Discourse Network Analysis on News of Fuel Price Increases in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Government in 2013 and the Joko Widodo in 2022

Nezar Patria[1*], Budi Irawanto[1], Ana Nadhya Abrar[1]

[1]Department of Communication Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada
Jl. Sosio Yustisia No. 1, Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta 5521 - Indonesia
[*]Corresponding author: nezarpatria@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract - The subsidized fuel price increase poses a significant policy challenge in Indonesia, characterized by complexities in decision-making and implementation. This study investigates the mediatization of political discourse surrounding this issue during two distinct periods: 2013, under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and 2022, under President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). Employing the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) and Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), the research analyzes media narratives on fuel price increases published by *Detik.com*, one of Indonesia's most prominent digital media outlets. The findings reveal a notable shift in discourse coalitions between the two periods. In 2013, opposition to the policy was primarily voiced by politically affiliated actors, whereas in 2022, civil society figures emerged as the dominant counteractors. Supportive narratives, however, consistently stemmed from government-aligned individuals in both periods. By comparing the actors involved, the arguments presented, and the evolution of discourse over time, this study highlights the changing dynamics of mediatized policy debates. Moreover, *Detik.com* demonstrated a balanced mediatization of supportive and opposing perspectives, with government-affiliated voices predominating in support, and opposition transitioning from political elites in 2013 to civil society in 2022. These findings underscore the media's evolving role in fostering issue-focused narratives, reducing polarization, and facilitating informed public discourse on contentious policy issues.
Keywords: Digital media; Discourse coalition framework; Discourse network analysis; Mediatization; Subsidized fuel price.

Introduction

Indonesia joined the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1962 and was once among the world's top 11 oil-producing nations, reaching a production peak of 1.65 million barrels per day in 1977. During the period between 1970 and 1990, the oil and gas sector contributed a substantial 62.88% to the country's state revenues. However, since 2004, Indonesia has transitioned to becoming a net oil importer due to surging domestic demand. This shift has intensified the challenges posed by fluctuations in global fuel prices, placing additional strain on the national budget, which is already burdened by extensive fuel subsidies.

Between 2004 and 2014, the government allocated a staggering IDR 1,297.8 trillion to fuel subsidies, averaging approximately IDR 129.7 trillion per year. While raising fuel prices is widely

regarded as a rational measure to ease fiscal pressures, such actions consistently trigger widespread protests and public debate (Satrianegara, 2018).

This study examines the framing of the fuel subsidy discourse during the administrations of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2013) and President Joko Widodo (2022) as presented in *Detik.com* news coverage. The research focuses on analyzing the discourse network surrounding fuel price increases within the framework of deep mediatization, exploring coalition patterns, discourse contestation, and the political and social dynamics shaped by digital media. The findings aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of media logic in political communication, particularly in relation to fuel price increase policies in Indonesia.

The study employs a data processing approach that integrates content analysis, mediated social network analysis, and discourse analysis, grounded in the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF). The combination of content analysis and mediated social network analysis is collectively referred to as Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), a methodology developed by Philip Leifeld (2013) that synthesizes elements of social network analysis with content analysis. This approach facilitates a systematic examination of discourse structures across various text formats, including newspapers and other print media.

In this research, discourse analysis is combined with social network analysis to evaluate the level of trust in a policy during the discourse coalition process. Practically, this methodology assesses the role of media actors within the discourse coalition, treating the media as active participants equivalent to other coalition actors.

Theoretical Framework

This research adopts a theoretical framework that integrates the concepts of mediatization, discourse analysis, discourse coalitions, and the network society. These concepts are explored through two specific pairings: (1) mediatization and discourse analysis, and (2) discourse coalitions and the network society.

Both mediatization and discourse analysis have attracted substantial scholarly attention across the fields of media studies, communication, political science, and sociology. Mediatization theory emphasizes the central role of media as a transformative force in modern society and its various processes. In contrast, discourse analysis examines the use of language and its impact on shaping social realities. This study explores the interplay between these two concepts, with particular emphasis on the role of social media logic as a critical linking element between them.

The intersection of mediatization with news and politics has been a focal point of scholarly inquiry in previous research. Numerous studies on the mediatization of news have detailed the intricate processes involved, highlighting how media institutions produce and disseminate diverse formats, interpretative frameworks for audiences, and production methodologies (Brown, 2011; de Vreese, 2014; Kammer, 2013; Kunelius & Reunanen, 2016; Smirnova et al., 2020; van Hout & Burger, 2015).

Smirnova (2020) argues that journalism and media play a pivotal role in shaping daily life, a significance that has been acknowledged throughout human history. In the context of ongoing digitalization and the mediatization of social realities, this influence has become even more pronounced. The integrative nature of contemporary media fosters interactions between journalism, media, and audiences, profoundly influencing social phenomena and shaping both individual experiences and broader societal dynamics.

Material and Methodology

This study adopts a discourse research methodology, grounded in the understanding that the discourse paradigm resists the establishment of truth through institutionalized mechanisms of prohibition, categorization, and rejection, which are often influenced by power dynamics (Foucault, 2022). Discourse analysis, within the broader constructionist framework—specifically social constructionism—plays a central role in this approach. As Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) state, "Social constructionism is an umbrella term for a range of new theories about culture and society. Discourse analysis is just one among several social constructionist approaches, but it is one of the most widely used within this framework."

Eriyanto (2012) similarly emphasizes that framing analysis is a method of text analysis within the constructionist research paradigm. This paradigm views social reality not as an inherent state but as a social construct. As a result, the focus of analysis within the constructionist framework is on understanding how events or realities are constructed and the processes that shape their formation. In communication studies, the constructionist paradigm is often described as the paradigm of meaning production and exchange, and it is frequently contrasted with the positivist or transmission paradigms.

Thus, the phenomenon of discourse serves as a focal point for investigation, aligning with a theoretical tradition in communication that views reality as a social construct arising from intersubjective interactions among individuals in their interpretation of reality, which encompasses the concept of "sociality" or social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). To this end, the researcher draws upon a comparative analysis of the two paradigms of reality and principial as outlined by Eriyanto (2012) as seen in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1. Comparison of Media Reality between Positivist and Constructionist Paradigms

Issue	Positivism Paradigm	Constructionism Paradigm
Fact	There are "real" facts that are governed by certain universally applicable rules.	Facts are constructions of reality. The truth of a fact is relative, valid according to a certain context.
Media	Media as a message channel.	Media as a message construction agent.
News	News is a mirror and reflection of reality. Therefore, news must be the same and consistent with the facts to be covered.	News cannot be a mirror and reflection of reality. Because the news that is formed is a construction of reality.
News	News is objective: eliminating subjective opinions and views and news makers.	News is subjective: opinions cannot be eliminated because when reporting, journalists see with subjective perspectives and considerations.
Reporter	Journalists as reporters.	Journalists as participants who bridge the diversity of social actors' subjectivities.
Value	Journalists as reporters.	Journalists' values, ethics, or partisanship cannot be separated from the process of covering and reporting an event.
Receiving news	News is received the same as what the news maker intended.	The audience has its own interpretation which may be different from the news maker.
Meaning	Transmission: meaning is inherently present in the text, and is transmitted to the reader.	Negotiation: meaning is the result of a process of mutual influence between text and reader. Meaning is not transmitted, but negotiated.

Source: Eriyanto (2012)

Table 2. Comparison of Research Principles between Positivist and Constructionist Paradigms

Issue	Positivism Paradigm	Constructionism Paradigm
Research	Values, ethics, and moral choices must be outside the research process	Values, ethics, and moral choices are an inseparable part of research
Research objective	The purpose of research is explanation, prediction, and control	The purpose of research is the reconstruction of social reality dialectically between researchers and social actors being studied
Researcher	The researcher acts as a disinterested scientist	Researchers as passionate participants, facilitators who bridge the diversity of social actors' subjectivities

Reality	Dualist: there is subjective reality, as an external reality, outside the researcher. The researcher must distance himself as much as possible from the object of research	Transactionalist: understanding a reality, or the findings of a study, is a product of interaction between researchers and those being studied
Text Analysis	Objective: text analysis should not include the researcher's interpretation or opinion	Subjective: interpretation is an inseparable part of text research, even becoming the basis of text analysis
Test	Interventionist: testing hypotheses in a hypothetico-deductive method structure: through laboratory experiments or explanatory surveys, with quantitative analysis	Reflective/dialectical: emphasizing empathy and dialectical interaction between text researchers to reconstruct the reality being studied through qualitative methods
Quality	Objective, valid, and reliable	Authenticity and reflexivity; the extent to which findings are an authentic reflection of the reality experienced by social actors

Source: Eriyanto (2012)

This study adopts a foundational approach known as discourse research, or discourse analysis. Eriyanto defines discourse research as a distinctive methodology that differentiates itself from other approaches. Within the field of communication science, it is recognized as a method that applies linguistic principles to interpret discourse messages, typically presented in textual formats or other forms that can be converted into text. The aim of this approach is to clarify the meanings conveyed and the contextual backgrounds of these meanings within specific belief systems. In a political context, "belief" is understood as an ideology shaped by the interests of the communicators.

Communication messages are seen as symbols exchanged among participants, reflecting the concept of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1986). These messages serve various purposes, such as influencing others (political communication, according to Lasswell, 1927), constructing personal meanings (the looking-glass self as described by Cooley, 2018), fostering shared understanding (convergence communication as per Rogers, 1986), or creating new social realities (Berger & Luckmann, 2016).

Discourse analysis focuses on the use of language in context. As noted by Gee (1999): "Discourse analysis is the study of language in use. It is the study of the meanings we give language and the actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts. Discourse analysis is also sometimes defined as the study of language above the level of a sentence, of the way how sentences combine to create meaning, coherence, and accomplish purposes…. words and phrases take on much more specific meanings in actual contexts of use. These are utterance-token meanings, or what we can also call "situated meanings."

This study will employ a data processing methodology that integrates content analysis, mediated social network analysis, and discourse analysis, all guided by the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF). The approach, known as Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), developed by Leifeld (2013), combines social network analysis with content analysis. This technique allows for the systematic identification of discourse structures within various textual documents, including newspapers and other forms of print media. In this dissertation, the methodology merges discourse analysis with social network analysis to assess the level of trust in a policy during the discourse coalition process. Practically, this method analyzes the role of media actors within the discourse coalition, treating the media as an equal participant alongside other actors.

Result and Discussion

Detik.com is a digital media platform primarily focused on delivering breaking news on current events and lifestyle topics. Founded on May 29, 1998, and launched online on July 9, 1998, "detik.com" was named after the Detik tabloid, which was established in 1977 and later banned in 1994. The founders—Budiono Darsono, Yayan Sopyan, Abdul Rahman, and Didi Nugrahadi—set out to provide

continuous breaking news without the constraints of traditional print media formats, such as daily, weekly, or monthly publications.

The platform's initial editorial office was located in a modest space beneath the balcony of the Lebak Bulus stadium. Initially, detik.com focused on political, economic, and information technology news. As Indonesia's political and economic landscape evolved, the platform expanded its coverage to include entertainment and sports.

In 2011, Transmedia, a subsidiary of the CT Corp group, acquired detik.com, reinforcing its commitment to journalistic independence and neutrality. Since then, detik.com has experienced significant growth, attracting millions of daily visitors. In 2019, it underwent a transformation to become Beyond Media under PT Trans Digital Media, evolving into the Detik Network. This network now includes detik.com, CNNIndonesia.com, haibunda.com, CNBC Indonesia, Female Daily, and Beautynesia.

Detik.com envisions itself as a "Digital Life Gateway," dedicated to delivering information quickly and reliably while offering integrated services. To achieve this vision, Detik.com pursues two core missions. The first mission, "Fastest, Trusted, and Independent," focuses on providing precise and accurate information grounded in independence and balance. This approach enables Detik.com to present information clearly, engagingly, and informatively, covering a wide range of content. The second mission, "Leading Technology," emphasizes continuous innovation and the development of products that leverage advanced technology with a measurable impact.

Detik 2013

The analysis on Detik.com for the 2013 fuel (BBM) price increase identified key actors using DNA analysis and degree of centrality. The top five dominant actors were Anis Matta (PKS, opposing) at 1.72%, Achmadi Noor Supit (DPR Golkar, supporting) at 1.49%, Jazuli Juwaini (PKS, opposing) at 1.42%, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (President, supporting) at 1.42%, and Jokowi (DKI Governor, supporting) also at 1.42%. Overall, among the 20 strongest actors, supporters (n=11) slightly outnumbered opponents (n=9). The discourse network revealed interconnectedness between the two coalitions (pro and contra), indicating low polarization on the BBM issue (See Table 3).

In terms of discourse frequency among the 20 most influential actors, it has been observed that there are a greater number of contra actors (n = 11, or 55%, with a total Degree of Centrality (DoC) in the overall population of 13.31%) compared to pro actors (n = 9, or 45%, with a total DoC in the overall population of 10.86%). The discourse coalition regarding the 2013 fuel price increase is summarized in the following table.

Additionally, Table 3.50 provides insights into closeness centrality, which measures the proximity of an actor to others, indicating the ease or difficulty with which an actor can be accessed by other members within the coalition network (Eriyanto, 2022), citing McCulloh et al. (2013); Eriyanto, 2024, interview).

The actors exhibiting the highest closeness centrality include Anis Matta (PKS Contra Politician) at 0.81%, Jazuli Juwaini (PKS Contra Politician) at 0.80%, Achmadi Noor Supit (DPR Politician, Chairman of the Golkar Party Budget Committee, Pro) at 0.75%, and both Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (President of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Pro) and Jokowi (Governor of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government, Pro) at 0.73% (Table 3).

Table 3. Detik.com 2013 Actor-based Discourse based on Degree of Centrality Ranking

No	Sentiment	Organization	Actor	Fre quency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Contra	Politician	PKS Anis Matta	15	1,72	0,81	7,57
2	Pro	Politician	DPR Budget Committee Achmadi Noor Supit	6	1,49	0,75	4,08
3	Contra	Politician	PKS Jazuli Juwaini	21	1,42	0,80	4,94
4	Pro	Government	President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	20	1,42	0,73	3,30
5	Pro	Government	Governor of Jakarta, Jokowi	7	1,35	0,73	7,34

No	Sentiment	Organization	Actor	Fre quency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
6	Pro	Politician	Democrat Party Nurhayati Ali Assegaf	15	1,32	0,72	3,07
7	Contra	Politician	PKS Mardani Ali Sera	14	1,28	0,70	2,02
8	Pro	Politician	Golkar Aburizal Bakrie	11	1,25	0,72	1,69
9	Pro	Government	PKS Tifatul Sembiring	27	1,22	0,71	1,78
10	Pro	Government	Vice President, Boediono	6	1,18	0,69	2,64
11	Contra	Politician	PPP Romahurmuzi	8	1,18	0,71	2,31
12	Contra	Politician	Hanura Saleh Husin	10	1,18	0,68	1,36
13	Pro	Government	Presidential Spokesperson Julian Aldrin Pasha	8	1,11	0,67	3,51
14	Pro	Government	Coordinating Minister for the Economy Hatta Rajasa	9	1,11	0,72	1,37
15	Contra	Politician	PKS Fahri Hamzah	11	1,11	0,68	1,10
16	Contra	Politician	PKS Indra	8	1,01	0,66	3,21
17	Contra	Politician	PPP Hasrul Azwar	5	1,01	0,67	2,36
18	Contra	Politician	PKS Abdul Hakim	8	0,95	0,65	0,87
19	Pro	Government	TNI Moeldoko	2	0,95	0,59	0,59
20	Pro	Politician	Democrat Didi Irawadi	8	0,91	0,64	2,65

Source: Research Data

Furthermore, Table 3 also details betweenness centrality, which assesses the role of actors as intermediaries between other actors within the coalition network (Eriyanto, 2022: 170, citing McCulloh et al. 2013; Eriyanto, 2024, interview). The analysis revealed that the four actors with the highest betweenness centrality are Anis Matta (PKS Contra Politician) at 7.57%, Jokowi (Governor of DKI Jakarta Government, Pro) at 7.34%, Jazuli Juwaini (PKS Contra Politician) at 4.94%, Achmadi Noor Supit (DPR Politician, Chairman of the Golkar Party Budget Committee, Pro) at 4.08%, and Julian Aldrin Pasha (Government Spokesperson for the President, Pro) at 3.51%.

Figure 1 illustrates the existence of a coalition group comprising both proponents and opponents. Additionally, it is evident that the connections among these coalitions involve numerous participants from each group. This indicates that the discourse surrounding the fuel price increase reported by Detik.com in 2013 was relatively balanced, as both pro and contra actors engaged with the narratives presented by various coalitional actors.

The analysis conducted on Detik.com by utilizing DNA analysis to prioritize the identification of the 20 most significant discourses (or concepts) based on their degree of centrality, revealed five dominant discourses: Pro Community Support and Certainty of Direct Cash Assistance (BLT) Compensation at 3.84%; Contra Policy Inconsistency at 1.89%; Certainty of Protection for the Common People at 3.41%; and Infrastructure for Economic Growth Pro at 3.30% (See Table 4.).
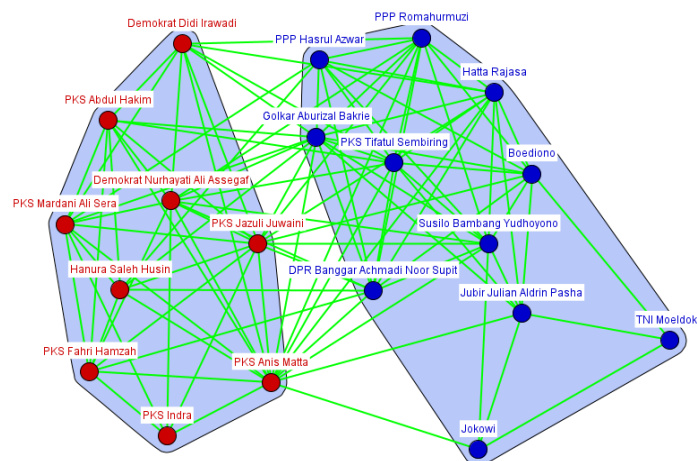

Figure 1. Detik.com 2013 Actor-Based Discourse Coalition based on Degree of Centrality Ranking
Source: Research Data

Table 4. Detik.com 2013 Discourse on Degree of Centrality Ranking

No	Sentiment	Discourse	Frequency	Centrality		
				Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Pro	Community Support	26	3,84	1,97	8,69
2	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation	29	3,84	1,97	6,52
3	Contra	Policy Inconsistency	36	3,41	1,89	11,80
4	Pro	Certainty of Protection for the Common People	17	3,41	1,86	6,31
5	Pro	Infrastructure for Economic Growth	10	3,30	1,87	4,83
6	Contra	Too Long Discussion	26	3,09	1,80	3,70
7	Contra	Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy	10	2,88	1,75	2,43
8	Pro	Mature Socialization	21	2,77	1,72	2,87
9	Pro	Reducing the Burden on the State Budget	14	2,67	1,71	3,66
10	Contra	Increase in the Price of Goods	10	2,67	1,77	2,73
11	Contra	Unclear Reasons for Fuel Price Increase	13	2,67	1,79	2,08
12	Contra	Social Unrest	25	2,56	1,71	2,78
13	Pro	Support for Policy Studies	6	2,56	1,77	1,82
14	Contra	Inappropriate Fuel Compensation	16	2,35	1,71	3,56
15	Pro	Correct Reasons	9	2,35	1,66	1,76
16	Contra	Opposition Antipathy	30	2,24	1,66	5,68
17	Contra	Looking for Alternative Policies	10	1,92	1,63	2,51
18	Pro	Coalition Loyalty	9	1,92	1,58	0,92
19	Contra	Increasing Poverty	8	1,92	1,63	0,77
20	Pro	Good Communication from the Government to the DPR	6	1,79	1,49	1,16

Source: Research Data

From these results, it can be concluded that the discourse on the 2013 fuel price increase on Detik.com reflects a balance between the supporting and opposing coalitions (n = 10; 50%). However, in terms of centrality, the supporting coalition holds a value of 28.45%, while the opposing coalition has a value of 25.71%. Among the 20 primary discourses within the fuel price increase coalition on Detik.com, the supporting (pro) coalition comprises six significant discourses directly related to the fuel price increase: Certainty of BLT Compensation, Certainty of Protection for the Common People, Infrastructure for Economic Growth, Reducing the Burden on the State Budget, Support for Policy Studies, and Right Reasons.

Furthermore, there are four non-substantial discourses that extend beyond the fuel price issue, categorized as political discourses: Community Support, Mature Socialization, Coalition Loyalty, and Effective Government Communication to the DPR.

The research identified five primary discourses that support the initiative: Community Support, Certainty of BLT Compensation, Certainty of Protection for the Common People, Infrastructure for Economic Growth, and Mature Socialization. In contrast, the marginal discourses include Reducing the Burden on the State Budget, Support for Policy Studies, Right Reasons, Coalition Loyalty, and Effective Government Communication to the DPR. Among the coalition of discourses opposing the fuel price increase, eight out of ten are significant in relation to the issue. These include Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy, Increase in Goods Prices, Unclear Reasons for Fuel Price Increase, Social Unrest, Inappropriate Fuel Compensation, Seeking Alternative Policies, and Increasing Poverty. Additionally, there are non-substantial discourses that pertain to political matters rather than the fuel price Increase itself, such as Policy Inconsistency, Prolonged Discussions, and Opposition Antipathy.

Table 4 further illustrates the concept of closeness centrality, which assesses the proximity of a discourse to others within the network of the coalition. This measure indicates the ease or difficulty

with which a discourse can be accessed by other discourses (Eriyanto, 2022: 168, referencing McCulloh et al. 2013 Eriyanto, 2024, interview). The five discourses exhibiting the highest closeness centrality are Pro Community Support and Certainty of BLT Compensation at 1.97%, Contra Policy Inconsistency at 1.89%, Pro Infrastructure for Economic Growth at 1.87%, and Certainty of Protection for the Common People at 1.86%.

Table 4 also presents data on betweenness centrality, which measures the role of actors as intermediaries between other actors within the network of coalitions (Eriyanto 2022: 170, citing McCulloh et al. 2013; Eriyanto, 2024, interview). The analysis revealed that the five discourses with the highest intermediary centrality were as follows: Contra Policy Inconsistency at 11.80%; Pro Community Support at 8.69%; Certainty of BLT Compensation Pro at 6.52%; Certainty of Protection of the Common People at 6.31%; and Antipathy of the Contra Opposition at 5.68%.

Figure 2 illustrates the presence of two discourse coalition groups in the Detik.com media in 2013, comprising one pro discourse coalition and one con discourse coalition. It is evident that the two discourse coalitions are interconnected through various discourses. This indicates that the discourses mediated by Detik.com regarding the increase in subsidized fuel prices in 2013 were not highly polarized, as both pro and contra discourse coalitions maintained a significant connection through a considerable number of discourses.
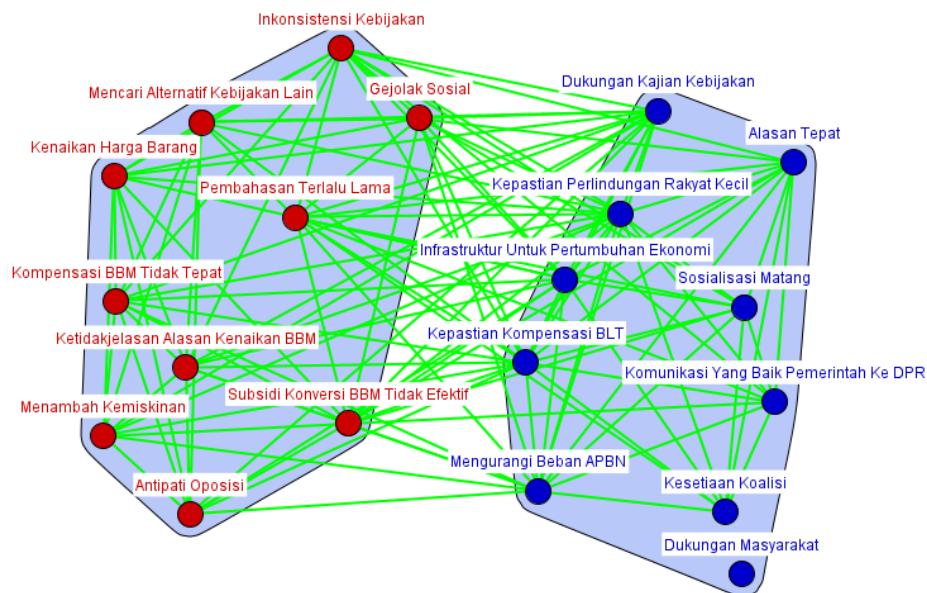

Figure 2. Detik.com 2013 Discourse Coalition based on Degree of Centrality Ranking
Source: Research Data

The research indicated that within the discourse coalition regarding the fuel price increase policy during the SBY administration in 2013, there were 20 actor-discourse affiliations, with a predominance of discourse or concepts (n = 13) over actors (n = 7). This suggests that the discussion surrounding the fuel price increase was more focused on policy discourse than on the individuals involved in the policy-making process.

Table 5 illustrates that the actor-discourse affiliation network in Detik.com media for the year 2013 was primarily characterized by discourse, as only seven actors were represented among the top twenty in terms of centrality within the actor-discourse network. The counter discourses were notably more prevalent, totaling nine, in contrast to four pro discourses. The five most significant counter discourses identified were Social Unrest, Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase, Increase in Transportation Costs, Antipathy to Opposition, and Policy Inconsistency. Conversely, the most prominent pro discourses included Certainty of BLT Compensation, Community Support, Certainty of Protection for the Common People, and Anticipation of Fuel Hoarding.

Table 5 Detik.com 2013 Affiliation-Based Discourse based on Degree of Centrality Ranking

No	Sentiment	Affiliation	Form	Frequency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Contra	Social Unrest	concept	25	2,25	0,52	4,09
2	Contra	Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase	concept	32	2,25	0,46	3,81
3	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation	concept	29	2,25	0,53	3,19
4	Contra	Transportation Cost Increase	concept	30	2,13	0,50	3,59
5	Contra	Antipathy of Opposition	concept	30	1,80	0,48	2,56
6	Pro	Public Support	concept	26	1,69	0,54	3,03
7	Contra	Policy Inconsistency	concept	36	1,57	0,51	2,58
8	Contra	Inappropriate Fuel Price Compensation	concept	16	1,46	0,48	2,01
9	Pro	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Actor	20	1,35	0,54	2,65
10	Contra	Discussion Takes Too Long	concept	26	1,35	0,48	1,18
11	Pro	Certainty of Protection of the Common People	concept	17	1,24	0,56	2,72
12	Contra	PKS Mardani Ali Sera	Actor	14	1,24	0,50	2,33
13	Contra	Misappropriation of Subsidized Fuel	concept	20	1,24	0,47	1,86
14	Contra	Gerindra Prabowo	actor	15	1,24	0,51	1,64
15	Contra	PKS Anis Matta	actor	15	1,12	0,54	2,65
16	Contra	PKS Jazuli Juwaini	actor	21	1,12	0,53	1,79
17	Pro	Anticipation of Fuel Stockpiling	concept	26	1,12	0,42	1,48
18	Pro	PKS Tifatul Sembiring	actor	27	1,12	0,47	1,12
19	Contra	Unclear Reasons for Fuel Price Increase	concept	13	1,12	0,49	1,06
20	Contra	Gerindra Fadli Zon	person	11	1,01	0,49	1,00

Resource: Research Data

Figure 3 presented above illustrates three primary coalitions of actor-discourse affiliation networks within the Detik.com media landscape in 2013. The first coalition features actors Anis Matta and Jazuli Juwaini from the PKS party, who are associated with discourses such as the Increase in Transportation Costs, Policy Inconsistency, and a discourse advocating for Certainty of Protection for the Common People. The second coalition includes Mardani Ali Sera from PKS and Prabowo, the Chairman of the Gerindra Party Advisory Board, who are linked to the discourses of Unclear Reasons for Policy, Inappropriate Fuel Compensation, with Prabowo also associated with the discourse of Certainty of Protection for the Common People. Lastly, the third coalition comprises President SBY, Tifatul Sembiring from PKS, who served as the Minister of Communication and Information at that time, and Fadli Zon from Gerindra, all of whom are connected to discourses such as Social Unrest, Prolonged Discussions, Certainty of BLT Compensation, and Antipathy towards the Opposition.
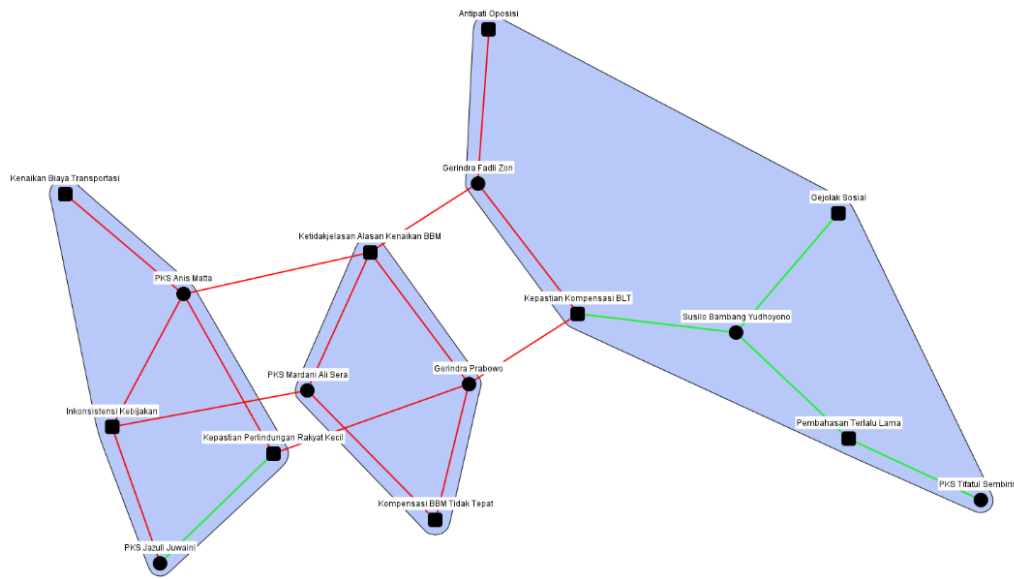
Figure 3. Detik.com 2013 Affiliation-Based Discourse Coalition based on degree of centrality ranking
Source: Research Data

Detik 2022

The analysis conducted on detik.com media by utilizing DNA analysis, aimed to identify the 20 most influential actors based on their degree of centrality. The findings revealed five key actors who exhibited the highest levels of centrality: Bhima Yudhistira (Civil Society, CELIOS Pro researcher) at 0.99%; Bambang Soesatyo (Politician, Member of the DPR from Golkar Party Pro) at 0.92%; Said Iqbal (Civil Society, Chairman of the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPI), Contra) at 0.85%; Mujiburohman (Civil Society, Secretary General of the Association of Indonesian Market Traders (APPSI) Contra) at 0.84%; and Taha Syafaril (Civil Society, General Chairperson of the Online Driver Association, Contra) at 0.77% (See Table 6).

Table 6 Detik.com 2022 Actor-Based Discourse based on Degree of Centrality Ranking

No	Sentiment	Organization	Actor	Frequency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Contra	Civil Society, CELIOS researcher	Bhima Yudhistira	20	0,99	0,32	6,48
2	Pro	Politician, MPR Chairman, Golkar Party	Bambang Soesatyo	44	0,92	0,32	6,50
3	Contra	Civil Society Chairman of KSPI	Said Iqbal	60	0,85	0,30	4,31
4	Contra	Businessman, Secretary General of the Indonesian Market Traders Association (APPSI)	Mujiburohman	7	0,84	0,30	3,59
5	Contra	Businessman, General Chairperson of the Online Drivers Association (ADO)	Taha Syafaril	13	0,77	0,29	4,37
6	Pro	Government, President	Jokowi	194	0,69	0,29	2,23
7	Pro	Civil Society, CORE researcher	Piter Abdullah	13	0,69	0,28	1,87
8	Pro	Government, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment	Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan	118	0,67	0,29	1,95
9	Pro	Government, Minister of SOEs	Erick Thohir	31	0,63	0,28	1,15

No	Sentiment	Organization	Actor	Frequency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
10	Pro	Government, Minister of Finance	Sri Mulyani	112	0,62	0,28	1,26
11	Pro	Government, Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources	Arifin Tasrif	61	0,62	0,28	1,49
12	Contra	Politician, Democratic Party	Syarief Hasan	19	0,59	0,27	0,98
13	Contra	Civil Society, Managing Director of Political Economy and Policy Studies (PEPS)	Anthony Budiawan	3	0,56	0,27	0,67
14	Contra	Businessman, General Chairperson of the Indonesian Warteg Traders Association	Rojikin	4	0,55	0,27	1,01
15	Contra	Civil Society, CORE researcher	Mohammad Faisal	6	0,55	0,26	0,87
16	Contra	Civil Society, Chairman of YLKI	Tulus Abadi	7	0,55	0,27	0,87
17	Contra	Civil Society, Chairman of the East Java National Workers Union (SPN)	Nuryanto	5	0,54	0,26	0,64
18	Pro	Government, Coordinating Minister for the Economy	Airlangga Hartarto	27	0,54	0,27	1,36
19	Contra	Civil Society, Secretary General of the East Java Chapter of Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers Unions (FSPMI)	Nuruddin Hidayat	5	0,54	0,26	0,60
20	Contra	Civil Society, General Chairperson of the Central Leadership of the Association Students of the Islamic Union (Chairman of PP Hima Persis)	Ilham Nurhidayatullah	4	0,54	0,26	0,60

Resource: Research Data

The study indicated a notable prevalence of pro-contra actors among the 20 strongest participants, with a distribution of 12 pro-contra actors (60%) compared to 8 pro actors (40%). The degree of centrality for pro actors was recorded at 5.38%, while contra actors exhibited a degree of centrality at 7.87%.

Table 6 also presents data on closeness centrality, a measure that describes how close an actor is to other actors, where this closeness refers to how easy or difficult it is for an actor to be reached by other actors in the network within the coalition (Eriyanto, 2022: 168, referring to McCulloh et al. 2013 Eriyanto, 2024, interview). It was found that the actors with the highest closeness centrality were Bhima Yudhistira (Civil Society, CELIOS Pro researcher) and Bambang Soesatyo (Politician, Member of the DPR from Golkar Party Pro) 0.32%; Said Iqbal (Civil Society Chairman of the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPI) Contra) and Mujiburohman (businessman, Secretary General of the Association of Indonesian Market Traders (APPSI) Contra) 0.30%; and Taha Syafaril (Businessman, General Chairperson of the Online Driver Association (ADO) Contra), Jokowi (Government, President, Pro), Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan (Government, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Pro) 0.29%.

Table 6 also presents data on betweenness centrality, namely measures that describe the position of an actor as a liaison between other actors in the network between coalitions (Eriyanto 2022: 170, referring to McCulloh et al. 2013; Eriyanto, 2024, interview). It was found that the actors with the highest intermediary centrality were Bambang Soesatyo (Politician, MPR Chairman, Golkar Party, Pro) 6.50%; Bhima Yudhistira (Civil Society, CELIOS researcher, con) 6.48%; Taha Syafaril (Businessman, General Chairperson of the Online Driver Association (ADO), con) 4.37%; Said Iqbal (Civil Society

Chairman of KSPI, against) 4.31%; and Mujiburohman (Businessman, Secretary General of the Indonesian Market Traders Association (APPSI), against) 3.59%.

Figure 4 shows that there is one group of pro and contra actor coalitions in the Detik.com media in 2022. Furthermore, it can be seen that the relationship between coalitions is also connected by many actors in each coalition. This shows that the discourse that is developing regarding the increase in fuel prices in the Detik.com media in 2022 is not too polarized, because both pro and contra actors use the discourse conveyed by different actor coalitions.

The analysis conducted on detik.com media through DNA analysis aimed at identifying the 20 most significant discourses (or concepts) based on their degree of centrality, as selected by the researcher. The findings revealed five predominant discourses characterized by their degree of centrality: World Oil Prices (pro) and Social Unrest (contra) at 3.88%; Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies (contra) and Increase in Goods Prices (contra) at 3.70%; and Certainty of Protection for the Common People (pro) at 3.52% (See Table 7).
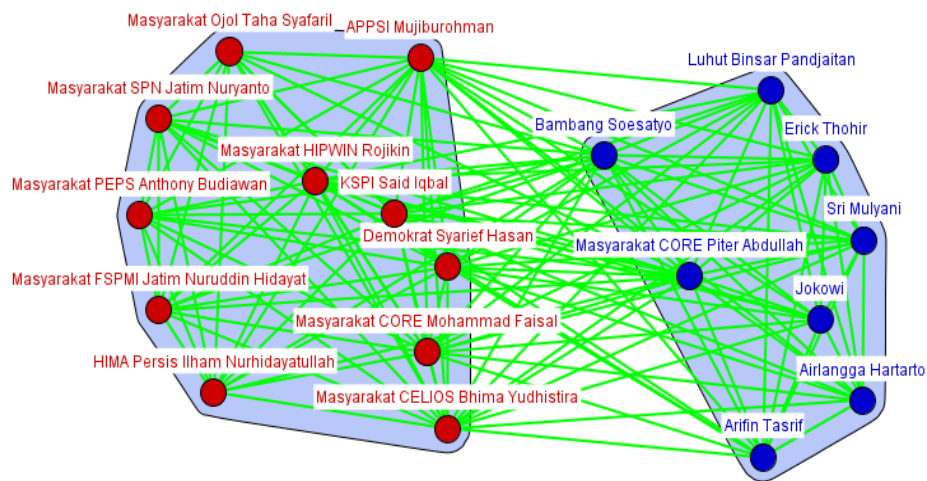

Figure 4. Detik.com 2012 Actor-Based Discourse Coalition based on Degree of Centrality Ranking
Source: Research Data

Table 7 Detik.com 2022 Discourse based on degree of centrality ranking

No	Sentiment	Discourse	Frequency	Centrality		
				Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Pro	World Oil Prices	76	3,88	2,41	16,89
2	Contra	Social Unrest	119	3,88	2,45	11,37
3	Contra	Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies	121	3,70	2,38	7,03
4	Contra	Increase in Prices of Goods	191	3,70	2,38	5,94
5	Pro	Certainty of Protection for the Common People	104	3,52	2,28	8,38
6	Contra	Shock Effect of Fuel Price Increase	66	3,16	2,19	3,67
7	Contra	Economic Uncertainty	37	3,16	2,16	3,21
8	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation	159	3,16	2,16	2,85
9	Pro	Policy Review Support	63	3,16	2,16	1,57
10	Pro	Reducing the Burden on APBN	74	3,07	2,13	1,41
11	Pro	Mature Socialization	123	2,98	2,11	5,72
12	Contra	Finding Alternative Policies	32	2,98	2,13	3,93
13	Pro	Government Mandate	41	2,62	1,98	0,13
14	Pro	The Goal is for the People	31	2,44	1,98	7,86
15	Contra	Increasing Poverty	71	2,44	1,95	2,00
16	Contra	Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase	125	2,44	1,95	1,67
17	Pro	Right Reasons	9	2,44	1,93	0,30

No	Sentiment	Discourse	Frequency	Centrality		
				Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
18	Pro	Good Communication from the Government to the DPR	10	2,35	1,91	0,85
19	Pro	Accuracy of Compensation Forms	28	2,26	1,91	1,08
20	Pro	Energy Conversion	11	2,26	1,89	0,27

Source: Research Data

In the context of the 20 primary discourses surrounding the mediatization of the 2022 fuel price increase on detik.com, there is a notable predominance of supporting discourses (pro) totalling 12 (60%) compared to rejecting discourses (contra) reaching 8 (40%). The degree of centrality for the supporting discourse coalition is recorded at 34.14%, while the rejecting discourse coalition stands at 25.46%.

The eight supporting discourses (pro) encompass significant themes related to the rise in fuel prices, including World Oil Prices, Certainty of Protection for the Common People, Certainty of BLT Compensation, Support for Policy Studies, Reducing the Burden on the State Budget, Right Reasons, Appropriate Form of Compensation, and Energy Conversion. Additionally, there are non-substantial discourses that extend beyond the fuel price increase issue, including political themes such as Mature Socialization, Government Mandate, The Goal is for the Benefit of the People, and Effective Communication from the Government to the DPR.

The research identified five primary discourses that support the following themes: World Oil Prices, Assurance of Protection for the General Public, Assurance of BLT Compensation, Advocacy for Policy Studies, and Alleviating the Burden on the State Budget. Additionally, the marginal discourses include Mature Socialization, Government Mandate, The Goal is for the People, Right Reasons, Effective Communication from the Government to the DPR, Suitable Forms of Compensation, and Energy Conversion.

Among the eight discourses within the coalition opposing the fuel price increase as reported by detik.com, seven are significant in relation to the fuel price Increase. These include Social Unrest, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy, Rising Prices of Goods, Shock Effects of Fuel Price Increase, Economic Uncertainty, Exploration of Alternative Policies (to preserve the state budget without raising fuel prices), and Escalating Poverty. Furthermore, there exists one non-substantial discourse that is not directly related to the fuel price increase, which pertains to political sentiment, specifically Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase.

The research identified five primary discourses, specifically rejecting Social Unrest, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy, Increase in Goods Prices, Shock Effects of Fuel Price Increase, and Economic Uncertainty. Additionally, the marginal discourses include Seeking Alternative Policies, Increasing Poverty, and Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase.

Table 7 presents data on closeness centrality, which measures the proximity of a discourse to other discourses, indicating the ease or difficulty with which a discourse can be accessed by others within the coalition network (Eriyanto, 2022: 168, referencing McCulloh et al. 2013; Eriyanto, 2024, interview).

The analysis revealed that the five discourses with the highest closeness centrality were Social Unrest (contra) at 2.45%, World Oil Prices (pro) at 2.41%, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies (contra), Increase in Goods Prices (contra), and Certainty of Protection for the Common People (pro) at 2.38%. This indicates that the discourse population with high closeness centrality is predominantly composed of counter discourses, suggesting that pro discourses are relatively slower to engage in the contestation between the two coalitions. Furthermore, Table 3.60 also includes data on betweenness centrality, which describes the role of actors as intermediaries among other actors within the coalition network (Eriyanto, 2022: 170, referencing McCulloh et al. 2013; Eriyanto, 2024, interview).

The analysis revealed that there are five discourses exhibiting the highest betweenness centrality: World Oil Prices (pro) at 16.89%; Social Unrest (contra) at 11.37%; Certainty of Protection for the Common People (pro) at 8.38%; The Goal is for the People (pro) at 7.89%; and Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies (contra) at 7.03%. It is evident that the discourses characterized by closeness

centrality are predominantly pro, indicating the relatively delayed counter discourses in the contestation between the two coalitions.

In Figure 5, two distinct groups of discourse coalitions were identified within the Detik.com media in 2022: one coalition supporting pro discourses and another opposing them. Notably, the two counter discourse coalitions are interconnected through various discourses. This suggests that the discourses presented by Detik.com regarding the increase in subsidized fuel in 2013 were not excessively polarized, as both pro and contra coalitions maintain a significant degree of interconnection through a considerable number of discourses.

The study discovered that 20 actor-discourse affiliations in the discourse coalition on the fuel price increase policy in the SBY era in 2022 were dominated by discourse or concepts (n = 17) compared to actors (n = 3), which shows that the fuel price increase was more about discourse on policy issues than policy actors, as found in the mediatization phenomenon of the fuel price increase in the SBY era in 2013 which has been discussed above (See Table 8).
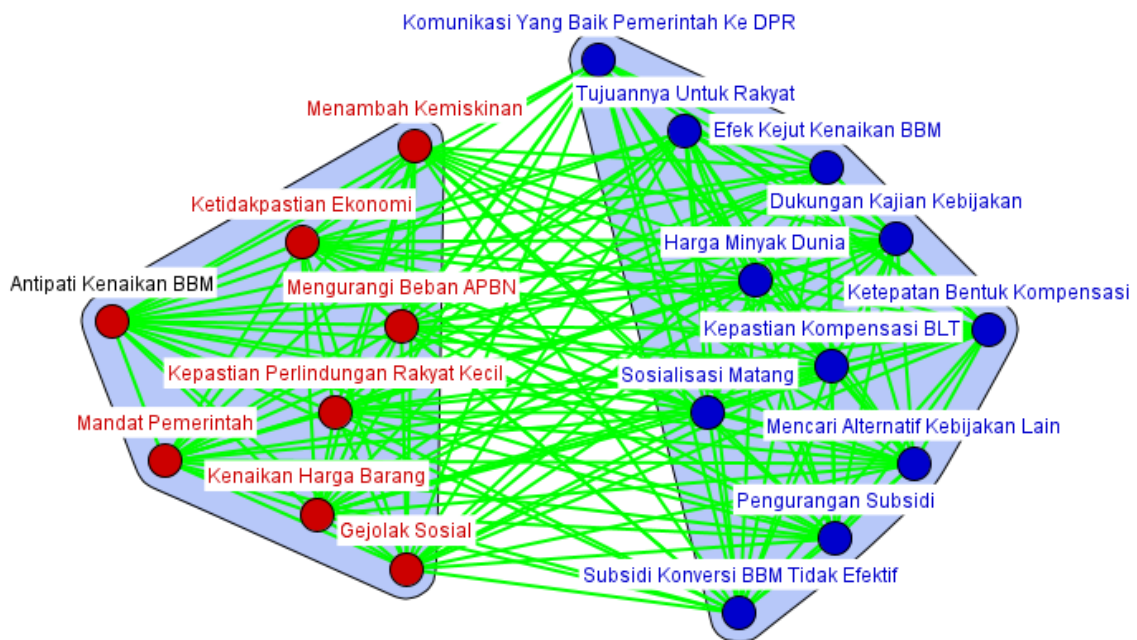

Figure 5. Detik.com 2022 Discourse Coalition based on Degree of Centrality Ranking
Source: Research Data

Table 8 Detik.com 2022 Affiliation-Based Discourse based on Degree of Centrality Ranking

No	Sentiment	Affiliation	Form	Frequency	Centrality		
					Degree (%)	Closeness (%)	Betweenness (%)
1	Contra	Increase in the Prices of Goods	concept	191	4,88	0,27	7,22
2	Contra	Social Unrest	concept	119	4,56	0,29	8,09
3	Contra	Antipathy to Fuel Price Increase	concept	125	3,83	0,27	7,52
4	Contra	Transportation Tariff Increase	concept	136	3,57	0,26	5,99
5	Pro	Certainty of Protection of the Common People	concept	104	2,89	0,27	5,09
6	Contra	Increasing Poverty	concept	71	2,57	0,25	2,89
7	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation	concept	159	2,36	0,26	3,42
8	Contra	Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy	concept	121	2,05	0,26	2,33
9	Pro	World Oil Prices	concept	76	1,94	0,26	2,31
10	Pro	Policy Review Support	concept	63	1,15	0,25	0,74

11	Pro	Jokowi	person	194	1,10	0,30	3,24
12	Pro	The Goal is for the People	concept	31	1,10	0,24	1,88
13	Contra	Economic Uncertainty	concept	37	1,05	0,25	0,72
14	Contra	Shock Effect of Fuel Price Increase	concept	66	1,05	0,24	0,64
15	Pro	Reducing the Burden on the State Budget	concept	74	1,05	0,23	0,41
16	Pro	Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan	person	118	1,00	0,27	1,41
17	Pro	Appropriate Compensation	concept	28	1,00	0,24	0,80
18	Contra	Finding Alternative Policies	concept	32	1,00	0,24	0,62
19	Pro	Arifin Tasrif	person	61	0,89	0,25	0,78
20	Pro	Mature Socialization	concept	123	0,84	0,23	0,80

Source: Research Data

Table 8 shows that the actor-discourse affiliation network on the Detik.com media in 2022 is dominated by discourse, because there are only three actors included in the top twenty degrees of centrality of the actor-discourse network. The number of counter and pro discourses is quite balanced, but counter discourse is more dominant in the strongest degree of centrality. The top five counter discourses in terms of degree of centrality include Increase in the Price of Goods, Social Unrest, Antipathy to Increase in Fuel Prices, Increase in Transportation Fares and Increasing Poverty. Meanwhile, the top five pro discourses are Certainty of Protection for the Common People, Certainty of BLT Compensation, World Oil Prices, Support for Policy Studies and Its Goals for the People.

Figure 6 shows the two main coalitions of the actor-discourse affiliation network on the Detik.com media in 2022. The three pro actors included in the table of degrees of centrality of the Detik actor-discourse coalition in 2022, namely President Jokowi, and Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, are connected to almost all actors included in the table of coalitions of this actor-discourse network. This shows that the discourses that fall into the strongest degree of centrality are almost all related to the three actors, except for the isolated discourses such as Increasing Poverty, Certainty of Protection for the Common People, Increase in Transportation Costs and Appropriate Compensation.
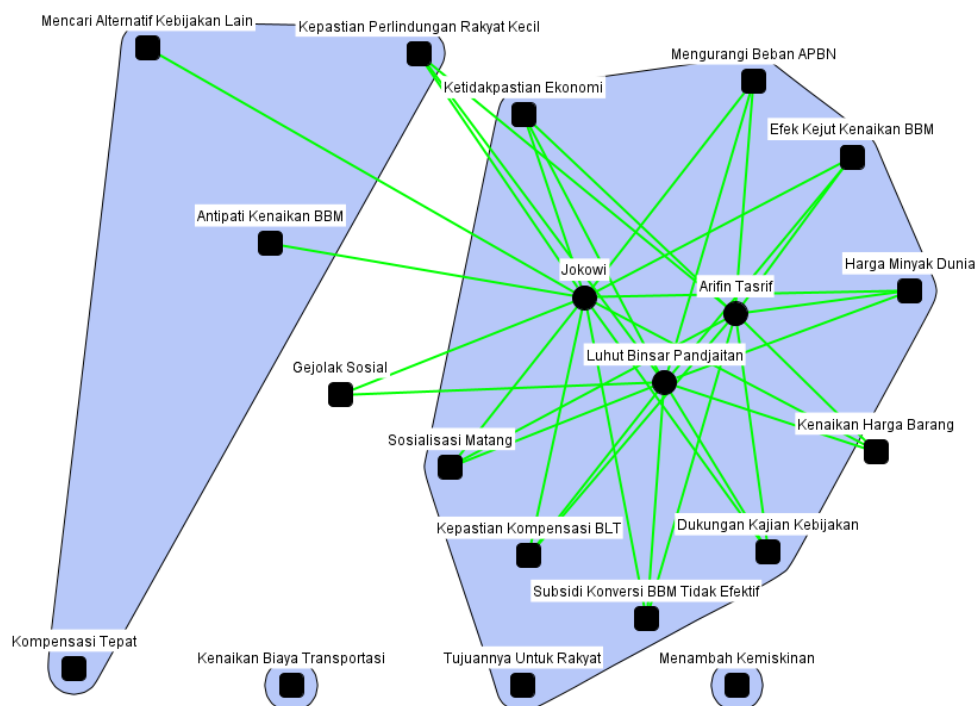

Figure 6. Detik.com 2022 Affiliation-Based Discourse Coalition based on degree of centrality ranking
Source: Research Data

The Dynamics

The research revealed a dynamic interplay among the actors within the discourse coalition regarding the fuel price increases in 2013 and 2022 as observed on the Detik Portal. In 2013, pro-actors were predominant, occupying 11 positions within the top 20 degrees of centrality. Notably, three counter-actors emerged in the top 10 degrees of centrality, specifically PKS politicians Anis Matta, Jazuli Juwaini, and Mardani Ali Sera.

The pro-actors featured in the top 10 discussions surrounding the 2013 fuel price Increase predominantly had affiliations with the government or were politicians from parties aligned with the government. This group included Achmadi Noor Supit from Golkar, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the then-Governor of DKI Jakarta Joko Widodo, Nurhayati Ali Assegaf from the Democratic Party, Aburizal Bakrie from Golkar, Tifatul Sembiring, a PKS politician who served as the Minister of Communication and Information at that time, and Vice President Boediono. In contrast, the 2022 discourse saw a shift, with prominent counter-actors emerging primarily from civil society, including Bhima Yudhistira (Director of CELIOS), Said Iqbal (Chairman of KSPI), and Taha Syafaril (Chairman of the Indonesian Online Ride-Hailing (Ojol) Drivers Association). Interestingly, PKS politicians did not feature as significant counter-actors in 2022. The pro-actors in the top 10 degrees of centrality continued to represent the government and its supporting political parties and institutions, comprising figures such as Bambang Soesatyo (Golkar), President Jokowi, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan (Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment), Erich Thohir (Minister of SOEs), and Sri Mulyani (Minister of Finance). Additionally, there was one notable pro-actor from civil society, Piter Abdullah, who served as the Director of CORE during that period (See Table 9).

Table 9. Detik.com Actor Dynamics 2013 and 2022

No	2013		2022	
	Sentiment	Actor	Sentiment	Actor
1	Contra	PKS Anis Matta	Contra	Bhima Yudhistira CELIOS
2	Pro	DPR Budget Committee Achmadi Noor Supit	Pro	Bambang Soesatyo Golkar
3	Contra	PKS Jazuli Juwaini	Contra	Said Iqbal KSPI
4	Pro	President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Contra	Mujiburohman (APPSI)
5	Pro	Governor of Jakarta, Jokowi	Contra	Taha Syafaril (ADO)
6	Pro	Democrat Nurhayati Ali Assegaf	Pro	Jokowi President
7	Contra	PKS Mardani Ali Sera	Pro	Piter Abdullah CORE
8	Pro	Golkar Aburizal Bakrie	Pro	Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment
9	Pro	PKS Tifatul Sembiring	Pro	Erick Thohir Minister of State-Owned Enterprises
10	Pro	Vice President, Boediono	Pro	Sri Mulyani Minister of Finance
11	Contra	PPP Romahurmuzi	Pro	Arifin Tasrif Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources
12	Contra	Hanura Saleh Husin	Contra	Syarief Hasan Democratic Party
13	Pro	Presidential Spokesperson Julian Aldrin Pasha	Contra	Anthony Budiawan (PEPS)
14	Pro	Coordinating Minister for the Economy Hatta Rajasa	Contra	Rojikin (HIPWIN)
15	Contra	PKS Fahri Hamzah	Contra	Mohammad Faisal CORE
16	Contra	PKS Indra	Contra	Tulus Abadi YLKI
17	Contra	PPP Hasrul Azwar	Contra	Nuryanto (SPN East Java)
18	Contra	PKS Abdul Hakim	Pro	Airlangga Hartarto Coordinating Minister for the Economy
19	Pro	TNI Moeldoko	Contra	Nuruddin Hidayat (FSPMI) East Java
20	Pro	Democrat Didi Irawadi	Contra	Ilham Nurhidayatullah (Hima Persis)

Source: Research Data

The research revealed a dynamic shift in the discourse coalition regarding fuel price increases from 2013 to 2022. In 2013, there were 10 counter discourses identified, decreasing to 8 by 2022. The primary coalition in 2013 was characterized by 6 pro discourses, including Community Support and Certainty of BLT Compensation, Certainty of Protection of the Common People, Infrastructure for Economic Growth, Mature Socialization, and Reducing the Burden on the State Budget. Conversely, the dominant coalition of strong counter discourses included Policy Inconsistency, Prolonged Discussions, and Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies.

By 2022, the landscape shifted significantly, with counter discourses becoming more prominent, although one notable pro discourse emerged, namely World Oil Prices, along with another pro discourse in the top 10, Certainty of Protection of the Common People. The strong counter discourses in 2022 encompassed Social Unrest, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies, Increases in Goods Prices, Shock Effects of Fuel Price Increases, and Economic Uncertainty (See Table 10).

Table 10. Detik.com Discourse Dynamics 2013 and 2022

No	2013		2022	
	Sentiment	Discourse	Sentiment	Discourse
1	Pro	Community Support	Pro	World Oil Prices
2	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation	Contra	Social Unrest
3	Contra	Policy Inconsistency	Contra	Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies
4	Pro	Certainty of Protection of the Common People	Contra	Increase in the Prices of Goods
5	Pro	Infrastructure for Economic Growth	Pro	Certainty of Protection for the Common People
6	Contra	Too Long Discussion	Contra	Shock Effect of Fuel Price Increases
7	Contra	Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy	Contra	Economic Uncertainty
8	Pro	Mature Socialization	Pro	Certainty of BLT Compensation
9	Pro	Reducing the Burden on the State Budget	Pro	Policy Review Support
10	Contra	Increase in the Prices of Goods	Pro	Reducing the Burden on the State Budget
11	Contra	Unclear Reasons for Fuel Price Increase	Pro	Mature Socialization
12	Contra	Social Unrest	Contra	Finding Alternative Policies
13	Pro	Support for Policy Studies	Pro	Government Mandate
14	Contra	Inappropriate Fuel Compensation	Pro	The Goal is for the People
15	Pro	Correct Reasons	Contra	Increasing Poverty
16	Contra	Opposition Antipathy	Contra	Antipathy to Fuel Price Increases
17	Contra	Looking for Alternative Policies	Pro	Right Reasons
18	Pro	Coalition Loyalty	Pro	Good Communication from the Government to the DPR
19	Contra	Increasing Poverty	Pro	Accuracy of Compensation Forms
20	Pro	Good Communication from the Government to the DPR	Pro	Energy Conversion

Source: Research Data

A research conducted in 2013 identified five primary discourses in support of the initiative, including Community Support, Certainty of BLT Compensation, Assurance of Protection for the Common People, Infrastructure for Economic Growth, and Mature Socialization. By 2022, the supporting discourses had evolved to encompass World Oil Prices, Assurance of Protection for the Common People, Certainty of BLT Compensation, Support for Policy Studies, and Alleviating the Burden on the State Budget. In 2013, the fringe discourses in support included Reducing Burden on the State Budget Support for Policy Review, Justifiable Reasons, Coalition Loyalty, and Effective Communication from the Government to the DPR. In contrast, the marginal discourses in 2022

comprised Mature Socialization, Government Mandate, Goals for the People, Justifiable Reasons, Effective Communication from the Government to the DPR, Accuracy of Compensation Forms, and Energy Conversion.

From the same research, it was revealed that in 2013, five core discourses opposing the initiative were identified, namely Policy Inconsistency, Prolonged Discussions, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidy, Rising Prices of Goods, and Ambiguous Justifications for Fuel Price Increases. By 2022, the opposing discourses had expanded to include Social Unrest, Ineffective Fuel Conversion Subsidies, Rising Prices of Goods, Shock Effects of Fuel Price Increases, Inappropriate Fuel Compensation, Antipathy towards Opposition, Exploration of Alternative Policy Options, and Escalating Poverty. The marginal discourses opposing the initiative in 2022 included Seeking Alternative Policies, Escalating Poverty, and Antipathy towards Fuel Price Increases.

The mediatization of subsidized fuel price increases by Detik.com in 2013 and 2022 reveals a relatively equitable distribution of narrative participants between opposing and supporting factions. Nonetheless, both groups remain interconnected, suggesting ongoing narrative exchanges among the actors involved. Notably, the Presidents, Jokowi and SBY, played significant roles in both years.

From a media ecology standpoint, the Detik.com environment during these two periods appears to effectively balance the representation of both pro and con actors in their responses to the government's subsidized fuel price increase policy. It is evident that in 2013, the primary figures within the opposing coalition were predominantly from political backgrounds, whereas in 2022, the opposing voices were largely represented by civil society actors. Conversely, the supporting actors in both years were primarily affiliated with the government.

Detik.com's mediatization indicates that the issues surrounding the subsidized fuel increases in 2013 and 2022 coalesced into a singular coalition encompassing both opposing and supporting perspectives. This suggests that there was a minimal significant change in the issue coalitions between the two years. Furthermore, it was observed that the coalitions for both pro and con perspectives in 2013 and 2022 were interlinked through various issues, demonstrating that both sides communicated their narratives within a unified framework.

From a media ecology perspective, regarding policy matters, the Detik.com ecosystem during both periods of subsidized fuel price increases reflects a balanced representation of both proponents and opponents of the government's policy. Notably, the issues that surfaced in 2013, relevant to both the supporting and opposing coalitions, also partially reemerged in 2022.

Comparison of Discourse

The mediatization of subsidized fuel price increases by Detik.com in 2013 and 2022 indicates that the discourse is primarily influenced by issues rather than the actors involved. From a media ecology standpoint, the Detik.com ecosystem has remained stable regarding policy issues across both periods. In 2013, counter actors and their associated issues were more prominent within the affiliate network, exhibiting the highest degree of centrality. Conversely, in 2022, pro actors and their issues gained greater prominence. Notably, in 2013, the coalition by affiliation was divided into three distinct "islands," predominantly featuring counter actors and issues. By 2022, this network consolidated into two larger "islands," where pro actors and issues were relatively more dominant compared to their counter counterparts.

Public Policy Mediatization: Unchanged Coalition of Actor and Discourse

This section will present the findings from the discourse network analysis (DNA) concerning the fuel price increase debates in 2013 and 2022. The analysis was conducted longitudinally by comparing media narratives from both years. By examining these two distinct timeframes, the objective is to determine whether there has been a shift in the discourse surrounding fuel price increases. What arguments have emerged in media coverage regarding both support and opposition to these price Increases? Have there been any notable changes in the arguments for or against the increases? Additionally, the study aims to identify the actors involved in the discourse on fuel price increases. Over the decade from 2013 to 2022, have any actors (both supportive and opposing) experienced shifts in their representation within media narratives? For instance, have any actors transitioned from opposition to support, and vice versa.

Discourse surrounding an issue can evolve significantly over different time periods, and the participants in that discourse may also undergo transformations. A pertinent example is the research conducted by Fergie et al. (2019) on the Minimum Unit Pricing (MUP) policy aimed at curbing alcohol consumption in Scotland. The researchers analyzed media coverage from 2011 to 2018, revealing notable shifts in both the actors involved and the discourse itself throughout the seven years of media debate regarding MUP.

Initially, the discourse was characterized by a clear division between proponents and opponents; however, over time, new themes emerged, particularly concerning health-related issues. In 2011, discussions primarily revolved around economic factors, such as taxation, but by 2018, fresh arguments had surfaced from both supporters and detractors of the policy. The composition of actors also transformed; in 2011, alcohol producers collectively opposed the policy, arguing that alcohol restrictions were unlawful. By 2018, however, these producers had become polarized, with some advocating for the policy while others remained opposed. Similarly, a study by Fisher et al. (2012) examined the discourse and actors involved in the climate change debate in the United States. Focusing on the discussions within the US Congress from 2005 to 2008, the researchers employed the DNA method to identify changes in both discourse and the participants. Their findings indicated a significant shift in the positions of US congressmen, moving from a binary pro and con stance to a more consensus-driven approach regarding climate change. This evolution highlights a changing perspective on the issue of climate change.

A study conducted by Leifeld (2013) examined the policy changes related to pension funds in Germany. This research analyzed the discourse and debates surrounding pension funds as reported in the German media from 1993 to 2001, identifying the arguments presented by both proponents and opponents of the reforms. The study highlighted the coalitions formed by each side, as well as the shifts in discourse and the roles of various actors over time. A notable contention arose between the coalition advocating for pension reform aimed at enhancing sustainability and equity, and the coalition resisting change, which favored the preservation of the existing system. This conflict contrasted the emphasis on sustainability and demographic challenges with the traditional focus on the stability of the pension system. Such a discourse struggle contributed to intricate dynamics within the policy-making process, where competing ideas interacted and shaped the final decisions regarding pension policy reform.

When comparing the two time periods, it was observed that the coalition in favor of pension reform became increasingly organized and fortified their narratives surrounding sustainability and fairness. They effectively united a diverse array of stakeholders, including civil society organizations, academics, and political parties, to advance the reform agenda. Conversely, the coalition opposing the reform became more disjointed, with previously aligned actors beginning to diverge in their views on the best approach to address pension issues. This fragmentation diminished their influence against the pro-reform arguments. The pro-reform coalition transitioned from risk-oriented arguments to more optimistic assertions regarding the potential benefits of the reforms for enhancing retirees' quality of life. In contrast, the anti-reform coalition primarily relied on defensive arguments, highlighting the potential losses and uncertainties associated with the proposed changes.

The coalition advocating for reform started to embrace and incorporate innovative concepts from a range of stakeholders, particularly those emphasizing inclusive methods that enhance citizen engagement in the policy-making process. Ultimately, this pro-reform coalition triumphed in the debate, effectively advancing the agenda for pension policy reform in Germany. They succeeded in uniting support from diverse entities, including civil society organizations and scholars, to formulate a compelling narrative centered on sustainability and equity within the pension system. The endorsement of the pension policy reform indicates that their arguments and proposals were effective in shaping the policy-making landscape, overcoming the more disjointed and resistant anti-reform coalition.

The phenomenon of rising fuel prices remains a persistent topic within Indonesia's political economy. This matter consistently generates both supportive and opposing discourses. Given that fuel price increases represent an "ever-present issue" within the Indonesian government, it is noteworthy to observe the evolution of arguments over time. Are there shifts in the discourse, or do the arguments for and against fuel price Increases remain unchanged? Additionally, it is pertinent to examine whether there are alterations in the stakeholders who advocate for or against these price increases. A comparable

investigation was undertaken by Markard et al. (2021) regarding the coal phase-out in Germany from 2000 to 2020.

The researchers utilized news archives from two German media sources to analyze the actors and discourses that emerged throughout the two decades of coal discussions in the German media. They explored how discourse coalitions and the narratives employed to garner support evolved over time. The findings indicated that the anti-coal discourse coalition maintained a relatively stable and ideologically coherent stance throughout the period, predominantly utilizing climate change as a key narrative to undermine coal. Conversely, the pro-coal coalition exhibited greater polarization and inconsistency in their arguments. The decision to phase out coal in 2020 can be viewed as a triumph for the anti-coal coalition in successfully embedding their discourse into policy.

A comparable investigation was carried out by Rinscheid (2015), who analyzed media discourse regarding nuclear energy policy both prior to and following the Fukushima crisis. The study focused on media coverage in Germany and Japan during the years 2010 and 2011. Following the Fukushima incident, there was a notable shift in public discourse from support for nuclear energy to heightened concerns about safety and environmental consequences. This change indicates a reorientation of policy priorities, placing greater importance on safer energy alternatives.

The research highlights the formation of opposing discourse coalitions, specifically the pro-nuclear and anti-nuclear groups. The pro-nuclear coalition typically advocates for the safety and efficiency of nuclear energy, whereas the anti-nuclear coalition underscores the associated risks and the necessity for a transition to renewable energy sources. In the aftermath of the Fukushima event, discussions surrounding alternative energy policies gained increased prominence. The perspectives of the minority coalition, which prioritizes the shift to renewable energy, became more visible and were more frequently addressed in public and political discussions.

This research builds upon the foundation laid by previous studies conducted by Rinscheid (2015), Markard et al. (2021), Leifeld (2013), and Fergie et al. (2019). The researchers examine two instances of fuel price increases, specifically in 2013 and 2022. They will analyze three key areas of data. First, they will identify the actors involved in the pro and con discourses surrounding fuel price increases.

By comparing the two years, the study aims to determine whether the media has assigned similar or different prominence to these actors and whether there have been any changes in their involvement. Second, the researchers will investigate the discourse and arguments presented by the media, assessing what arguments are reported by both pro and con parties. They will explore whether there has been a shift in discourse or if it has remained consistent over time. Third, the study will examine the relationship between actors and discourse to ascertain whether there have been any changes in media reporting.

Public Policy Mediatization: Unchanged Coalition of Actor and Discourse

The mediatization by Detik.com regarding the rise in subsidized fuel prices in 2013 and 2022 revealed a relatively equitable distribution of narrative participants between opposing and supportive factions. This observation aligns with the reporting practices of other media outlets. In the 2013 coverage, Detik.com allocated space for supportive voices, primarily comprising government officials and politicians from pro-government parties such as PKS and Golkar. A similar trend was evident in the 2022 coverage, where supportive voices were again represented by government officials and politicians from the ruling party, PDIP. Conversely, opposing voices were articulated by civil society representatives and the opposition party, Democrat.

Notably, there exists a connection between the two coalitions, indicating a narrative dialogue among the actors involved. Throughout both instances of subsidized fuel price increases, Detik.com maintained a relatively balanced approach in mediating the perspectives of both supportive and opposing actors in response to the government's policy. In 2013, the primary figures in the opposing coalition were predominantly politically affiliated, whereas in 2022, the counter voices were largely represented by civil society actors. In both years, the supportive voices were primarily from individuals with government affiliations.

Conclusions

This study on the mediatization of political discourse concerning fuel price subsidies on Detik.com from 2013 to 2022 revealed that media narratives primarily centered on the issues at hand rather than on individual figures. The analysis indicated a low level of polarization, with both supportive and opposing coalitions sharing interconnected narratives. In 2013, the counter-coalitions were largely composed of politically affiliated individuals; however, by 2022, civil society actors had gained prominence in opposing narratives. These findings underscore the media's ongoing role in fostering balanced representations of government policy discussions, reflecting the evolving dynamics of media logic in shaping public discourse. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of media's impact on public policy debates, particularly its role as an active participant in political communication.

The examination of the mediatization of political discourse concerning fuel price subsidies on Detik.com from 2013 to 2022 revealed that media narratives predominantly concentrated on issues rather than individual personalities. The analysis demonstrated a minimal degree of polarization, with both supportive and opposing factions sharing interrelated narratives. In 2013, the counter-coalitions were largely composed of individuals with political affiliations; however, by 2022, civil society representatives had become more prominent in opposing narratives. These results underscore the media's continuing role in promoting balanced portrayals of government policy discussions, thereby reflecting the evolving dynamics of media logic in shaping public discourse. This study contributes to a deeper understanding of the media's influence on public policy debates, particularly in its role as an active participant in political communication.

References

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (2016). *The social construction of reality*, in Social Theory Re-wired. Routledge.

Blumer, H. (1986). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Univ of California Press.

Brown, R. (2011). *Mediatization and news management in comparative institutional perspective*, in Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy: Challenging the primacy of politics (pp. 59-74). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Cooley, C.H. (2018). *Human Nature and the Social Order: The Interplay of Man's Behaviors, Character and Personal Traits with His Society*, New York: Adansonia.

De Vreese, C.H. (2014). *Mediatization of news: The role of journalistic framing*, in Mediatization of politics: Understanding the transformation of Western democracies. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Eriyanto. (2012). *Analisis Framing: Komunikasi, Ideologi dan Politik*. Media. Yogyakarta: LKIS.

Eriyanto. (2022). *Analisis Jejaring Wacana*. Bandung: Rosda Karya.

Fergie, G., Leifeld, P., Hawkins, B., & Hilton, S. (2019). Mapping discourse coalitions in the minimum unit pricing for alcohol debate: a discourse network analysis of UK newspaper coverage. *Addiction*. 114(4), 741-753.

Foucault, M. (2022). *Tatanan Wacana*, Yogyakarta: JBS.

Gee, J.P. (1999). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis Theory and Method*. London: Routledge.

Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L.J. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methods*. London: Sage.

Kammer, A. (2013). The mediatization of journalism. *MedieKultur: Journal of media and communication research*. 29(54), 18-21.

Kunelius, R., & Reunanen, E. (2016). Changing power of journalism: The two phases of mediatization. *Communication Theory*. 26(4), 369-388.

Lasswell, H.D. (1927). The theory of political propaganda. *American Political Science Review*. 21(3), 627-631.

Leifeld, P. (2013). Reconceptualizing major policy change in the advocacy coalition framework: A discourse network analysis of German pension politics. *Policy studies journal*. 41(1), 169-198.

Markard, J., Rinscheid, A., & Widdel, L. (2021). Analyzing transitions through the lens of discourse networks: Coal phase-out in Germany. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*. 40, 315-331.

Rinscheid, A. (2015). Crisis, policy discourse, and major policy change: Exploring the role of subsystem polarization in nuclear energy policymaking. *European Policy Analysis*. 1(2), 34-70.

Rogers, E.M. (1986). *Communication Technology the New Media in Society*. New York The Free Press.

Satrianegara, R. (2018, May 2). *Indonesia Jadi Net Importir Gas di 2022*. CNBC Indonesia, retrieved on https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20180502105723-4-13254/indonesia-jadi-net-importir-gas-di-2022; https://nasional.tempo.co/read/624005/10-tahun-presiden-sby-bakar-subsidi-bbm-rp-1-300-t.

Smirnova, O.N., Svitich, O. A., & Shkondin, M. (2020). The Role of Journalism in Mediatization of the World of Everyday Life. *Questions of Theory and Practice of Journalism*. 9(4), 595-611.

van Hout, T., & Burger, P. (2015). Mediatization and the language of journalism. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*. 131, 1-24.