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RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT'S DECISION ON THE PRESIDENTIAL AGE LIMIT IN @KOMPASCOM AND @TVONENEWS

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the recontextualization of reports on the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the requirements for presidential and vice presidential candidates on Twitter/ X accounts of @kompascom and @tvonenews. A qualitative analysis were conducted using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach, which includes description, interpretation, and explanation. The text description analysis utilized appraisal framework. According to text analysis of @kompascom, the Constitutional Court's decision is portrayed negatively. The article describes negative happiness, negative satisfaction, and negative quality as reasons for people's sadness and anger. The decision is considered to be full of fabrications and is seen as paving the way for Gibran to become Prabowo's vice presidential candidate. The news report from @tvonenews describes the Constitutional Court's decision as interesting due to its positive impact on Gibran's opportunity to run as a vice presidential candidate. However, the report also indirectly highlights a negative aspect of the decision by reporting that Anwar Usman committed a serious ethical violation. (2) According to the discourse practice analysis, @kompascom connects the Constitutional Court's decision to Gibran's candidacy, while @tvonenews connects it more to Anwar Usman's ethical violations. (3) The analysis of social practices reveals changes and stabilizations of social values in various matters, including public opinion,

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political polarization, and youth involvement. The latter is key to achieving a balance between stability and change, as well as upholding the rule of law.

Keywords: Recontextualization; Discourse; Appraisal; Ruling; Presidential

INTRODUCTION

Case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 regarding the minimum age requirements for presidential and vice presidential candidates in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections was officially accepted by the Constitutional Court on Monday, October 16, 2023. According to the decision, individuals who are under 40 years old may nominate themselves for presidential and vice presidential positions if they have previously held or are currently holding elected positions such as DPR/DPD, Governor, or Mayor (Argawati, 2023). The timing of this decision, which occurred close to the registration period for presidential and vice presidential candidates, was considered surprising and controversial to the public.

According to several experts, the decision may have been influenced by the personal relationships of the lawmakers, which could create a conflict of interest. Specifically, Anwar Usman, who was serving as Chief Justice of the Indonesian Constitutional Court (MK) at the time, is President Joko Widodo's brother-in-law and the uncle of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who was proposed as Prabowo's vice presidential candidate. Apart from that, this decision also has long-term implications, including uncertainty about democracy (Ardhi, 2023). Anwar Usman was ultimately dishonorably dismissed from the position of Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court because he violated the code of ethics regarding the judicial review of case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 (Pujianti, 2023).

Discussions related to cases decided by the Constitutional Court often become news in the public domain, including in mass media and social media. The mass media has a significant influence on shaping public opinion about these issues due to its ability to quickly and widely spread messages and information (Donsbach & Traugott, 2007; Koopmans, 2004; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020). Additionally, the mass media can influence and pressure political elites (Van Dijk, 1995, 1998). In addition, the decision of the Constitutional Court regarding the ages of presidential and vice-presidential candidates

has also become a trending topic on Twitter. Social media can provide a comprehensive description of public perceptions of certain topics, even in a scientific manner (Dong & Lian, 2021). Furthermore, social media serves as a platform for the dissemination of news and can shape new journalistic practices (McGregor, 2019). This routine enables news of the Constitutional Court's decision on the conditions for presidential and vice-presidential candidates to reach a wider audience by utilizing social media.

Most supporters of the Constitutional Court's decision base their opinion on President Jokowi's statement that he does not interfere in the affairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, as this is the domain of political parties (Al-Farraby, 2023). Conversely, opponents of the decision do not trust President Jokowi's statement. The reason for this distrust is due to the emergence of the issue of 'kinship politics' involving Gibran and Bobby in the 2020 regional elections (Hamudy, 2021). Additionally, several studies indicate that people's distrust also stems from the chaotic handling of COVID-19 in Indonesia (Almuttaqi, 2020; Mulyani & Sirait, 2021). Moreover, the media has different focuses and framings when reporting on dynastic political issues (Putri & Aisyah, 2022). Therefore, reactions that are both positive and negative, as well as the polarization of information and social values that develop in society, are inevitable.

Following the Constitutional Court's decision, there was a significant amount of controversy and mixed reactions. Online media journalists utilized Twitter/X to disseminate related news and information. Additionally, politicians have been known to use Twitter/X to manage crises, establish a narrative, and mitigate damage (Duncombe, 2019). The social media environment is dynamic and flexible, allowing for the recontextualization of reporting on MK decisions regarding the conditions for presidential and vice presidential candidates. However, this can lead to Indonesian society making judgments without a complete understanding of the context, especially given the country's low literacy levels (Sailar, 2023).

In other words, the issue is not limited to the Constitutional Court's decision. The aftermath of this case has led to the decontextualization of information on social media. Therefore, it is crucial to examine how news regarding the MK decision is interpreted on social media. This article aims to explore how news of the Constitutional Court's decision is recontextualized into social media posts from the perspective of Fairclough's (1995)

critical discourse analysis. The analysis includes text dimensions, discourse practices, and social practices.

Political issues surrounding media representation of legal decisions in Indonesia have been the subject of scientific attention in critical discourse analysis. The first study focuses on the positioning of the identity of believers in the media, particularly after the Constitutional Court decision (Rahman, 2019). This research employs a subaltern studies approach and Teun A. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model to investigate how the media, particularly Republika Online, which is close to the Muslim community, constructs and positions the identity of Faith Believers. Additionally, the study analyzes the discourse surrounding the Indonesian Supreme Court's decision to revoke the law that banned former corruptors from running for legislative office (Aladdin, 2018). This study employs Sara Mills' Critical Discourse Analysis method and interviews with Republika's Editor-in-Chief and senior journalists to examine the media's stance on court decisions. The findings indicate that Republika favors the Supreme Court's decision for various reasons. The third research analyzes the Tirto.id newspaper report titled 'Submitting a Lawsuit from the National Victims Agency to the Constitutional Court (MK)' using Van Dijk Model of Critical Discourse Analysis (Goserira, 2019). The research reveals the development of three discourses in reporting and media claims to stand above and for all groups, as well as being non-partisan. These studies contribute to understanding media discourse and its impact on identity construction and social issues in Indonesia.

However, there are still research gaps that need to be addressed. Firstly, more research is required to understand the impact of media discourse on the construction and positioning of social values, particularly in the context of civil rights and social integration. Secondly, it is important to investigate the influence of media affiliation, such as religious or political groups, on the representation of legal decisions and their implications for the wider community's social life. Furthermore, there is a research gap in comprehending the media's influence on public opinion and discourse regarding significant events, such as elections and related legal decisions, through non-news texts, such as social media. Additionally, previous studies have not utilized Fairclough's approach in examining media through critical discourse analysis. This research gap presents an opportunity for this study to contribute to the scientific understanding of how the media interprets and recontextualizes legal decisions in Indonesia, as well as their implications for society and

government. The study will utilize Norman Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis perspective.

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective has several advantages in researching media and social media. Some of its strengths include revealing power relations, focusing on social change, and linking discourse to social processes, thereby enabling a deeper understanding of the social implications of language use (Ali & Jassim, 2022; Ervania et al., 2022; Fairclough & Scholz, 2020; Sudarna & Yulina, 2021). Fairclough's approach to CDA provides analytical reference points using a comprehensive framework that combines social science and linguistics in one theoretical approach (Gölbaşı, 2017; Janks, 1997). Additionally, CDA Fairclough is sensitive to power relations and hegemonic relationships in social institutions (Bloome & Talwalkar, 1997), making it highly suitable for researching media and its interpretation in the context of social media.

Fairclough (1995) proposes a three-stage analysis of discourse: description, interpretation, and explanation. These stages are also referred to as the three dimensions of analysis, which involve analyzing the text, its production and consumption, and its interpretation in its socio-cultural context. The first dimension of the framework is text analysis, which includes examining grammar, syntax, lexicon, phonological features, and literary devices.

This research utilizes the appraisal framework (Martin & Rose, 2007) for text analysis. Appraisal in linguistics refers to the use of language to express evaluations of people, their behavior, and related things in a social context. Text analysis using appraisal can systematically show journalists' attitudes, judgments, and emotions in compiling a recontextualization of the Constitutional Court's decision. The appraisal framework comprises three main concepts: attitude, graduation, and engagement. Attitude refers to the use of language to express a person's positive or negative evaluation, both in the form of emotions (*affect*) and assessments of human behavior (*judgement*) and objects, including events and phenomena that occur in the world (*appreciation*). The media's assessment and depiction of the Constitutional Court's decision can be comprehensively explained by analyzing attitude tools. Graduation, which refers to the use of language to express the intensity or strength of an attitude or assessment, is also relevant. Finally, engagement refers to the role of language in managing interpersonal relationships and positioning, including how journalists influence and persuade readers to believe in the social value being

presented. These social values encompass the evaluation or framing of the Constitutional Court's decision. Thus, the appraisal concept and framework provide a systematic approach to explore how journalistic language is used to express appraisals and recontextualize social values on the issue of MK decisions.

The second dimension involves analyzing discursive practices or discourse related to the influence of the social context on the text, including the social actors involved, as well as their roles and ideologies. In other words, this stage aims to establish a relationship between the interpretation of the text and the context. The context in question consists of the situation and intertextuality (Sumarlam, 2016). Situational context refers to the social influence on the text, while intertextuality refers to the consistency of values conveyed by each text in its role of describing an issue holistically. Thus, the interpretation of the Constitutional Court's decision and its recontextualization on social media should be based not only on the text's form but also on its connection to the social context, including its relationship to the 2024 presidential election and its implications for law enforcement in Indonesia. Furthermore, this text will explain intertextuality and how the recontextualization of MK decision issues in social media is produced chronologically through dynamic social processes in society.

The following dimension involves analyzing the social context in which texts are produced and consumed, including the power relations, social structures, and cultural norms that shape that discourse. In this final stage, the interpretation results are explained with reference to the socio-cultural conditions surrounding the production of the text. Fairclough (1989, 2002) identifies three socio-cultural conditions: situational, institutional, and social. Situational conditions refer to the specific circumstances in which the text was created. In this case, the social media text was created in response to the Constitutional Court's decision, which has generated both support and opposition. Furthermore, institutional conditions refer to the influence of organizational institutions on the texts produced. In this case, it is clearly related to the legal institution of the Constitutional Court. Finally, social factors refer to macro aspects of society, such as political and economic systems, as well as societal culture. Observers have stated that the Constitutional Court's decision creates a new polemic.

METHODS

Fairclough's CDA framework, as described, is a comprehensive approach to analyzing the discourse of MK decisions that allows researchers to holistically examine the text, its production and consumption, and its social context. Furthermore, CDA is seen as an approach that is always multidisciplinary in nature, with a focus that consists of action, context, history, power, and ideology (Badara, 2012; Eriyanto, 2001; Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Sumarlam, 2016; Van Dijk, 1997). This approach also allows researchers to uncover hidden meanings and power relations in the discourse of MK decisions, providing a deeper understanding of the social implications of language use. The stages of description, interpretation and explanation are also data analysis techniques. Furthermore, as mentioned at the beginning, this research was a qualitative critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995) on the social media X accounts @kompascom and @tvonenews. The posts studied as data source were about news about the Constitutional Court decision during the registration period for presidential and vice-presidential candidates from October 25, 2023 to November 13, 2023. This was based on the phenomenon that the decision of the Constitutional Court had a great influence on the nomination of one of the pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This is also considered to be the root of the polemic that has arisen. Then, purposefully, this research data included fragments of news text on social media accounts that represent the recontextualization of news about the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the conditions for presidential and vice-presidential candidates and their context. The posts studied are still publicly accessible until at least the beginning of December 2023, when data collection begins. The selection of posts was based on their popularity, so only those that have a large impact on society were analyzed. This was done by using the advanced search function on X's social media using keywords related to the Constitutional Court's decision.

RESULTS

This section presents a recontextualization analysis of news about the Constitutional Court's decision and other related parties and institutions. The presentation begins with a description of the evaluation system of the text, followed by its interpretation and further explanation.

Description

The analysis of the textual dimensions in the social media posts of @kompascom and @tvonenews shows different tendencies in the form of recontextualization of the MK decisions. Kompas tends to report the issue of the Constitutional Court decision as something negative. This was conveyed by using attitudinal aspects that contain negative values. This assessment is conveyed through quotes/sources other than the journalist (*heterogloss*) or directly through the journalist's own opinion (*monogloss*). The graduation aspect is not very common in the findings, so its role in shaping the recontextualization of the Constitutional Court's decision is not significant. Furthermore, the negative evaluations, in order from the most prominent, consist of several aspects, namely *negative quality*, *negative propriety*, and *negative happiness*. From these findings, it is known that Kompas has a complete variety of *attitude* assessment patterns using *affect* (feelings), *judgment* (behavior), and *appreciation* (objects/events). In the following, these aspects are explained one by one, complete with sample data.

> *Pencalonan Gibran sebagai cawapres* ***berhadapan dengan masalah yuridis***. (Gibran's candidacy as vice presidential candidate **faces legal problems**.)(mon/-qua)
>
> *Sekjen PDI-P Hasto Kristiyanto menilai, pencalonan Gibran sebagai bacawapres Prabowo* ***terjadi karena adanya rekayasa hukum di MK***. (PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristiyanto assessed that Gibran's candidacy as Prabowo's vice presidential candidate **occurred because of legal engineering at the Constitutional Court**.)(het/-qua)

The two data examples above are a form of *negative quality* evaluation, i.e., a negative evaluation or appraisal of objects/events that elicit an aversive response. In this case, both examples (mon/-qua=*monogloss*/*negative quality*, het/-qua=*heterogloss*/*negative quality*) contain negative evaluations of Gibran's candidacy as a vice presidential candidate. In other words, Kompas linked the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates to Gibran's candidacy as a vice-presidential candidate. Moreover, the Constitutional Court's decision was also described as a "legal problem" and the result of "legal engineering at the Constitutional Court". It should also be noted that in the *heterogloss* data above, journalists quoted the words of PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristiyanto, a politician whose political position is at odds with Prabowo's and who plans to nominate Gibran as his vice presidential candidate. The selection of evaluative sources

like this also illustrates the evaluation that is used as a reference for recontextualizing the Constitutional Court's decision.

> … *pamannya yang ikut mengambil putusan itu dinyatakan* ***melanggar etik***. (... his uncle who took part in making the decision was declared **to have violated ethics**.)(mon/-pro)
>
> *Gibran dinilai* ***mendaftar jadi cawapres lewat putusan MK yang bermasalah*** (Gibran is considered **to have registered as vice presidential candidate through a problematic Constitutional Court decision**)(het/-pro)

Negative propriety is a type of negative evaluation of human behavior related to moral decency and ethics. From this data, it can be seen that journalists evaluate Anwar Usman negatively through the phrase "violated ethics". Furthermore, the *heteroglossic* evaluation refers to Gibran's action or behavior, which is referred to in the data as "registered as vice presidential candidate through a problematic Constitutional Court decision". Thus, this data recontextualizes the decision of the Constitutional Court into a negative evaluation of two entities, the first being Anwar Usman and the second being Gibran. Equally important, the *heteroglossic* evaluation of the data seems to make use of the passive lexicon "considered". The use of such *heteroglossic* items results in evaluations that lack clarity of source.

> *Goenawan Mohamad yang dulu mendukung Jokowi itu* ***menitikkan air mata*** *saat menceritakan keresahan hatinya terkait putusan MK dan pencalonan Gibran.* (Goenawan Mohamad, who used to support Jokowi, **shed tears** when he talked about his anxiety regarding the Constitutional Court's decision and Gibran's candidacy.)(mon/-hap)

Furthermore, this type of *negative happiness* assessment was also found in the Kompas posting data. This type of evaluation refers to negative evaluations that are reflected through the lexicon or behavior that shows sadness. In this data, it is known that Goenawan Mohamad, who was previously known as a supporter of Jokowi, was said to have "shed tears", which means to feel very sad. This sadness is not only related to the decision of the Constitutional Court, but also to Gibran's candidacy. Thus, through the use of *negative happiness*, the Kompas journalists recontextualized both the Constitutional Court's decision and Gibran's candidacy as a vice presidential candidate as something sad. No less importantly, *negative happiness* evaluations were not found to be conveyed heteroglossically. This means that these evaluations come directly from journalists.

Evaluations like these have the potential to eliminate the impression of objectivity in news reporting. However, the discovery of such evaluation actually shows the recontextualization of the Constitutional Court's decision that comes from the media itself, in this case Kompas.

Thus, based on the above description, it can be concluded that Kompas, through its X social media account, recontextualizes the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision as a sad thing and at the same time creates legal problems resulting from legal engineering in order to pave the way for Gibran to register as a vice presidential candidate.

In addition, TVOne, in contrast to Kompas, generally does not have a completely negative assessment of the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision. In other words, the media implement the attitude aspect on the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision not only negatively, but also positively. As in the case of Kompas, TVOne's evaluation is also conveyed through quotes/sources other than journalists (*heterogloss*) and directly through the journalists' own opinions (*monogloss*), with the implementation of *graduation* being insignificant. Furthermore, TVOne's evaluation is represented through several aspects of *attitude*, namely *negative normality*, *positive tenacity*, *positive propriety*, *negative propriety*, and *negative quality*. At first glance, it appears that this evaluation trend is different from the findings of Kompas. The first difference is that TVOne has more types of evaluations, there are 5 types, both positive and negative, compared to Kompas which has only 3 and all of them are negative. However, the evaluation results from TVOne are not more varied than Kompas because the 5 types of *attitudes* found are dominated by four types of behavioral evaluation (*judgment*). There is only one type of evaluation of objects/events (*appreciation*) and no emotional aspects (*afffect*). Below is the description of these aspects accompanied by sample data.

> ***Nasib Gibran Luntang-lantung*** *karena PKPU Belum Direvisi* (**Gibran's fate is in limbo** because PKPU has not been revised)(mon/-nor)

The controversy over the Constitutional Court's decision, according to TVOne, left Gibran with the fate of being "in limbo". In other words, the focus of the news on TVOne via X's social media portrayed the Constitutional Court's decision as an incident that was detrimental to Gibran. The negative aspect of *normality* refers to the misfortune Gibran feels. Furthermore, in the data, such evaluations are not found in *heterogloss*, but only in *monogloss*. This means that this evaluation is a direct evaluation of the TVOne journalists.

Wakil Ketua Umum Partai Gerindra Budisatrio Djiwandono ***menegaskan*** *tidak akan mengganti Gibran Rakabuming Raka sebagai bakal cawapres Prabowo Subianto.* (Deputy Chairman of the Gerindra Party, Budisatrio Djiwandono, **affirm** that he would not replace Gibran Rakabuming Raka as Prabowo Subianto's vice presidential candidate.)(mon/+ten)

*"**Tidak ya, tidak sama sekali**," tegas Budi* ("**No, not at all,**" said Budi)(het/+ten)

This type of *attitude judgment tenacity* shows how firm, certain, or steadfast a person is. In this case, the deputy chairman of the Gerindra Party, Budisatrio Djiwandono, was positively described as someone who is firm and persistent in not replacing Gibran as vice presidential candidate, referring to the results of the Constitutional Court's decision. Through such assessments, it can be seen that TVOne recontextualizes the decision of the Constitutional Court into the struggle of the Prabowo camp, represented by the quoted Budisatrio, to defend Gibran as Prabowo's vice presidential candidate. Returning to the findings in Kompas, which quoted PDI-P Secretary General Hasto Kristiyanto, it was as if TVOne was a rival and quoted someone from the opposite political position, namely Gerindra Party Deputy Chairman Budisatrio Djiwandono. With findings like this, it is known that the source of news quotes taken by journalists represents their point of view on an issue.

Pamannya Diberhentikan dari Jabatan Ketua MK, Gibran Santai: ***Saya Hormati*** (His Uncle Dismissed from the Position of Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Gibran Relaxes: **I Respect**)(mon/+pro)

Ketua KPU: ***Ikut MK*** (KPU Chairman: **Follow MK**)(het/+pro)

Anwar ***terbukti melanggar etik*** *terkait putusan batas usia capres-cawapres yang membuat Gibran bisa maju di Pilpres 2024.* (Anwar was **proven to have violated ethics** regarding the decision on the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates which allowed Gibran to run for the 2024 presidential election.)(mon/-pro)

Anwar Usman angkat bicara terkait tuduhan terhadap dirinya yang dinilai ***memuluskan jalan untuk keponakannya*** (Anwar Usman spoke out regarding the accusations against him which considered **paving the way for his nephew**)(het/-pro)

Furthermore, the aspect of assessing politeness, ethics and legal compliance, namely *propriety*, is implemented by TVOne journalists in *monogloss* and *heterogloss*, positive and negative ways. Although the coverage appears balanced at first glance, the content of the evaluation needs to be explained in order to understand the direction of the recontextualization that is being constructed. First, in a positive way, the assessment was directed at Gibran in *monogloss* and the chairman of the KPU in *heterogloss*, who was judged to respect and follow the decision of the Constitutional Court. In these findings, this is considered a positive thing because it follows, respects and obeys the law. Furthermore, in both *monogloss* and *heterogloss*, *negative propriety* assessments were directed at Anwar Usman because he was "proven to have violated ethics" and was judged to be "paving the way for his nephew". Similar to what was found in Kompas, the use of "considered" *heterogloss* items gives the impression of being less objective because it does not clearly indicate who is considering them.

> … *terkait putusan batas usia capres-cawapres yang* ***membuat Gibran bisa maju di Pilpres 2024***. (… regarding the decision on the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates which **allows Gibran to be able to run for the 2024 presidential election.**)(mon/-qua)
>
> *Menurut Usman, hal itu adalah* ***fitnah yang keji*** (According to Usman, this is a **cruel slander**)(het/-qua)

The final textual analysis in X TVOne's social media coverage is represented by *negative quality*. This type of evaluation is aimed at objects/events/phenomena. In this case, what was negatively evaluated was the Constitutional Court's decision and the assumption that the Constitutional Court's decision was intended to allow Gibran to run as a vice-presidential candidate. TVOne journalists considered the MK's decision to "allows Gibran to be able to run for the 2024 presidential election". This phrase is interesting, because although it is generally negative, the polarity of the negativity seems subtle. By using the words "allows" and "able", the journalists seem to remove the connection between the Constitutional Court's decision and Gibran's candidacy as a vice presidential candidate. In other words, the Constitutional Court's decision is one event, while Gibran's candidacy is another event, which according to TVOne is only something logical, but does not directly show a conscious relationship between Anwar Usman, the Constitutional Court's decision, and Gibran's candidacy.

Thus, according to the most significant assessment, it can be concluded that TVOne, through its X social media account, recontextualized the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision as something detrimental to Gibran and at the same time posed a challenge to Prabowo's camp, which insisted on relying on the legal decision to continue nominating Gibran as a vice presidential candidate.

Interpretation

Interpretation involves an objective analysis of the relationship between texts and discourse practices by considering texts as production processes and discourse practices. From there, the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision and its recontextualization in social media can be interpreted not only on the basis of the form of the text, but also in relation to its implications for the social context. In addition, the intertextuality aspect is explained in terms of how the recontextualization of MK decision issues in social media is produced chronologically following dynamic social processes in society. The interpretive findings will be concluded through the discovery of common threads between interpretive sources and interpretive principles (Fairclough, 1989; Sumarlam, 2016).

The interpretation of the social context surrounding the issue of the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates is based on social variables, including the conditions and reactions of society in facing the text. In this case, the condition and reaction of the public can be known through the comments following the posts on social media X @kompascom and @TVOneNews. As explained earlier, Kompas recontextualized the decision of the Constitutional Court as something negative. This led to both positive reactions, including praise for Kompas for daring to criticize the government, and negative reactions, including criticism of the PDIP secretary-general and Goenawan Mohamad, who was seen as prioritizing political interests in his comments on the Constitutional Court decision. On the other hand, TVOne's assessment, which was mixed between positive and negative, was seen as indecisive, and some even suggested that the media was part of Prabowo's team. Apart from that, Anwar Usman was also strongly criticized and Gibran thought that his candidacy should be canceled. From the interpretation of the social context, it can be seen that people who are active in social media, especially those who follow the issue of the Constitutional Court decision, almost all agree that the issue of the Constitutional Court decision creates a national problem.

Furthermore, discourse practices are further explained through a description of intertextuality relations, which represent the dynamic process of discourse in following social developments in society. In October 2023, the Indonesian Constitutional Court decided not to lower the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates, but added an exception that allows candidates who have been elected in previous elections, whether as members of the People's Representative Council/Regional Representative Council (DPR/DPD), governors, or mayors, to run for office even if they have not yet reached the age of 40. The Court received seven petitions for review calling for the age limit to be lowered to 35, but the Court rejected the arguments. In its social media coverage of the issue, Kompas has always said from the beginning that the decision created a national problem that negatively affected the continuity of democracy. As explained in the text analysis, Kompas embellished the report by quoting the assessments of the PDIP secretary-general and Goenawan Mohamad, both of whom were against the Constitutional Court's decision. Meanwhile, TVOne has a different assessment from Kompas. The Constitutional Court's decision is seen as detrimental to Gibran and a test for Prabowo's camp. In its explanations on social media, TVOne repeatedly quoted parties from the Prabowo camp, thus reinforcing the recontextualization that is being built.

Explanation

Explanation is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practice and social context (socio-cultural practice analysis). Explanation aims to find the common thread of situational, institutional, and social explanations based on the results of analysis at the description and interpretation stages.

Process of Situation Change

On Monday, October 16, 2023, the Constitutional Court (MK) held four deliberative sessions of judges (RPH) before finally granting the lawsuit regarding the age limit requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates as stipulated in the Electoral Law No. 7 of 2017. On that day, the Constitutional Judges read the decisions on six cases: 29/PUU-XXI/2023, 51/PUU-XXI/2023, 55/PUU-XXI/2023, 90/PUU-XXI/2023, 91/PUU-XXI/2023, and 92/PUU-XXI/2023. Of the six cases, only one was partially granted. Specifically, Case No. 90 regulates the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, which requires candidates to be at least 40 years old or have experience as a regional head. The constitutional judges held a total of three sessions. This

process can be used chronologically as a reference for changes in the situation of social practices from the discourse on the decisions of the Constitutional Court.

On September 19, 2023, an RPH was conducted by eight Constitutional Court judges for cases number 29, 51 and 55. The judges present were Saldi Isra, Arief Hidayat, Manahan MP Sitompul, Suhartoyo, Wahiduddin Adams, Enny Nurbaningsih, Daniel Yusmic P Foekh and M Guntur Hamzah. The Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, was not present at the meeting. Next, the Constitutional Court judges held a hearing on Case No. 90 on September 21, 5, and 9, 2023. Nine judges attended the hearing, including Anwar Usman.

Finally, the Constitutional Court announced its decision on six cases related to the minimum age requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The Court rejected three cases (29, 51, and 55) and could not accept two cases (91 and 92). Only one case (number 90) was accepted. In case number 90, the Constitutional Court ruled that article 169 letter q of the Electoral Law 7/2017, which sets the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice presidential candidates at 40 years, is unconstitutional and has no binding legal force. The Constitutional Court amended it to require that candidates be at least 40 years old or have previously held positions elected through general elections, including elections for regional chiefs. Thus, individuals under the age of 40 can run for president or vice president if they have experience as a regional head or have held other elected positions. This decision was colored by the dissenting opinions of four judges, namely Wahiduddin Adams, Saldi Isra, Arief Hidayat and Suhartoyo. There were also concurring opinions from two judges: Enny Nurbaningsih and Daniel Yusmic P. Foekh.

Process of Institutional Change

The Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates has implications for institutional conditions and political stabilization in Indonesia. One of them is a change in institutional processes in the relevant institutions. In critical discourse analysis, decisions that generate controversy and raise questions about the role of the judiciary in shaping the country's political landscape need to be further explained through an analysis of the process of institutional change.

The Constitutional Court's decision raises concerns about the institution's independence, its ability to make fair decisions, and its impact on the presidential election and the future direction of Indonesian politics. The decision is also seen by some legal

experts as an attempt by the end-of-term president to maintain his influence by supporting his defense minister, Prabowo Subianto, to hand over power with President Jokowi's eldest son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is 36 years old. The magnitude of the protests from various sectors of society led to the formation of the MKMK as an ethics council to investigate judges, especially those who voted to change the age limit rules. As a result, the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, was found guilty of committing serious violations of the Code of Ethics relating to integrity, competence, equality, independence, propriety and decency. As a result, Anwar Usman was removed from the position of Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court for this ethical violation. In this way, there is a change in the institutional process of the institution. However, legal expert Abdul Chair Ramadhan explained that the Ethics Council does not have the authority to overturn the decision of the Constitutional Court. Therefore, Gibran can still officially contest the 2024 presidential election by running as Prabowo's running mate.

No less important from a law enforcement perspective, the instability of the Constitutional Court's institutions may give rise to the belief that the Constitution can be controlled by political values, even though legal and political positions may not benefit certain groups. Therefore, such incidents are considered to have the potential to shake democracy and threaten the strengthening of democracy in Indonesia. The implication is that institutional conditions and stabilization are threatened, and also have the potential to affect the political landscape, the rule of law, and the reputation of elections. Therefore, Kompas' recontextualization of the Constitutional Court's decision received more support and sympathy than TVOne's, because in this case Kompas was more successful in representing the voice of the wider community in reporting the dynamic process that occurred at the Constitutional Court.

Process of Social Change

The Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates has several implications for changing and stabilizing social values. Some of these implications are:

1. *Public opinion*: This decision caused mixed reactions from the public, with some supporting the lowering of the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates and others opposing it for various reasons. The most popular reason is that the Constitutional Court's decision is suspected to be conditioned by political

interests ahead of the 2024 presidential elections. This kind of division in public opinion, if not carefully suppressed, has the potential to cause unrest and social tension.

2. *Political polarization*: This decision contributes to the creation of political polarization because it is seen as an attempt by the outgoing president to maintain his influence and support his chosen candidate. This would lead to further polarization of political views and deeper divisions between opposing factions, potentially affecting social stability.
3. *Youth participation*: This decision has attracted great attention from young people who are concerned about their political representation and participation in elections. The involvement of young people in politics, accompanied by social movements, can have positive or negative effects on social stability, depending on the direction of their activities and the extent of their influence and the attitude of the government.
4. *Rule of Law*: This ruling raises concerns about the integrity of the rule of law in Indonesia, as the Constitutional Court's decision could be seen as an attempt to manipulate the Constitution for political purposes. The credibility of the Constitution and the rule of law will be diminished, which could have a long-term impact on social stability and the overall political environment.

Finally, the Constitutional Court's decision on the age limit for presidential and vice presidential candidates in Indonesia has the potential to influence change and stabilization of social values in several areas, including public opinion, political polarization, youth participation, which is key to balancing stability and change, and the supremacy of the law. The consequences of these choices will depend on how stakeholders respond to and address existing challenges, and whether they can find ways to manage potential negative impacts and drive positive changes in the political landscape. In addition to stakeholders, the media also has an important role to play in providing objective information. In this issue, based on the analysis and text description, it can be seen that Kompas is bolder in criticizing the government than TVOne. Another implication is that in the context of the Constitutional Court's decision, Kompas tends to be against it while TVOne tends to be pro-government.

DISCUSSION

The different atmosphere and form of recontextualization of the Constitutional Court's decision in terms of description as well as interpretation by Kompas and TVOne is proof that the two media have different, even opposing ideologies (Rivaldi & Mardikantoro, 2018; Soedarsono et al., 2023; Tampubolon et al., 2021). From linguistic perspective, it has been found that recontextualization in both media is mostly conveyed using *monogloss*. This means that the evaluation is mostly from the journalist without citing other sources.

Monogloss clauses are frequently used in news articles, especially when the author is expressing their own opinions or thoughts (Widiastuti et al., 2015). This can simplify the evaluation process for the audience, making it easier for them to understand the news source's stance on a given issue. However, this limitation can also restrict the range of perspectives and opinions presented in the news, potentially hindering a comprehensive understanding of the topic (Lee, 2017). *Monogloss* can promote a specific agenda or viewpoint, which may not reflect the diverse opinions and perspectives of the audience. High usage of *monogloss* in media news can lead to the spread of propaganda or misinformation, as the news source's perspective may be presented as the only valid or correct one (Prastikawati, 2021). A high usage of *monogloss* may indicate a lack of engagement with alternative viewpoints or perspectives on a given issue, potentially resulting in imbalanced. This can lead to a lack of balance and fairness in news reporting, as different opinions and evaluations may not be adequately represented or discussed. According to relevant research, the use of *heterogloss* can assist journalists in maintaining objectivity in their reporting (Razzk & Khalil, 2020; Refnaldi, 2012; Santosa et al., 2014; Yixuan, 2023). Therefore, the recontextualization created by Kompas and TVOne in this context may be perceived as subjective.

Fairclough's approach to CDA is not limited to linguistic analysis. It is a comprehensive and practical method for analyzing news media discourse. CDA applied to news reports can provide insights into underlying sociocultural factors, including the transmission of ideology through discourse. Fairclough's CDA can influence the analysis and understanding of news media, particularly in the context of Indonesian media on social media and the portrayal of events from different sociocultural perspectives. The analysis in this case utilizes the stages of description, interpretation, and explanation in a sequential

and comprehensive manner. It is crucial to maintain the order of these stages due to their interconnectedness. By following these stages, it was determined why Kompas received more public sympathy than TVOne. However, researchers sometimes overlook the advantage of Fairclough's perspective (Asad et al., 2021; Cahyono et al., 2021; Parvin, 2017). They recommended using this perspective, but in practice, only the linguistic aspects of the analysis are examined. Therefore, the analysis does not provide a holistic perspective as it fails to adequately address the social aspects that play a crucial role in shaping discourse.

CONCLUSION

Kompas, via its X social media account, presents the Constitutional Court's decision in a negative light and suggests that legal manipulation was used to facilitate Gibran's registration as a vice presidential candidate, potentially leading to legal complications. In contrast, TVOne's X social media account presented the Constitutional Court's decision as unfavorable to Gibran and as a challenge to Prabowo's camp, which insisted on nominating Gibran as a vice presidential candidate despite the ruling. The coverage of the Constitutional Court's decision in Kompas received more public sympathy than TVOne because the negative portrayal was considered to represent the majority of the public's views on the Constitutional Court's decision.

The understanding about this result has the potential to influence change and stabilization of social values in several areas, including public opinion, political polarization, youth participation, which is key to balancing stability and change, and the supremacy of the law. However, further research is necessary because many researchers are not aware that mass media not only disseminate information through news channels, but also through their social media channels. This has the potential of building news recontextualization.

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