

## Narrative analysis of 'skandal mahkamah keluarga' in Tempo magazine, October 2023

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**Abstract** This research involves a narrative analysis of the news text published in the October 22, 2023, edition of Tempo magazine titled 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi'. The Constitutional Court granted the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, stipulating that they must be at least 40 years old or have experience as a regional head. As the 2024 Presidential General Election drew nearer, the case became highly controversial. This research explores how Tempo framed its narrative in reporting the Constitutional Court Lawsuit, utilising the Algirdas Greimas model for narrative analysis. The study is qualitative and descriptive. The discussion results reveal that in that edition, Tempo, specifically reported the involvement of Anwar Usman, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court. Anwar Usman was portrayed as the party attempting to navigate the lawsuit with various news narratives, such as 'manoeuvring' and 'lobbying,' during the trial process. Tempo aimed to convey the message that the decision raised various complicated issues and reflected the complex dynamics within the Constitutional Court. Tempo, as a news source, plays a critical role in uncovering hidden realities that can only be revealed through in-depth investigation and extracting information from internal sources within the Constitutional Court. This is Tempo's main strength.

**Keywords:** democracy; narrative analysis; 2024 Indonesian election

### INTRODUCTION

On 16 October 2023, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia, Anwar Usman, announced his decision, stating that the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia had approved the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates to be at least 40 years old or to have experience as a regional head. The lawsuit, with case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, was filed by Almas Tsaqibbirru and Arkaan Wahyu, a student at Surakarta University. Ultimately, the decision was considered controversial by various parties (Argawati, 2023). Shortly after the Constitutional Court's decision on the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Anwar Usman faced allegations of violating the code of ethics. One of the reports was filed by the Election Care Advocacy Team. The Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court received 21 reports on alleged violations of the code of ethics and behaviour of constitutional judges in the decision regarding the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates (Argawati, 2023). The Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court determined that Chief Justice Anwar Usman (Reported Judge) had committed a violation, as outlined in the Sapta Karsa Utama Principles of Impartiality, Principles of Integrity, Principles of Proficiency and Equality, Principles of Independence, and Principles of Decency and Decency. Consequently, MKMK (Constitutional Court Ethics Council) dismissed Constitutional Judge Anwar Usman from the position of Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court (Pujianti, 2023).

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As the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election approached, the case gained significant attention and was widely covered by various mass media outlets. Numerous media sources extensively covered the incident. Anwar Usman, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia was perceived to have a conflict of interest due to his relation as President Joko Widodo's brother-in-law. His decision is seen as clearing the path for the Mayor of Solo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, to pursue candidacy as a vice-presidential candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election, as quoted from <https://majalah.tempo.co/> (Oktober 01, 2023).

This incident sparked extensive discussions within the community and drew the attention of numerous parties, both through online platforms and conventional media coverage. Tempo, being a prominent national media outlet, dedicated the cover of its October 22, 2023, edition to the incident with the title 'Skandal Mahkamah Keluarga' shedding light on Anwar Usman's handling of the Constitutional Court's decision. News serves as a representation of an event and has the ability to shape a particular understanding for its public readers (Krisdinanto, 2017). The role of mass communication in social life is very broad, extending beyond campaigns in the context of political communication to permeate every aspect of modern life, making it inseparable from the mass media. In the socialisation process, mass media are often considered to have largely replaced traditional socialisation agents, such as churches, mosques, neighbours, and friends. Mass media instils social values alongside these traditional socialisation agents (Subiakto, 2015). In fact, according to Gerbner, mass media function as parents, teachers, and the official religion of industrial society. Melvin L. De Fleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach state that mass media greatly influences human life (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). The media, through news, can also function as an institution capable of influencing public opinion (Cenderamata & Darmayanti, 2019). The concern felt by the government and society regarding the impact of media is both significant and far-reaching. This is evident from the stringent monitoring actions towards the media, where they are often instructed to correct or revise the news they have broadcasted.

Furthermore, in some cases, the media even face hostility from various parties because the news they publish is perceived to have the potential to shape or influence public opinion significantly. One such example is the Broadcasting Bill (RUU Penyiaran) currently being drafted by the DPR in 2023, which truly threatens the climate of democracy and press freedom in Indonesia. Those in power can potentially use several ambiguous articles that limit civil liberties and public participation. A notable point of contention centres on the provisions of Article 50 B, paragraph 2, letter c concerning the prohibition of investigative journalism coverage. This clearly harms society, as in the scope of combating corruption, journalistic products often serve as an alternative channel to uncover the criminal practices or misconduct of public officials (<https://antikorupsi.org/>). As the fourth pillar of democracy, the media have a strategic and tactical role in building democracy, especially involving the public in its watchdog function (Borisova & Kostov, 2023). These actions reflect deep concerns about how the information disseminated by the media can influence public perceptions and views and illustrate intensive efforts to control and direct the flow of information to maintain social and political stability. News, including online news, are narratives presented in a storied form with a clear sequential order which embodies cause-effect mechanisms (Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020).

The media is considered capable of creating a narrative in a news story, so that the case is demystified so that it does not only find a solved ending. The media only raises an issue if it generates interest in discussing it (Wijaksono, 2020). The media has a considerable role in reflecting and explaining an event, as well as providing meaning and understanding to the public. This happened in the case of the Constitutional Court Decision. The meaning that is organised into a news structure will shape the reader's point of view (Aji et al., 2022). The mass media plays an important role in covering such conflicts that involve large institutions and have high news value. The media has become a forum for the claims of the conflicting parties, this is in line with the function of the mass media itself that is to broadcast information, educate, entertain and influence (Saktiono, 2018). The mass media is one of the factors that play an important role in social and cultural change in society (Kustiawan et al., 2022). This influencing process is conveyed through narrative messages through the tools used by the media in conveying information, one of which is narrative storytelling (Eriyanto, 2013)

Narrative analysis refers to the construction of reality. The depiction tool uses language, how journalists choose words and grammar that affect the hidden meaning in the news that appears. Language is also used as a strategy to display character, image, emphasise something, and hide others. The media's focus on presenting the news can significantly influence people's perceptions (Anggoro et al., 2023). Not all narratives in a news story provide a detailed account of an event's storyline; media generally only highlight specific events that are considered the most interesting and newsworthy (Broden, 2017).

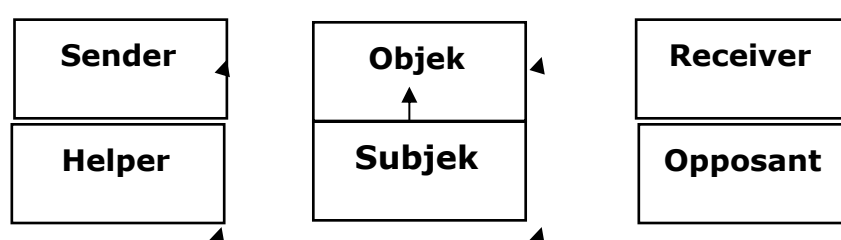
In this study, researchers will investigate how *Tempo* shapes the narrative in its news coverage of the Constitutional Court Decision case regarding the age threshold for presidential candidates. This examination will focus on the October 22, 2023, edition of *Tempo* magazine titled 'Skandal Mahkamah Keluarga', particularly the main report titled 'How Anwar Usman Arranged the Constitutional Court Decision'. The choice of *Tempo* as the research subject is based on its reputation as a mass media outlet that consistently and boldly reports on confidential and crucial events in detail. Additionally, *Tempo*'s distinctive literary style and fearless approach to news reporting are explicitly evident on the magazine cover of each edition. The issue of the Constitutional Court upholding the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, stipulating that they must be at least 40 years old or have experience as a regional head was chosen by the researcher because the issue became very popular at the time the lawsuit was discussed at the Constitutional Court. Indonesia will hold presidential elections in 2024, and the son of the current president, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, is rumoured to be running despite not being under 40 years old. If this lawsuit is granted, then Gibran could run as a presidential or vice-presidential candidate in 2024. The objective of this research is to determine and analyse how *Tempo.co* media narrates news regarding the Constitutional Court Decision related to the age threshold for presidential candidates, utilising the Algirdas Greimas actant model. In a study conducted by Anastasia Yuni Widyaningrum in 2018, titled 'KPK: A Victim of POLRI's Revenge (Narrative Analysis of Greimas' Model on KPK and POLRI Characters in *Tempo* Magazine)', this research attempted to see how Algirdas Greimas' narrative model can be used to read the character relationships that appear in *Tempo*'s news like a fictional story. The results of the study show that the news narrative about KPK and POLRI in *Tempo* Magazine as a news text product, has characteristics that are very similar to fictional stories such as fairy tales or films. Narrative is often referred to as a representation of an event or a series of events that are retold (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018). Extraordinary cases always find a place in the corners of *Tempo* magazine's pages. According to Janet Steele, *Tempo*'s penchant for exploring events that disrupt the peace and tranquillity of society stems from *Tempo*'s aspiration to be a democratic media outlet, with free expression, and to become a voice supporting the interests and justice of the people, much like America's renowned *Time* Magazine (Steele, 2005). Therefore, in this study, to dissect the narrative within the news, the author employed Algirdas Greimas' narrative structure using narrative semiotics. Greimas extended structural theory into a narrative framework, and in his work, he introduced the concept of a narrative unit known as an actant (HS & Parninsih, 2020). By his method, a text as a sign system always consists of a surface structure at the level of words and syntax and a deep structure with an underlying meaning (Julaika & Junaedi, 2023). The researcher chose Algirdas Greimas' theory because it is a structuralist theory used to analyse narrative structure, which emphasises the exploration of characters and their roles in events. This theory makes it possible to examine the relationships between characters in the story through the actant scheme and functional structure. As a result, it facilitates the identification of the main structure of the narrative (Adrian, 2023). Using the actant scheme and its functional structure, the researchers can also identify how different narrative elements interact to convey messages, as well as explore the dynamic relationships between characters in the story (Borisova & Kostov, 2023). This enables a better understanding of how messages are constructed and received in various media contexts.

## METHODOLOGY

In this study, researchers used the narrative analysis method. The narrative analysis method or better known as narrative analysis is used to understand or to find out how the story and the storyline are made or structured (Ida, 2014). Narrative research is one of the research designs in the qualitative approach (Faizin, 2020). To analyse the narrative in the news, the author adopts Algirdas Greimas' narrative structure, which explains that each character is placed in six positions

in a narrative. The choice of this narrative structure is because there are four advantages in Algirdas Greimas' narrative analysis unit (Eriyanto, 2017; Nasheeda et al., 2019; Sulaiman, 2018): First, it helps understand how knowledge, values, and meanings are produced and disseminated to the public. Second, it helps understand how social reality is depicted through certain perspectives. Third, it enables research to investigate hidden and latent aspects of a media text. Fourth, it helps reflect on specific communities and groups in efforts to change values within society. narrative is an attempt to tell a story or event. Every story must have events in its plot sequence. The series of events that occurred were not arbitrarily created but strung together with other events so that they have a certain meaning (Martilova, 2024).

To understand further how these events influence the overall narrative, it is important to identify the key elements (See Figure 1) such as: First element is the subject, which is the main character; second is the object which is the goal of the subject; third is the sender, the carrier of the value that the subject will use to achieve its goal; fourth is the receiver who receives the value brought by the subject; the fifth is the supporter as the subject's helper in achieving the object, and the last element is the obstacle that hinders the subject in achieving its goal (Eriyanto, in Vebrynda, 2015).



**Figure 1.** Actual Scheme of Algirdas Greimas  
Source:(Eriyanto, 2013)

At the core of the actantial narrative lies the subject's aim to seize a desired object (Greimas et al., 1982). Therefore, the subject can be the performer of a task; for its part, the object is the target or objective. The sender refers to the element initiating the task – one or more concrete persons or more abstract ideas – leading the subject to its task. By doing so, the sender determines the value objectives for the activities and serves as the justifier and motivator for the subject's actions. In turn, the receiver is the element that assesses the success of the subject's action and rewards or punishes the actants at the end of the narrative (Wang & Roberts, 2005). The helper supports the subject and promotes the subject's ability to perform the set task. The opponent is a counterforce that the subject must defeat in order to accomplish the pursued goal (Varjo et al., 2022). Greimas sees a complex relationship between one character and another, which is simply divided into three types of structural relations (Eriyanto, 2013). First, the structural relation between subject versus object (axis of desire). The object is the goal that the subject wants to achieve, where the relationship is a direct relationship that can be clearly observed in a text. Second, the relationship between sender versus receiver (axis of transmission). Here, the sender will provide values, rules or orders so that the object can be achieved, while the recipient is the benefit after the object is successfully achieved by the subject. Third, the structural relationship between supporters versus inhibitors (axis of power). In this axis, the supporter is said to do something to help the subject to achieve the object, and conversely the inhibitor does something to prevent the subject from achieving the object (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018). The object of this research is the narrative of the news text in the main report section of the October 22, 2023, edition of Tempo magazine with the title 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi' with the focus of the news headline titled 'How Anwar Usman Manages the Constitutional Court Decision'. Data validity in a study is very important. To obtain valid results, data triangulation was used to check the validity and reliability of the data (Thurmond, 2001). This triangulation involves using various data sources to confirm the findings, such as the Constitutional Court decision reports available on the official website and several other sources.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Narrative research is a type of qualitative method that is understood from spoken or written texts describing accounts of events which are chronologically connected (Nasheeda et al., 2019). The

media are important information disseminators in society (Meppelink et al., 2022). play a significant role in shaping these narratives. For instance, On 22 October 2023, Tempo.co Magazine featured a cover headline with the headline 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi' which was also accompanied by a headline titled 'How Anwar Usman Arranged the Constitutional Court Decision'. the content of the news tells the chronology of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding Case Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 This lawsuit is related to the age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates which is set at least 40 years old or has experience as a regional head (Argawati, 2023). In the cover headline of the 22 October 2023 edition of Tempo.co, Tempo used the phrase 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi'. The use of the word 'scandal' gives a controversial nuance, Tempo.co also prefers to use the diction MK as an abbreviation of the Family Court instead of the Constitutional Court. The headline has an important role in determining the reader's time. In this case, the media indirectly sells various forms of interesting titles so that their media is read by the public. This is one of the editorial strategies in selling their media (Sukmono, 2021). Tempo.co tried to highlight the dramatic and controversial side of the Constitutional Court's decision through the headlines presented. In this news, Tempo.co starts with an interesting lead and uses a distinctive language style. Tempo has a literary journalism style with narrative techniques (Lestari et al., 2019). In mass media, language cannot simply be interpreted as a tool to narrate events into news alone (Santuso et al., 2023).

*"...Chief Justice Anwar Usman's manoeuvre to change the requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Clearing the way for Gibran Rakabuming Raka..."*  
(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt 22 October 2023).

Tempo crafted the sentence above as the opening for the main report article. Key elements in this excerpt include the 'manoeuvres of the chairman of the Constitutional Court' and 'clearing the way for Gibran Rakabuming Raka'. Tempo.co aims to succinctly capture the essence of its news in a single paragraph, presenting crucial information from the article. This involves detailing Chief Justice Anwar Usman's manoeuvres that altered the requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, ultimately creating an opportunity for Gibran Rakabuming Raka. In the context of the news narrative, it becomes essential to emphasise the reasons behind this change and examine its potential impact on the political dynamics of Indonesia's 2024 elections.

The news is divided into three acts, with the first act commencing by raising a question about Anwar Usman's attendance at a deliberation meeting on September 21, 2023. During this meeting, the Constitutional Court discussed a judicial review request concerning the age limit of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the General Election Law. The petition, filed by solo residents Almas Tsaqibbirru and Arkaan Wahyu, centres around the discussion of petition numbers 90 and 91, which are relevant to Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The inquiry into Anwar Usman's presence arises due to the connection between the discussed petitions and Gibran Rakabuming Raka. The issue of Gibran's potential participation as Prabowo Subianto's Vice Presidential candidate became a prominent topic of discussion, particularly given Gibran's status as Anwar Usman's nephew. If the lawsuit is granted, it could pave the way for Gibran to assume the role of vice president, despite being only 36 years old.

*"...Anwar Usman's presence in the Consultative Meeting of the Constitutional Court judges on Thursday, September 21, made some of the judges surprised..."*  
(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 1 line 1 22 October 2023 edition)

This round focuses on narrating the account of irregularities stemming from the absence of the former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, during the judicial review meeting of cases numbered 29, 51, and 55. This meeting transpired two days prior to September 19, 2023. The essence of these three lawsuits was a plea to the Constitutional Court to reduce the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

During that time, Anwar Usman conveyed a message to Judge Saldi Isra, explaining that he refrained from participating in the Consultative Meeting of Judges (RPH) to prevent potential conflicts of interest. However, on September 21, Anwar presented a different explanation, attributing his absence from the earlier meeting to a stomach ache. Despite the meeting concluding without a decision, several judges, Anwar Usman included, left the possibility open to consider the lawsuit application. Tempo.co sought to elucidate the primary conflict that

unfolded in the trial's first half. In the second half, Tempo.co highlighted the sequence of events linked to the lawsuit filed with the Constitutional Court regarding the age limit of presidential candidates. Additionally, it delved into the manoeuvres and lobbying executed by Chief Justice Anwar Usman during the July-August 2023 period.

*"...In July-August, according to two officials familiar with Anwar Usman's manoeuvres, when the application correction file was completed, the chief justice lobbied other judges to immediately grant the lawsuit..."*

(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 11, line 1 22 October 2023 edition)

Tempo opted to employ the term 'manoeuvre' to characterise the lobbying actions undertaken by Chief Justice Anwar Usman of the Constitutional Court. The utilisation of the term 'manoeuvre' may be perceived as a subjective interpretation evident in the journalist's writing. In this context, 'opinion' is understood as an expression or presentation that carries a sense of subjectivity, extending beyond factual information. While it is generally expected that journalists refrain from conveying personal opinions, their role often involves presenting the viewpoints of others pertinent to the ideas within the story (Elisabeth et al., 2019). Following a sequence of lobbying efforts by Anwar Usman, the Judges Consultative Meeting (RPH) for the first cluster of the age limit lawsuit occurred on 19 September 2023. Tempo.co clarified that during Anwar Usman's absence from the meeting, there was an anticipation that the majority of judges would endorse the lawsuit. Contrary to expectations, many judges who had been subject to Anwar's lobbying held a different perspective and did not approve the lawsuit.

*"...Two days later Anwar scheduled a meeting to discuss the lawsuit filed by Almas Tsaqibbirru and Arkan Wahyu..."*

(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 17, line 1 22 October 2023 edition)

*"...a number of sources said the judges' deliberation meeting took place suddenly or unscheduled. Anwar was present at the meeting. After the meeting was over, Anwar approached one judge after another, including Saldi Isra. Anwar tried to convince them that the lawsuit would not be used by Gibran Rakabuming Raka, his nephew, to run as a vice-presidential candidate..."*

(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 18, line 1 22 October 2023 edition)

In the second half, Tempo.co attempted to explain a series of manoeuvres or lobbying actions taken repeatedly by Anwar Usman. In the third round, Tempo.co's focus shifted to the withdrawal of the petitions in cases number 90 and 91 that occurred on September 26, 2023. Although the lawsuit was initially withdrawn, Almas Tsaqibbirru and Arkan Wahyu cancelled it, expressing their desire to continue the lawsuit. Once again, Tempo.co looks at Anwar Usman's participation in the process of cancelling the withdrawal of the lawsuit.

*"...Anwar Usman is said to have prepared staff to receive the letter cancelling the withdrawal of the lawsuit on a holiday at that time..."*

(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 20, line 1 22 October 2023 edition)

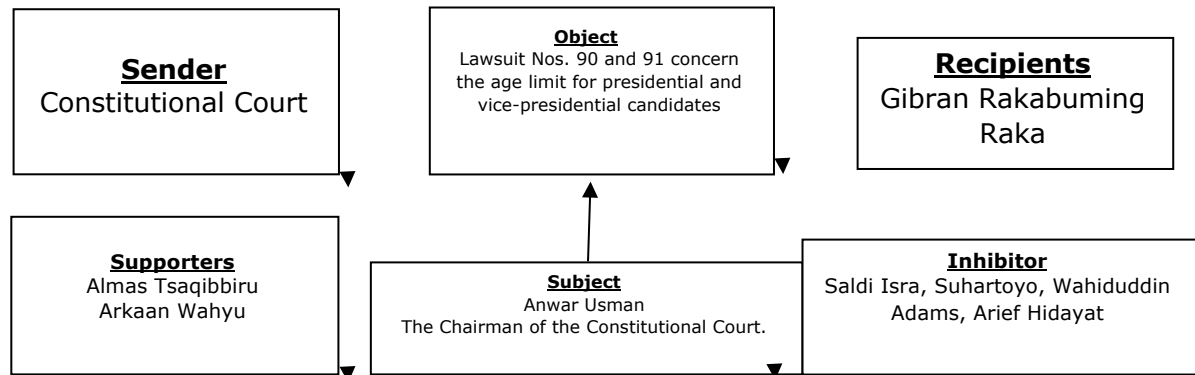
In the concluding segment of Tempo.co's news, it was disclosed that the Constitutional Court had reached a final decision regarding the lawsuit. Arkan Wahyu's petition, which sought a reduction in the age limit for presidential candidates to 21 years old, was rejected by the majority of judges. However, the judges entertained the possibility of accepting Almas's lawsuit, which sought the Constitutional Court to exempt individuals with experience as regional heads from the 40-year age requirement. Ultimately, on 16 October 2023, the Constitutional Court announced its decision that individuals below the age of 40 and serving as regional heads could now qualify as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This decision marked the culmination of the trial process and the resolution of the filed lawsuit, influencing the age requirements for future presidential candidates.

Tempo.co's closing became more interesting with the quotation of Maruarar Siahaan's opinion, which stated that the trial at the Constitutional Court had a formal defect.

*"...the Judiciary Law states that judges who have an interest in a lawsuit cannot participate in the trial because it violates the code of ethics..."*

(Tempo.co Main Report Excerpt Paragraph 48, line 3 22 October 2023 edition)

This opinion adds a dimension of analysis to the trial process and provides a critical view of the formal aspects of the decision-making by the Constitutional Court. By combining news about the final decision with a critical viewpoint from Maruarar Siahaan, Tempo.co gave readers a deeper and more reflective understanding of the overall events reported. A narrative will then be characterised by six roles that Greimas calls the actant model - where this actant model will be helpful to direct the course of the story (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018). The following is an actant model that illustrates the character relationships in the main report 'How Anwar Usman Managed the Court's Decision' (Tempo 22 October 2023).



**Figure 2.** Actant Model on Tempo Tempo Magazine's Main Report on 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi'  
Source: Author (2024)

In the Figure 2 actant model, there are eight key figures: (1) Anwar Usman, the Chairman of the Constitutional Court (MK); (2) Almas Tsaqibbiru; (3) Arkaan Wahyu; (4) Gibran Rakabuming; (5) Saldi Isra; (6) Suhartoyo; (7) Wahiduddin Adams; (8) Arief Hidayat, including five individuals from the Constitutional Court. However, the primary focus of the reporting lies on Anwar Usman, the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court (MK). Serving as the Chairman of the Constitutional Court (MK), Anwar Usman is the central figure tasked with overseeing Lawsuits Nos. 90 and 91 related to the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The object of this legal proceeding takes centre stage in the actant journey, fostering dynamics among the parties initiating the lawsuit and those involved in the Constitutional Court's decision. Gibran Rakabuming, as the recipient, emerges as a figure who may experience the impact or consequences of the Constitutional Court's decision regarding the lawsuit.

Furthermore, the analysis of the actant model comprises three parts (Wang & Roberts, 2005). Greimas discerns connections between characters, classifying them into three types of structural relations (Eriyanto, 2013). First, the structural relation between subject and object, this relation is also called the relation of desire or axis of desire (Eriyanto, 2013). In the news, Anwar Usman is portrayed as a Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court who is eager to pass the lawsuit on the age requirements of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

*"...The Chairman of the Constitutional Court participated in discussing and deciding the two cases a quo lawsuit 90 and 91. It is an action that I think is beyond reason, said Arief Hidayat..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 4, line 2 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

*"...According to the same source, during the deliberation, a number of judges, including Anwar Usman, opened the opportunity to accept the lawsuit filed by Almas Tsaqibbiru..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 9, line 2 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

*"...In July-August, according to two officials familiar with Anwar Usman's manoeuvring, when the case was completed, the chief justice lobbied other judges to grant the petition immediately..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 12, line 1 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

*"...Three judges accepted, two accepted the concurring opinion, and four rejected the dissenting opinion. Those who accepted were Anwar Usman, M. Guntur Hamzah, and Manahan Sitompul..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 41, line 3 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

In the news, Tempo.co aimed to portray the Constitutional Court Chief Justice, Anwar Usman, as a figure highly motivated to push through the lawsuit involving Decree Numbers 90 and 91, which pertains to the age limit for presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates. Several quotes illustrate Anwar Usman's active involvement in discussing and deciding the case, even going so far as to lobby other judges for the immediate approval of the lawsuit. The actan model analysis in this paragraph highlights the strong role of Anwar Usman as the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court who insists on advancing a lawsuit related to the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Second, it emphasises the relationship between sender and receiver (axis of transmission) (Eriyanto, 2013). Here, the sender will provide values, rules or orders so that the object can be achieved, while the recipient is the benefit after the object is successfully achieved by the subject (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018). In this section, the sender is the Constitutional Court while the receiver is Gibran Rakabuming Raka in tempo.co news, this relationship is mentioned several times in the news content.

*"...those days 36-year-old Gibran was said to be Prabowo Subianto's vice presidential candidate. President Joko Widodo's eldest son is the nephew of Anwar, who is married to Jokowi's sister, Idayati. If granted, the lawsuit will clear the way for Gibran to become a vice-presidential candidate..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 3 line 1 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

*"...Maruarar Siahaan believes that the trial process at the Constitutional Court is flawed. This is because the Chief Justice Anwar Usman has a conflict of interest because the judicial review provides a red carpet for Gibran Rakabuming Raka, his nephew, to run as a vice-presidential candidate..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 47, line 1 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)

In this case, the Constitutional Court acted as a sender, providing values or decisions related to lawsuit Nos. 90 and 91, which potentially affected Gibran Rakabuming Raka's interests. In the Tempo.co news, the relationship between the two was highlighted several times, creating a striking dynamic in the reporting. Statements from the news reflect this, such as in the third paragraph which mentions that if the lawsuit is granted, Gibran Rakabuming Raka can step forward as a vice-presidential candidate. This shows that the Constitutional Court has the potential to benefit Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Furthermore, in the 47th paragraph, we see Maruarar Siahaan's opinion that the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Anwar Usman, has a conflict of interest because the judicial review could benefit Gibran Rakabuming Raka. President Jokowi's eldest son is the nephew of Chief Justice Anwar Usman.

Next, is the structural relationship between supporters versus inhibitors (axis of power). In this axis, the supporter is said to do something to help the subject to achieve the object, and conversely the inhibitor does something to prevent the subject from achieving the object (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018). In this section, the supporters are M. Guntur Hamzah and Manahan Sitompul. They are the Constitutional Court judges who accepted the number 90 lawsuit in the trial. Meanwhile, the inhibitors are the judges who rejected the decision.

*"...Three judges accepted, two accepted with different arguments (occurring opinion). And four rejected (setting opinion). Those who accepted were Anwar Usman, M. Guntur Hamzah, and Manahan Sitompul. While those who expressed dissenting opinions were Saldi Isra, Suhartoyo, Wahiduddin Adams and Arief hidayat..."*

(Quotation from Tempo.co Main Report Paragraph 40, line 3 Tempo edition 22 October 2023)



The acceptance of the verdict by these three judges ultimately led to the approval of Lawsuit Number 90, allowing citizens under 40 years old to participate in the presidential election if they have been or are currently serving as elected heads through the electoral process, as decided by the Constitutional Court. In Tempo.co's news narrative, it was also noted that a heated debate ensued between Guntur and Wahiduddin Adams, who opposed the lawsuit. Wahiduddin believed that the exception did not adhere to the principle of justice for regional heads who served without an election, such as the Governor of Yogyakarta. If the Governor of Yogyakarta is under 40 years old, they cannot qualify as a presidential or vice-presidential candidate. The decision mirrors the intricate dynamics within the Court, where contrasting perspectives underscore the potential controversy or legal complexity of the case. This news creates a strong impression that behind the Constitutional Court's decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023, there is an agenda to facilitate the nomination of Gibran Rakabuming Raka as Vice President. There is a force behind this decision that paves the way for Gibran's vice-presidential candidacy scenario and that is exactly what happened. The reasoning of Constitutional Court Judge Wahiduddin Adams was ignored, even though the decision potentially unfairly encroaches on the legislative authority of the DPR and the Government. Therefore, this news reinforces the impression that there is indeed a significant power within the Constitutional Court pushing for a decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Tempo's reporting constructs the social reality that behind Constitutional Court decision No. 90, there is a hidden political agenda, such as that the Constitutional Court is legally paving the way for Gibran's nomination as Vice President. In other words, Tempo indicates that there is a force pushing for a decision to facilitate Gibran's vice-presidential candidacy scenario. The construction of meaning is shaped by the media's news agenda and various public doubts expressed (Barrios-Rubio & Fajardo Valencia, 2022). Over time, Tempo's allegations have come true. The reasoning of Constitutional Court Judge Wahiduddin Adams was ignored. The decision allows candidates under the age of 40, provided they have held or are currently holding an elected position through an election, including regional head elections. However, this decision potentially unfairly infringes on the legislative authority of the DPR and the Government. Therefore, the news shows that Tempo can construct social reality.

## **CONCLUSION**

The 22 October 2023 edition of Tempo featured a cover headline titled 'Skandal Mahkamah Konstitusi' complemented by a headline titled 'How Anwar Usman Arranged the Constitutional Court Decision'. In this edition, Tempo specifically reported on the involvement of Anwar Usman, the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court (MK), in the decision. Anwar Usman is deemed to have a conflict of interest due to being President Joko Widodo's brother-in-law, and his decision is perceived as supporting Solo Mayor Gibran Rakabuming Raka's bid to run as a vice-presidential candidate in the 2024 presidential election. In Tempo's reporting, Anwar Usman was portrayed as the party attempting to navigate the lawsuit with various news narratives such as 'manoeuvring and 'lobbying' during the trial process. Tempo aimed to convey the message that the decision in Case 90/PUU-XXI/2023 raises various complicated issues and reflects the intricate dynamics within the Constitutional Court. This point was underscored in the news closing by quoting the opinion of Maruarar Siahaan, who stated that the trial at the Constitutional Court had formal defects. By illustrating the roles of actants in the news narrative, the social reality surrounding the Constitutional Court's decision can be analysed using Greimas's actantial and functional models. In this study, Tempo is viewed not only as a news deliverer but also as a presenter of a theoretical framework that reveals the dynamics of power and interests. Thus, theoretical analysis based on Greimas's actantial and functional models provides deep insights into how Tempo constructs news and uncovers the dynamics and conflicts of interest in the decision-making process at the Constitutional Court. Tempo plays a critical role in uncovering hidden realities that can only be revealed through in-depth investigation and extracting information from internal sources within the Constitutional Court and this is Tempo's main strength.

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