



# Analysis of Media Framing on Indonesian Constitutional Court's Decision Regarding Presidential and Vice Presidential Age Limits

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**Abstract:** The determination of the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is a crucial issue in the dynamics of Indonesian politics. The Constitutional Court's decision regarding this age limit has profound implications for the political landscape and the political participation opportunities for individuals aspiring to run for president or vice president. This research aims to understand the framing constructions of Tempo.co and Viva.co.id, two mass media outlets, regarding the coverage of the Constitutional Court's decision on the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The method employed in this research was based on the framing concept by Pan and Kosicki, which consisted of four main elements: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetoric. The results of the study show that Tempo.co framed this coverage by emphasizing the contrasting (negative) aspects of the decision. In contrast, Viva.co.id highlighted more positive aspects of the decision and focused on reporting the positive impacts of the Constitutional Court's decision.

**Keywords:** Framing Analysis; Constitutional Court; Decision; Presidential and Vice-Presidential Age.

## 1. Introduction

On October 16, 2023, the political landscape in Indonesia became a topic of discussion among the public, especially for those actively following political developments in Indonesia. This was because the Constitutional Court had issued a decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, suspected of paving the way for President Jokowi to establish a political dynasty in Indonesia. This suspicion arose from the fact that the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, is a brother-in-law of Jokowi. The Constitutional Court's decision was issued at a time when there were speculations about Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Jokowi's eldest son, running for vice president in the 2024 elections. The Constitutional Court's decision on the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates has become an integral part of the legal framework within Indonesia's democratic system. Media framing analysis can assist in identifying how the media presents this legal issue to the public and to what extent it impacts public perceptions regarding justice and the Constitutional Court's decision. Since its founding in 2003, the Constitutional Court has handled many cases, including election disputes. The Constitutional Court functions as a guardian and interpreter of the constitution; apart from that, the Constitutional Court also serves as a guardian of democracy, protecting citizens' constitutional rights and human rights. (Putri & Suwanto, 2022)

As the Guardian of Democracy, the Constitutional Court should be filled with people who have high competence and idealism. The Constitutional Court is a judicial institution that has the authority to carry out legal review of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, whose decisions are final and binding, and the nature of its enactment is in accordance with the principle of erga omnes. (Putra Antoni, 2021)

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After the Constitutional Court's decision was announced, search keywords related to the Constitutional Court's decision and the court itself became trending topics on social media platform X on October 16, 2023. In addition to social media, coverage of the Constitutional Court's decision also gained traction in mainstream media, especially on online news portals such as Tempo.co and Viva.co.id. According to data released by Similarweb.com as of September 2023, Tempo.co ranked sixth in the news category in Indonesia with a total of 21.2 million visits. Meanwhile, Viva.co.id held the fifteenth position in the news category in Indonesia with a total of 21 million visits (Similarweb.Com, 2023)

In this study, the researcher focused solely on examining the coverage of Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, which was read by the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, on October 16, 2023. The aspect analyzed by the researcher is that the minimum age for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is set at 40 years or having previously/currently held a position as a Regional Head resulting from a general election.

The research on the Analysis of Framing in the Reporting of the Constitutional Court's Decision on the Age Limit for Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates is of significant importance. This is because the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates can have a substantial impact on the public's understanding of the political and democratic system. Accurate reporting can assist the public in comprehending the implications and consequences of the decision on the national political dynamics. Furthermore, the analysis of framing in media coverage can help reveal how various societal groups and political interests respond to the decision. This will provide in-depth insights into the thought processes and perspectives of the public regarding policies related to the election of the president and vice-president. Reporting from the mass media has a significant impact on society. People's continuous exposure to media can shape their opinions, behavior, and perceptions of various cases or topics. According to (Elvinaro Ardianto et al., 2017), media exposure is described as the act of listening, seeing, and reading media messages conveyed or having experiences similar to those messages, which can occur at an individual or group level. Based on the explanation of media exposure above and the ranking of Tempo.co, which, when considered, can be a strong reason for researchers to use that online news portal.

Furthermore, the researcher selected the online news portal Viva.co.id as a comparative media. This choice was made because Viva.co.id is among the top 15 news portals in Indonesia, and the ownership structure was also a consideration for the researcher in choosing Viva.co.id. Viva.co.id is an online news portal launched on December 17, 2008, and managed by PT Viva Media Baru, a subsidiary of PT Visi Media Asia Tbk, which is part of the Bakrie Group.

The Bakrie Group is a company owned by the Bakrie family, and one of its members, Aburizal Bakrie, previously served as CEO of the company. Aburizal Bakrie, also known as ARB, is a part of the Bakrie Group and concurrently serves as the Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Golkar Party, one of the political parties supporting Prabowo and Gibran as presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 elections.

In this research, the researcher addresses the topic of the perception of news values, specifically prominence and significance. In this context, prominence is related to important or renowned entities, be they things or individuals that are widely known or recognized by the public (Sedia Willing & Barus, 2010). In this case, the entity that holds prominence is the Indonesian Constitutional Court or Mahkamah Konstitusi, which is an independent state institution exercising judicial power in Indonesia, functioning independently to administer justice and uphold the law.

Regarding significance, it involves important issues that have a significant impact on the public (Sedia Willing & Barus, 2010). The Constitutional Court's decision on the age

limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on October 16, 2023, can affect the broader community, especially those who have the right to vote in the 2024 elections. This is because the news coverage of the decision has been widespread on social media and national as well as international online news portals. The influence of news results from information that can form a confident attitude towards a person or group. The size of the impact caused by the news depends on how long the person spends reading or viewing the report, the content of the information, and the correlation of the content to themselves.(Fitria, 2021)

The previous research was conducted by Jajilah from UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta with the title "Analisis Framing Isu Keberpihakan Media pada Pemberitaan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka/Tertutup Pemilu 2024 pada Media Tempo.co" (Framing Analysis of Media Bias in the Reporting of Open/Closed Proportional Election System for the 2024 Election on Tempo.co.) From the conducted research, the conclusion was drawn that Tempo.co, through its framing, plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion regarding the proportional election system. Tempo.co tends to highlight news related to support for the implementation of the open proportional system and does not conduct interviews with the plaintiffs.(Jajilah, 2023)

The difference between this study and the previous one lies in the framing concept used. The earlier research employed Robert N. Entman's framing concept, while this study adopts Pan & Kosicki's framing concept. Beyond the variance in framing concepts, there is also a difference in the discussion and the news articles used. This research uses articles from Tempo.co and Viva.co.id to examine how media outlets frame the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Media online is a mass media accessible online from anywhere with an internet connection. It represents the third generation of mass media after print media, such as newspapers, magazines, books, and electronic media, such as television and radio. Online media has its advantages compared to its predecessors. One of them is the ability to access conventional media such as television, radio, newspapers, and more online (Siregar & Qurniawati, 2022)

Information and news circulated in online media become daily consumption for the community. News exposure by online media has the ability to change the public's perception of something. News is a report related to current events presented in oral or written form (Setiawan et al., 2022). According to Barus, the news is a report on an event that has occurred or is happening, the ideas or opinions of an individual or group that are interesting and considered important to convey to the general public. It is current and based on facts and data obtained in the field (Sedia Willing & Barus, 2010).

An event can be considered as news if it meets the elements of news value (Alvin, 2022). News value is one of the elements of news that has value or is not for consumption by the public. News value is the intrinsic characteristic contained in a piece of information. This news value is a practical or commonly applied measure to determine newsworthiness(Bayquni & Saputra, 2019).According to Barus, there are six elements of news that must be fulfilled (Sedia Willing & Barus, 2010).

Significance, or importance, is said to be a news element when the reported event is crucial for the general public or has a widespread impact on the readers.Magnitude, or size, involves something substantial, such as a large quantity, value, or significant numerical figure, making it more interesting to read. Timelessness, or novelty, encompasses an event that has recently occurred or is currently happening, making it still current or widely discussed in the general public.

Proximity, or closeness, refers to having proximity in terms of distance or geography with the readers. This also encompasses emotional closeness and proximity in terms of livelihood, interests, hobbies, talents, as well as the readers' attention. Prominence, or notability, involves news where the sources of information come from individuals or

groups, objects, or places that are well-known or recognized by the wider community, making it important news for readers to know.

Human Interest, or human touch, is a news aspect that attracts attention because it illustrates the experiences or emotions of individuals (Lugito et al., 2022). Mass media can change information based on the media's interests. Through the information presented by the Mass Media, the mass media has various attractions, namely from capital owners, the economy, the media's image, or external interests of media institutions. (Rustono Farady Marta et al., 2021) The preparation of the script and material in a news story cannot be separated from the interests of the mass media. The practice of news in the media is a construction of reality, which is then formed into a meaningful discourse (Urip Mulyadi & Mubarak, 2021).

In this study, the researcher employed Framing Analysis to examine the construction of mass media in framing an issue. Framing analysis was also utilized to observe how an event was framed by the media. In this research, the researcher used framing analysis on the online news portals Tempo.co and Viva.co.id to investigate how these two media outlets framed news regarding the Constitutional Court's decision.

Framing is a way in which an event is presented by the media. The presentation of news is not completely shifted but subtly redirected by highlighting certain aspects of reality or events (Launa, 2020).

According to Eriyanto, the media selects, associates, and highlights specific aspects of an event, making it more easily conveyed and remembered by readers (Eriyanto., 2002).

Framing is a result of reality construction carried out by media. The concept of framing itself is a technique to observe how a media outlet tells and conveys news or events (Eriyanto., 2002). Through texts that aren't entirely twisted but subtly guide readers to fit within the predetermined news frame.

Framing analysis can be understood simply as an analysis to determine how a media outlet frames a certain reality, be it an event, individual, group, or others. Framing analysis has various aspects, and one of them is that journalists have control in applying standards of truth, the paradigm of objectivity, as well as limitations in processing and delivering news. In constructing a reality, journalists tend to incorporate their experiences and knowledge into the schema of understanding (Aini & Setiawan, 2021) This research uses the Pan-Kosicki framing method. The Pan-Kosicki framing is an analytical model used to examine the reality portrayed in mass media coverage and is an art that might lead to different conclusions when analyzed by different individuals, even if the cases being examined are the same (Eriyanto., 2002).

In the Pan-Kosicki framing analysis approach, there are four major structures. The first is the syntax structure, which involves how journalists organize an event into the structure of a news story, such as headlines, leads, source quotes, statements, and the conclusion. The second is the script structure, which is the way journalists narrate an event or incident while considering the elements of news writing, namely, the 5W+1H (What, Who, When, Where, Why, and How). The third is the thematic structure, which is how journalists express their opinions about an event in a sentence or connect between sentences. The fourth is the rhetorical structure, which is how journalists emphasize a particular meaning or purpose in the news (Sopiyani & Setiawan, 2023).

## 2. Materials and Methods

The subjects examined in this study were news articles regarding the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the online news portals Tempo.co and Viva.co.id. Meanwhile, the object of the study was how the media constructed reality in reporting the Constitutional Court's decision on Tempo.co and Viva.co.id.

The objects used in this study were news texts regarding the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on Tempo.co and Viva.co.id, totaling 12 news articles. They were distributed as follows: 6 articles from Tempo.co and six articles from Viva.co.id. The news was analyzed according to the Pan-Kosicki framing model, including syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical aspects.

### 2.1 Script

The script shows how the journalist's storytelling strategy conveys the news. The style of speech, such as telling or telling a story used by journalists, is an essential aspect of packaging a story. (Kusumaastuti & Setiawan, 2022).

Researchers will observe the script structure elements, which include the 5W+1H news elements, where emphasis on these elements will clarify the construction of the media in making news.

### 2.2 Thematic

Thematic structure refers to how a message or information is structured and organized to form a narrative or story. In media or framing analysis, thematic structure helps understand how an issue or topic is contained in media messages.

Thematic is the media's point of view on an event regarding the sentence design or the interwoven sentences that make up the news. The thematic structure relates to how reality is formed in a news story. (Harnia et al., 2021)

Researchers will analyze how tempo.co and viva.co.id journalists write news facts related to reporting on the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates. The units to be analyzed are paragraphs, propositions, and sentence relationships.

### 2.3 Rhetorical aspects

The rhetorical structure is a journalist's way of emphasizing a fact, and the parameters observed are words, idioms, pictures or photos, and graphs. (Rizqi et al., 2023)

In this research, researchers will also look at rhetorical elements as complementary components to news, such as photos, graphics, or other artistic features that build meaning in a news story.

The data sources used in this study were derived from books, journals, legal documents, as well as news from Tempo.co and Viva.co.id. The obtained data was processed using qualitative methods. The collected data was then analyzed and categorized, subsequently processed according to the predetermined theory. The results of the processed data were then presented descriptively, describing the findings of the conducted research

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1. Data Analysis and Findings

Based on the conducted analysis, the researcher observed that Tempo.co framed the news about the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates as a problematic decision, and considered it as the Constitutional Court allowing Jokowi's political dynasty. This can be seen from the majority of leads used by Tempo.co, which described the Constitutional Court's decision as problematic and mentioned the political dynasty.

As for the script structure, Tempo.co was more dominant in using the news element 'Who.' This further explains that the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is problematic, resulting in predominantly negative or insufficient comments from various groups and political observers.

The thematic structure used in the news published by Tempo.co is coherence. Coherence is employed to explain the pros and cons that occurred after the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates was announced. In its report, Tempo highlighted the conflict in society regarding the Constitutional Court's decision. The main point of Tempo.co's reporting on this issue focuses on the irregularities and legal defects in the Constitutional Court's decision.

For the rhetorical structure, the photos used are from special sources portraying a figure in the news and the atmosphere in the courtroom when the Constitutional Court announced the decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Several times, Tempo.co used photos of Anwar Usman in the news related to the coverage of the Constitutional Court's decision. The use of Anwar Usman's photos indicates that Tempo.co emphasizes that the Constitutional Court's decision was determined by one of the Constitutional Court judges who still has a familial relationship with the group of politicians who will run for vice president in the 2024 elections. The captions themselves are related to the content of the written news.

As for Viva.co.id, in terms of its syntactic elements, especially in the headlines and leads, it emphasizes more on the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates receiving positive responses from the general public and political observers, although there are still news articles discussing negative responses.

In the script structure, the news about the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates published on Viva.co.id is more dominant in the news element 'How.' It discusses how the public, politicians, and political observers responded, their attitudes, or actions after the decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

The thematic elements in Viva.co.id's reporting are the same as those of Tempo.co, containing aspects of coherence. The news written by Viva.co.id within one week regarding the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates tended to be consistent in connecting the news, starting from the profile of the Constitutional Court judge, the relationship between the Constitutional Court judge and Gibran, to the pros and cons in among the public and politicians that occurred after the decision was read. Reports are also written sequentially, from light news such as profiles of Constitutional Court judges to discussing the pros and cons.

The rhetorical structure used by Viva.co.id in the news about the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is similar to Tempo.co, using special photos and captions related to the content of the news.

### *3.2. Analysis and Interpretation*

Tempo.co and Viva.co.id frame the news about the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates in their respective ways. Based on the analysis conducted, the following are the differences in framing done by the two online news portals:

The reporting on Tempo.co firmly states that the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is a legally flawed decision that perpetuates the political dynasty in the era of Jokowi. Out of the six articles, Tempo.co predominantly discusses the opposition that arises due to the decision issued by the Constitutional Court, including opposition expressed by politicians, political experts, and the general public, including the Student Executive Board (BEM).

Viva.co.id frames the news about the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates as a positive change that provides an opportunity for young people to participate more in the political arena. Out of the six articles, Viva.co.id predominantly supports the Constitutional Court's decision,

discussing opinions from politicians, political experts, and the general public. This is different from Tempo.co, where Viva.co.id focuses on a specific group of society and demographic, with almost no news discussing the Student Executive Board (BEM) or student groups supporting the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

#### 4. Conclusions

Tempo.co and Viva.co.id frame the reporting of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates in their respective ways. Tempo.co frames the reporting by firmly stating that the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates is a legally flawed decision, and it assesses that this was done to perpetuate the political dynasty in the era of Jokowi. This is further emphasized by the numerous news articles discussing opposition to the decision. This opposition is presented by politicians, political experts, and the general public, including the Student Executive Board (BEM).

Meanwhile, Viva.co.id focuses more on the positive impact of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, although there are still news articles discussing opposition to the decision. Viva.co.id views the decision as a positive change that paves the way for young people to participate more in the political arena.

The difference arises because the two online news portals, Tempo.co, and Viva.co.id, have differing ideologies and political perspectives from their owners. Tempo.co tries, with the ideology of being an independent media, although in this coverage, Tempo.co predominantly reports on the opposition that arises due to the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. On the other hand, Viva.co.id is a media outlet under the Bakrie Group, and one of its managers is the Chairman of the advisory board of the Golkar party, which supports one of the candidate pairs whose candidacy is considered facilitated by the Constitutional Court.

In this research, there are limitations, including content analysis that involves only one aspect of framing, for example, positive or negative framing, which may provide a less comprehensive overview of how a decision is interpreted by the media. The researcher hopes for further studies that involve a more comprehensive analysis, including tone, visual, and other elements, to provide a deeper understanding of the complexity of news reporting.

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