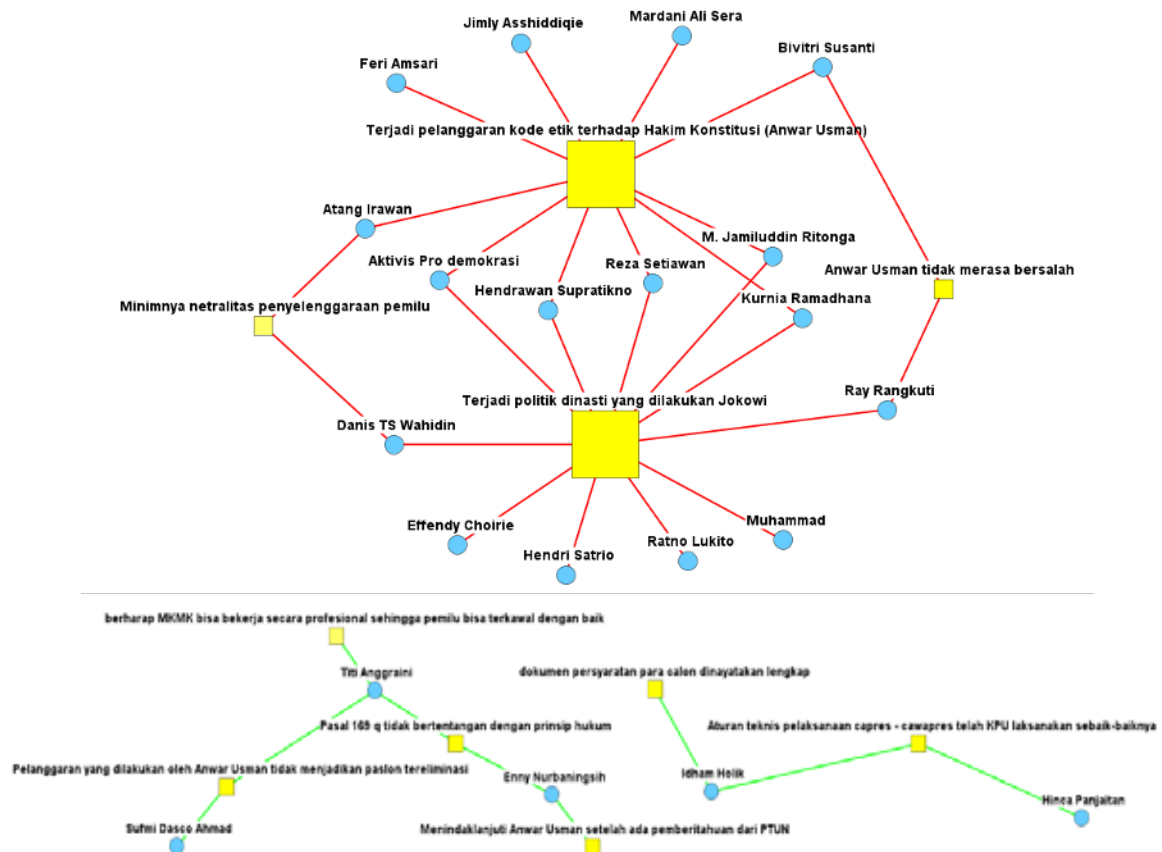On the encoded dataset, there are 21 actors and ten categories of concepts

FIGURE 2. Form of Indonesia Media Network (Visone)

in mediaindonesia.com. There are three clusters formed in MediaIndonesia; clusters can be interpreted as actors or discourses that are in one cluster will be more cohesive (connected) than those that are not in one cluster (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020) (Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). The red line is a cluster of actors against, while the green line is a cluster of pro actors against the 2024 presidential age limit change.

MediaIndonesia.com highlighted the discourse of concern or criticism of the political practices of the Jokowi dynasty. This has an impact on public perception of Jokowi's leadership.

MediaIndonesia.com highlighted concerns over the practice of dynastic politics, especially those carried out by President Jokowi. In its coverage, Media Indonesia displays critical views from various actors, including political experts and community activists. The

Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) introduced by Marteen A. Hajer is an approach that examines how actors in society produce and reproduce discourse. With DCF, we can see that this discourse is produced and strengthened through collaboration between actors who care about the impact of dynastic politics on Indonesia's democracy. They formed a discourse coalition that seeks to raise public awareness of the potential risks and injustices that may arise.

Table 1 shows that the discourse with the most frequency and degree among all categories of "concepts" is the discourse of "Jokowi's political dynasty" with a frequency of 11; degree (%) of 16,176, which is included in the high category, and also the following discourse "There is a violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman)" with a frequency of 10; degrees (%) of 14,706 which are

TABLE 1. Dominant Actor Network and MediaIndonesia.com Concept

Name	Variabel	Frekuensi	Degree %
Jokowi carries out dynastic politics	Concept	11	16.176
There was a violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman)	Concept	10	14.706
Lack of neutrality in the implementation of elections	Concept	4	2.941
Bivitri Susanti	Person	3	2.941
Kurnia Ramadhana	Person	3	2.941
M. Jamiluddin Ritonga	Person	3	2.941
Titi Anggraini	Person	3	4.441

Sumber: Data yang diproses oleh peneliti (Visone)

included in the high category, both show the most dominant discourse, also display essential issues related to ethics and politics that are pretty attention-grabbing that the MediaIndonesia.com immensely highlights.

In the person category, Titi Anggraini (Member of the Board of Trustees of the Association for Elections and Democracy) with a frequency of 3 degrees (%) 4,441 which is the highest category of people compared to other people, and also several other figures such as Bivitri Susanti (Constitutional Law Expert), M jamiluddin Ritonga (Political Communication Expert of Esa Unggul University) and Kurnia Ramadhana (Advocate of 16 Academics) with a frequency of 3; degree (%) 2. These actors are often referred to as political experts or observers who provide views on current issues in the context of political and electoral discussions in MediaIndonesia.com news. The frequency of actors appearing in discourse networks shows how often the actors are involved in discussions and how much influence they have in shaping the narrative.

Network Visualization Viva.co.id

Overall, the network structure dominated by the green line is a cluster of actors who are pro or agree with the change in the age limit for the 2024 vice presidential candidate. On the encoded dataset, there are nine actors and 11 concepts (discourses) categories in Viva.co.id.
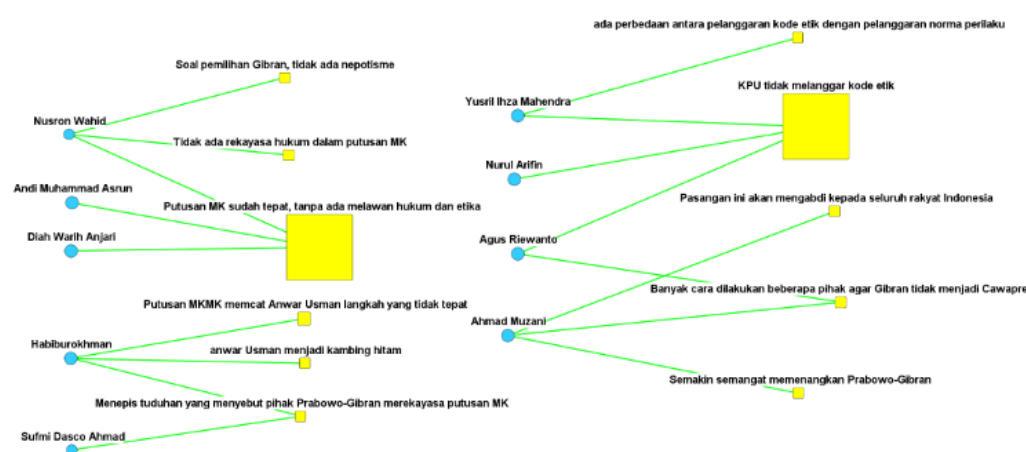

FIGURE 3. Viva.co.id Tissue Shape (Visone)

Through his news, Viva.co.id consistently emphasizes the importance of integrity and ethics in the election process and the Constitutional Court (MK) decision. The dominant discourse here is "the KPU does not violate the code of ethics" and "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct; it does not violate the law and ethics." Through the Discourse Coalition Framework approach, it can be seen that this discourse is produced through close cooperation between politicians and legal experts who strive to maintain the credibility of election institutions and the Constitutional Court.

In Table 2, the Viva.co.id results show that the most dominant concept or discourse with the highest frequency and degree of centrality is "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct, there is no violation of law and ethics" which has a frequency of 4 and a degree of centrality of 9.090%. The second most dominant concept is "the KPU does not violate the code of ethics," which also has a frequency of 4 but a degree of centrality of 6.818%. In the person category, there are four prominent actors, namely Yusril Ihza Mahendra (constitutional law expert), Ahmad Muzani (Secretary General of the Gerindra Party), Habiburrahman (Deputy Chairman of the Gerindra Party), and Nusron Wahid (Secretary of the Prabowo-Gibran Campaign Team) who each have a frequency of 3 and a degree of centrality of 6.818% so that it is the

highest in the person category compared to other individuals. Their strategic roles in the political and legal fields, expertise in constitutional issues, positions in political parties, and active involvement in political campaigns and strategies make these four actors often mentioned in Viva.co.id coverage.

Network Visualization Tempo.co

In contrast to MediaIndonesia.com and Viva.co.id, Tempo.co features actors and concepts (discourses) that are interrelated and marked with a red line. This indicates that each cluster rejects policy changes regarding the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024. In his coverage of this policy change, Tempo.co presents various perspectives from political experts, academics, and community leaders.

From the perspective of Discourse Network Analysis, actors with high reputation and credibility are the focal point of the discussion. Tempo.co often emphasizes critical and investigative points in its reporting. In the context of this research, Tempo.co plays a vital role in disseminating discourses related to conflicts of interest. This can be seen in the network structure illustrated in Figure 4.

In Figures 4 and 5, five main clusters can be seen in the discourse on policy changes regarding the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024,

TABLE 2. Dominant Actor Networks and Viva.co.id Concepts

Name	Variable	Frequency	Degree %
The KPU did not violate the code of ethics	Concept	4	6.818
The Constitutional Court's decision is correct; it does not violate the law and ethics.	Concept	4	9.090
Yusril Ihza Mahendra	Person	3	4.545
Ahmad Muzani	Person	3	6.818
Habiburokhman	Person	3	6.818
Nusron Wahid	Person	3	6.818

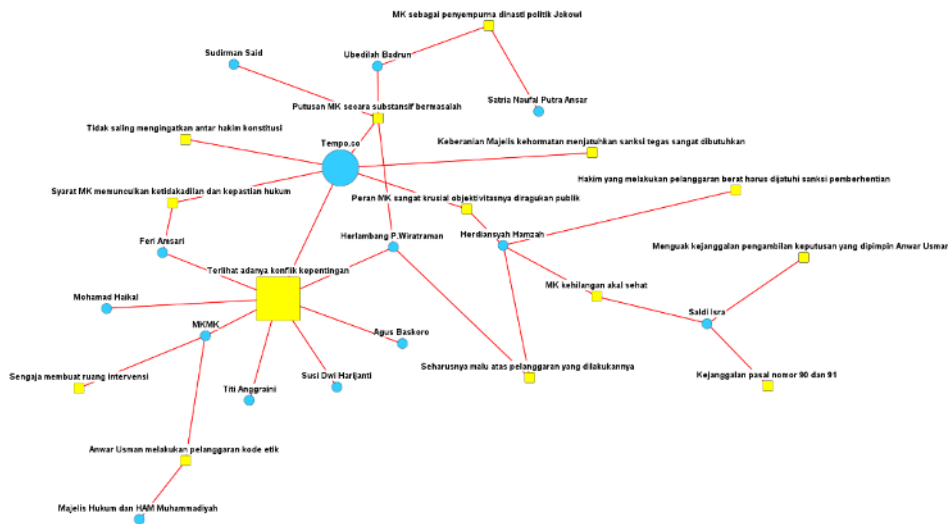Source: Researcher preparation data (Visone)
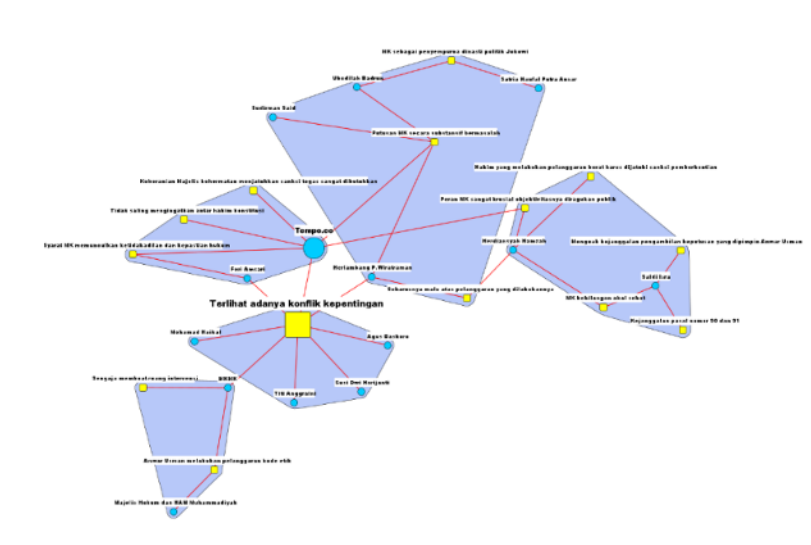
FIGURE 4. Tempo.co Tissue Shape (Visone)

FIGURE 5. Tempo.co Network Form (Cluster)

based on the Tempo.co report. The first cluster, which rejected the policy change, involved Feri Amsari and Tempo.co, who emphasized the importance of the Honorary Council's courage and criticized the unfair requirements set by the Constitutional Court. The second cluster, which also refused, included criticism from Sudirman Said, Ubedilah Badrun, and others about the influence of Jokowi's political dynasty and substantive issues in the Constitutional Court's ruling. The third cluster highlights the accountability of Constitutional Court judges with actors such as Saldi Isra and Herdiansyah Hamzah, who criticize the Court's objectivity and integrity. The fourth cluster focuses on conflicts of interest in Constitutional Court decision-making, featuring actors such as Mohammad Haikal and Titi Anggraini, underlining the need for reform. The fifth cluster contains allegations of ethical violations by Anwar Usman supported by the Ethics Council of Judges and the Muhammadiyah Law and Human Rights Council, which highlights efforts to create a space for political intervention. Overall, these five clusters exposed various criticisms and concerns about transparency, integrity,

TABLE 3. Dominant Actor Networks and Tempo.co Concepts

Name	Variable	Frequency	Degree (%)
Conflicts of interest are obvious	concept	12	13.333
Tempo.co	orang	8	10
The Constitutional Court's decision is substantively problematic	concept	4	6.666
Herdiansyah Hamzah	orang	4	6.666
MKMK	orang	4	5
Saldi Isra	orang	3	5
Herlambang P. Wiratraman	orang	3	5

Source: Researcher preparation data (Visone)

and fairness in the Constitutional Court's decision on the policy of the age limit for vice presidential candidates, which reinforces the counter-narrative that influences public opinion.

The most dominant concept or discourse with the highest frequency and degree of centrality in Tempo.co is "There is a Conflict of Interest," with a frequency of 12 and a degree of centrality of 13.333%, which shows that it is the most frequently discussed topic and has a significant influence in communication networks. The alleged conflict of interest directly targets the core of the problem, which questions the integrity and objectivity of the decisions that have been taken. The second highest concept in Tempo.co is "Constitutional Court rulings are substantively problematic," with a frequency of 4 and a degree of centrality of 6.666%. This concept refers to the criticism of the legal basis and reasoning used in the decision-making process. In the case of changing the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024, the substantive aspect of the decision is relevant because it concerns the justice and legal reasonableness underlying the decision. Substantive criticism targets fundamental aspects of the decision, including whether the decision is fair, rational, and consistent with applicable legal principles.

In the people category, five prominent actors were seen. Tempo.

co leads with a frequency of 8 and a centrality degree of 10%, making it the highest-rated source or actor compared to the others. Next is Herdiansyah Hamzah (Constitutional Law Expert), with a frequency of 4 and a degree of centrality of 6.666%; the Honorary Council of Judges (MKMK) with a frequency of 4 and a degree of centrality of 5%, followed by Saldi Isra (Constitutional Judge) and Herlambang P. Wiratraman (Constitutional Law Expert), each with a frequency of 3 and a degree of centrality of 5%. The high frequency of mentions indicates that Tempo.co is consistently engaged in discussions on the topic, reinforcing its role as a primary source of information. From the perspective of Discourse Network Analysis, actors with high reputation and credibility are more likely to be the focal point of the discussion.

Understanding the Dynamics of Discourse of Dominant Actors in Online News Portals through a Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) Approach

In the context of this research, online news portals Media Indonesia, Viva.co.id, and Tempo.co act as the leading platform that connects political actors, academics, and legal experts with the public. Through Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), we can understand how the media contributes to shaping and disseminating dominant discourse in

the context of this controversial political policy.

MediaIndonesia.com highlighted various concerns or criticisms of Jokowi's political dynastic practices, which can spark heated discussions on social media and news platforms and affect public perception of Jokowi's leadership. Criticism of the legal basis and reasoning used in decision-making related to the change in the age limit of vice presidential candidates has received significant attention. With actors such as Herdiansyah Hamzah (Constitutional Law Expert) and Saldi Isra (Constitutional Judge) frequently quoted, the highlighted discourse helped direct public attention to the legal aspects underlying the decision, thereby increasing the demand for transparency and accountability from the highest legal institutions in Indonesia.

Viva.co.id consistently emphasized the importance of integrity and ethics in the election process and the Constitutional Court's rulings. The most dominant concept or discourse with the highest frequency and degree of centrality is "the KPU does not violate the code of ethics" and "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct; there is no violation of law and ethics," which is often discussed. Figures such as Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Ahmad Muzani, and Habiburokhman gave supportive and critical views on the verdict. Extensive Viva.co.id coverage ensures that issues related to ethics and integrity receive proper attention, thus influencing public perception of the fairness and legitimacy of the electoral process.

Tempo.co often highlights critical and investigative points of view in his reporting. With the Discourse Network Analysis approach, it can be identified that the discourse in Tempo.co is dominated by narratives that question the urgency and implications of policy changes. In the context of this research, Tempo.co plays

a crucial role in disseminating discourse related to conflicts of interest. With the highest frequency and significant level of centrality, actors such as Mohammad Haikal (Chairman of BEM UNPAD), Titi Anggraini (Bachelor of Law), Susi Dwi Harijanti (Professor of Constitutional Law UNPAD), and Agus Baskoro (Executive Director of Trias Politika Strategies) often appear in the news to provide analysis and criticism. In-depth coverage of Tempo.co ensures that this issue remains the main focus of the public and continues to be widely discussed, thus strengthening the perception that there is a severe issue of the integrity of the Constitutional Court's decision.

Through the analysis of discourse networks, it can be observed that the dominant discourses are formed and spread through the interaction between actors and the media. Tempo.co, Indonesia media, and Viva.co.id function as critical nodes in communication networks, connecting various actors and concepts. The relationships between key actors and the topics discussed reflect power dynamics and influence in the discourse network, ultimately influencing public opinion and perception. Civil society groups, academics, and non-governmental organizations are often vocal in criticizing decisions that are considered detrimental to democracy or justice. The media and the public may doubt that these decisions are made fairly and without external pressure. Harsh criticism from the media often reflects concerns that such decisions could undermine public confidence in legal and democratic institutions, particularly the Constitutional Court, which is supposed to be independent and uphold the integrity of the law.

The role of the media in disseminating discourse from actors regarding the change in the age limit for vice presidential candidates in 2024 is very

significant. Tempo.co highlights conflicts of interest, Indonesia media emphasizes concerns or criticism of dynastic political practices, and Viva.co.id highlights integrity and ethics. This aligns with the researcher's assumption that each news portal presents a different discourse based on the dominant interests of the actors involved in the news. Next, the actors who appear in the news Tempo.co, Viva.co.id, and MediaIndonesia.com will be selected based on the main narrative that the media wants to present. MediaIndonesia.com features actors who support or criticize the impact of policy changes on the formation of dynastic politics. At the same time, Viva.co.id highlights political figures or ethical experts who talk about integrity, and Tempo.co are actors who tend to criticize and debate conflicts of interest. Through the DNA approach, it can be seen how each media contributes to shaping and disseminating the dominant discourse. These media function as conveyors of information and as opinion makers that influence the public's views and perceptions of this critical policy. The high interaction and connectivity between actors and concepts in the discourse network show the crucial role of the media in shaping public discourse and influencing political dynamics in Indonesia.

Implementation of the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) by Marteen A. Hajer

In this study, the discourse coalition formed in the context of changing the age limit for vice presidents in 2024 was studied through coverage of Tempo.co, Viva.co.id, and MediaIndonesia.com. The discourse coalition framework helps identify the dominant discourse and how the relevant actors are working to make their discourse the most influential. From the perspective of the discourse coalition framework, actors produce and reproduce discourse through interaction and collaboration. The struggle among actors to spread their discourse resulted in a discourse coalition. For example, in MediaIndonesia.com, actors who oppose dynastic politics join forces to amplify their message, while in Viva.co.id, actors who support electoral integrity and ethics band together to defend their narrative. In Tempo.co, discourse coalitions are formed by actors who focus on revealing conflicts of interest.

MediaIndonesia.com often highlights various dynastic political practices, especially those carried out by President Jokowi. In its reporting, this media presented critical views from various actors, including political experts and community activists. These actors form a discourse coalition that seeks to raise public awareness of the various risks and injustices that may arise. Regarding the discourse that there has been a violation of the code of ethics against the Constitutional Judge (Anwar Usman), all actors seem to agree that there are serious problems related to ethics in the Constitutional Court that need to be overcome to maintain the integrity of the institution and the state of law. This agreement became the basis for the formation of the coalition. By involving various parties, such as academics (Feri Amsari, Jimly Asshiddiqie), pro-democracy activists, and other public figures, the critical message against the Constitutional Court becomes stronger.

The actors used consistent terminology to reinforce their messages, such as "code of conduct violations," "conflicts of interest," and "dynastic politics," frequently appearing in various statements, creating the impression that this issue is a severe and systematic problem. Then, some words such as "damaging," "concerned," and "unworthy" are used to emphasize the negative impact of the criticized actions. Also, it appears that the

use of terms such as "code of conduct," "sanction," and "mandate" suggests that criticism is based on legal principles and professionalism. The actors build a narrative that the Constitutional Court is experiencing structural damage caused by ethical violations, conflicts of interest, and nepotism. This narrative is used to urge corrective action, such as sanctions against the judge concerned.

The actors MediaIndonesia.com formed an informal coalition based on a shared concern for integrity and ethics in the Constitutional Court. This coalition was built through the use of consistent language, focusing on narratives of ethical violations and conflicts of interest, as well as the common goal of maintaining and improving the Constitutional Court institution. Through this unity of voice, they seek to create public pressure and drive the necessary reform actions to ensure that the Constitutional Court remains an essential pillar in Indonesia's legal system.

Meanwhile, Viva.co.id, through his consistent reporting, emphasized the importance of integrity and ethics in the election process and the Constitutional Court (MK) decision. The dominant discourse here is "the KPU did not violate the code of ethics" and "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct; there is no violation of law and ethics." Actor Viva.co.id consistently defended the validity of the Constitutional Court's decision and stated that there was no violation of law or ethics committed by the General Election Commission (KPU) or the Constitutional Court. Many of these statements focus on the justification of the Constitutional Court's decision in favor of Gibran's candidacy as vice presidential candidate, as well as the legal legitimacy of the decision. Keywords that often appear include; "The Constitutional Court's decision is correct," "legal norms," "no violations of the law," and

"no ethical violations."

The actors agreed that the Constitutional Court's decision and the KPU's steps in registering for the vice presidential election were legal and ethical. Together, they formed a coalition to support the legitimacy of this process, both from a legal and ethical perspective. This coalition consists of various parties, ranging from academics (Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Agus Riewantoro), politicians (Nusron Wahid, Nurul Arifin), and figures related to the Constitutional Court. They reinforce the message that this verdict is valid and needs to be upheld.

Furthermore, Tempo.co highlighted the discourse on conflicts of interest in the process of changing the vice president's age limit. This discourse is the most dominant, with the highest frequency and degree of centrality in this media. Tempo.co often features critical and investigative analyses that delve deeper into the potential conflicts of interest behind these decisions. Actors such as political researchers and anti-corruption activists are part of this discourse coalition, which seeks to uncover and debate issues that may be hidden from the public.

All actors agreed that there was an apparent conflict of interest between Anwar Usman and Gibran, which was a violation of justice. The built narrative shows that this conflict of interest is not a purely personal problem but a severe violation of the principle of legal neutrality. The main narrative that emerges from the statements in Tempo.co is the existence of a substantial conflict of interest, primarily related to the family relationship between Anwar Usman and Gibran, such as; "conflict of interest," "family relationship," and "outside intervention." The family relationship between Anwar Usman and Gibran is considered to harm justice and undermine the independence of the Constitutional Court.

This agreement is the basis of an informal coalition to pressure the Constitutional Court and encourage justice and integrity in decision-making. The coalition also emphasized that Anwar's involvement in the material test violated the ethical principles of the Constitutional Court, especially Sapta Karsa Hutama and procedural law. They stated that this action shows a weak assessment of legal standing and opens up room for intervention from outsiders.

The dominant discourse coalition appears to be the result of actors' efforts to combine their discourse with other similar discourses. As seen in Viva.co.id, the discourse on the integrity of the KPU and the correctness of the Constitutional Court's decision was strengthened by the support of various political and legal figures. In MediaIndonesia.com, concerns about dynastic politics have intensified with the support of various experts and activists. Meanwhile, in Tempo.co, the discourse on conflicts of interest was amplified by critical narratives from anti-corruption researchers and activists. In this study, it can be seen that the actors involved in the formation of discourse interact through various media platforms. It is also seen that a political expert interviewed by Tempo.co may also be quoted in MediaIndonesia.com, thus creating an interconnected communication network. These interactions strengthen discourse coalitions and help expand their influence.

CONCLUSION

This study examines discourses, actors, and discourse networks that are interrelated in the news of policy changes regarding the age limit for 2024 vice presidential candidates during the period from October 16, 2023, to January 1, 2024. The purpose of the above research is to analyze the role of the media in the dissemination of discourse; the findings of the study show that the role of the media in disseminating discourse from actors related to the change in the age limit of the 2024 vice presidential candidate is very significant. Tempo.co highlighted the occurrence of conflicts of interest; Media Indonesia highlighted concerns or criticisms related to dynastic political practices, and Viva. Co. highlighted the importance of integrity and ethics. The discourse carried out by the government in supporting the change in the age limit policy for vice presidential candidates is less dominant than the counter-discourse that opposes policy changes, which directly targets the core of the problem by questioning the integrity and objectivity of the decisions taken. The study of Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) can bridge the research of discourse analysis (which focuses on content) and network analysis (which focuses on actors).

The practical implications of this study show that the media plays a vital role in shaping public perception regarding changes in the age limit policy for vice presidential candidates. With competing pros and cons of discourse, media such as Tempo.co, Media Indonesia, and Viva.co.id become the primary channels for policy actors to spread narratives that support or oppose the change. This underscores the importance of the media as an agent of discourse and its influence on political dynamics. Theoretically, this study strengthens the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) concept by showing how policy actors seek to dominate the public space by disseminating specific narratives, in line with the findings of Leifeld and Haunss (2011). The study also emphasizes the need for an integrative approach that combines discourse analysis and network analysais to understand how policymakers use discourse networks to shape public opinion and policy decisions. In addition to focusing on critical actors in the media, further research can explore

the direct impact of formed discourse on public opinion by conducting surveys or interviews with the public.

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