

The Politics of Electric Vehicle Subsidies in Indonesia: Actors, Agenda, and Issues

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Abstract:

In light of the worldwide determination to address the consequences of climate change, the Indonesian government has established a goal of achieving carbon neutrality by the year 2060. The transportation sector in Indonesia is a significant source of carbon emissions due to its extensive reliance on fossil fuel consumption. In response to this challenge, the Indonesian government has implemented measures to expedite the motor vehicle electrification program by introducing a subsidy policy aimed at facilitating the public's acquisition of electric vehicles. The formulation of this strategy initiated a sequence of discussions within the public domain. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the many actors involved and the process of discourse formation within the discussion, this study has undertaken the collection of 198 stakeholder statements as presented in articles published by national mass media outlets throughout the period spanning from January 2023 to June 2023. This statement mapped with the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory to find the network of discourse and ideas as the data that was subsequently subjected to analysis utilizing the Discourse Network Analysis. The findings of this study indicate that the discourse surrounding the subsidy program for electric vehicles gave rise to actor network groups that advocated investment and concerns related to environmental sustainability. The author examines the limitations to the interconnections between theoretical frameworks empirical evidence in shaping the discourse surrounding the dynamics of network politics in relation to electric vehicle subsidies in Indonesia.

Keywords:

Subsidies Policy; Electric Vehicles; Investment; Environmental Sustainability

Korespodensi:

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Introduction

The substantial increase in population has led to a corresponding rise in daily consumption and economic activities, resulting in a heightened need for energy resources. The majority of nations, including Indonesia, depend on fossil fuels derived from petroleum or coal as their primary energy source for conducting people activities (Sahdarani, Ponka and Oktaviani, 2020). These activities encompass a wide range of sectors, including home operations, infrastructure development, transportation, industrial activities, and electricity generation. Regrettably, the utilization of fossil energy gives rise to environmental concerns, including climate change and global warming, as a result of neglecting the imperative of prioritizing sustainability. According to a recent study conducted by Yuniza, Pratama and Ramadhaniati (2021), it has been found that the transportation sector in Indonesia is responsible for around 15% of the country's greenhouse gas emissions. This significant contribution can be attributed to the combustion of fossil fuels in the transportation sector, which releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

The Indonesian government is cognizant of mitigating the primary ramifications of environmental change. Indonesia has made significant contributions towards the attainment of sustainable development goals by endorsing the Kyoto Protocol in 2004 and the Paris Agreement in 2015, so demonstrating its dedication to addressing the issue of climate change (Nursulistyo, Aryani and Bandi, 2022). Indonesia implemented the Law (UU) Number 17 of 2004 with the main concern of Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention On Climate Change (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan, 2004). As an international treaty to exclusively reduce greenhouse gas emissions and enhance the sinks of carbon, Indonesia has broadened its effort in achieving the sustainable development goals agenda (Murdiyarso, 2004).

Indonesia also has shown interest in dedication to addressing the issue of climate change with the Paris Agreement in 2015 (Nursulistyo, Aryani and Bandi, 2022). This agreement is the continuation act of Indonesia's government to the Kyoto Protocol in 2004, which makes them required to submit nationally determined contributions to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in addressing climate change. Therefore, the Institute for Essential Services Reform has calculated the energy sector including transportation to keep the global temperature below 1.5C, with the result of near-zero (Institute for Essential Services Reform, 2023). Additionally, Indonesia has ratified the National Determined Contribution (NDC) document, further solidifying its commitment in this regard. Furthermore, the Indonesian Presidency at the G20 Forum in 2022 capitalized on the opportunity to advocate for a more substantial global and national energy transition agenda, elevating it to a matter of global significance (Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, 2022).

The Indonesian government has presented their national achievement target scenario for achieving Net Zero Emission (NZE) by 2060 through the G20 meeting. This scenario

involves the implementation of the National Grand Energy Strategy (GSEN), which outlines a plan for transitioning from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources. According to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (2022), the complete implementation of the renewable energy agenda is projected to occur by 2060. Furthermore, by 2035, the solar power system is expected to exert significant influence over the variable of renewable energy.

However, the electric vehicle (EV) program stands out as the most ambitious initiative in Indonesia's energy transition plan. In 2019, the Indonesian government demonstrated its dedication to reducing emissions by enacting regulation (Presidential Regulation No.55/2019) aimed at expediting the implementation of the EV program throughout the country. The program was originally designed to incentivize the use of electric automobiles and motorcycles within government entities. The EV acceleration program was suspended amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. In late 2022, the government initiated the revival of a nationwide program aimed at promoting the use of electric vehicles (EVs). As part of this effort, the government implemented subsidies to incentivize the ownership of EVs and assist the acceleration of their market penetration. The government's subsidy policy has sparked a public discourse and shed light on the presence of conflicting interests in the energy transition agenda, which necessitates the development of an appropriate solution. The ongoing discourse prevalent in various media platforms, ranging from news outlets to televised discussions, involves the involvement of actors in political affairs, government officials, and business leaders. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate stakeholder statements and comprehend the discourse network around EV subsidy plans.

1. Literature Review

The inclusion of the Energy Transition idea is necessary in order to provide further explanation and analysis of the development of the Electric Vehicle Ecosystem, addressing the primary inquiry posed in the study. Human activities have resulted in a significant release of carbon into the atmosphere, hence exacerbating the severity of environmental challenges. The decarbonization of carbon and associated greenhouse gas emissions has emerged as a primary objective within the global agenda, with a target to achieve this by 2050 (Araujo, 2023b). It is plausible to anticipate the emergence of viable alternatives to address the challenges posed by the current climate change conditions, which are primarily attributed to substantial greenhouse gas emissions and the finite availability of fossil fuels. The global interest in diversifying energy sources has led to a notable shift in energy transition, driven by the goal to attain Net-Zero Energy. This transition involves a heightened adoption of wind power, solar photovoltaic energy, and electric vehicles (Araujo, 2023b)

Hence, the notion of planned or unplanned change within the context of a deteriorating energy industry can also be regarded as a manifestation of this concept. The concept

of energy transition pertains to the characteristics and dynamics of energy utilization within a given system, encompassing factors such as the kind, quantity, and quality of the energy source, as well as its delivery and utilization (Araujo, 2023a). This process aims to generate a sustainable supply of energy carriers. Moreover, it signifies the implementation of alterations in the energy composition that are directly linked to achieving zero emissions. Hence, the pursuit of generating alternative energy sources in light of the changing notions of economy, investment, and sustainability represents the primary focal points within this field (Araujo, 2023a).

Such transition encompasses not only the advancement of technology, but also the economic transformation in the production and consumption of energy. According to O'Connor (2010), the allocation of resources for essential needs, such as transportation demand and power, represents a notable advancement in selection methods. The provision of energy services has a critical role in enhancing the quality of life and promoting economic change by ensuring affordability for both consumers and producers (Rishanty *et al.*, 2022). Hence, in order to establish a position of prominence in the production of energy, it is imperative to implement a restructured market that facilitates the attainment of affordable renewable energy sources (IEA/OECD and IRENA, 2017).

Several papers warrant attention in relation to the research of EV subsidies policy. The first essay titled "Assessing the Efficacy of Electric Vehicle Subsidies in Canada" by Zachary Thorne and Larry Hughes (2019) examines the cost-effectiveness of emissions reduction through the implementation of the Electrical Vehicle subsidy program in Canada. The objective of this study is to assess the electricity systems in each province and determine their suitability for implementation across various regions in Canada. This evaluation includes an analysis of the effectiveness of subsidies towards other investments as a means of addressing climate change mitigation initiatives (Thorne and Hughes, 2019). This study focuses on the topic of EV infrastructure and its impact on the reduction of carbon emissions. In addition, the second scholarly publication titled "Welfare Analysis of Subsidies in the Chinese Electric Vehicle Industry" authored by Xiaodan Guo and Junji Xiao in 2023. The issue that arises in this study pertains to the influence of subsidies on EV sales in China and underscores the analysis of welfare implications. Therefore, This study examines the potential impact of encouraging the adoption of household EVs and emphasizes the prominence of technology as the primary focal point inside the EV program. The third paper presents a research piece titled "Long-Term Trend of Electric Vehicle Sales in Thailand." The study, authored by Thanwadee Chinda (2022), aims to investigate the enduring pattern of EV sales in Thailand with a focus on sustainability. According to Chinda (2022), government support plays a crucial role in bolstering EV sales in the near future through the provision of subsidies. Based on the literature reviewed, it is evident that the EV program is confronted with three primary concerns, namely, the environmental

implications of EVs, advancements in technology, and the economic considerations or investments associated with this program.

2. Theoretical Framework

The primary theoretical framework employed in this study is the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory. The term “discourse” refers to a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories that are used to assign meaning to both social and physical phenomena. These ideas, concepts, and categories are generated and perpetuated through specific sets of practices. In other words, discourse can be understood as a system of ideas, concepts, and categories that give significance to various aspects of the social and physical world, and this system is sustained through identifiable patterns of behavior and communication (Hajer, 2002, 2006).

Actors, who are considered key players in policy regulations, are known to generate diverse assertions within the public sphere. These claims are often structured using the DNA approach, as proposed by Leifeld (2016), which aids in comprehending the dynamics of policy debates. According to Hajer (2005), the actors involved in societal issues often perceive policy tools as the most optimal means of addressing these problems. In order to accomplish their objectives, these entities must effectively communicate with their constituents regarding the proposals for policies, with the aim of persuading other actors to adopt and implement those policy offerings (Leifeld, 2016a, 2016b, 2020).

Therefore, the effects of the process in policy debate, stemming from the outcomes of the political process, can be categorized into a minimum of four noteworthy stages. The initial stage of this study focuses on examining the decision-making process within the public domain on the inclusion of policy formulations in the parliamentary agenda. The subsequent stage will play a pivotal role in the decision-making process for policy regulation, since it is significantly influenced by the constituents of public opinion formation. The third stage of the process involves the design of policies, wherein the public space serves as a platform for the exchange of information among the various actors involved. During the fourth phase of this process, there has been a notable escalation in the intensity of arguments, which can be seen as an indication of the anticipated policy instruments based on the actual outcomes resulting from the altered perspectives of stakeholders immediately before to the implementation of the policy (Leifeld, 2016a).

3. Research Methodology

The primary objective of this study was to examine the interconnections between theoretical frameworks and empirical evidence in shaping the discourse surrounding the dynamics of network politics in relation to electric vehicle subsidies in Indonesia. The present study aims to provide a more suitable approach for implementing a comprehensive mapping of the agenda-setting process. This approach is based on empirical investigation of a specific case study, as outlined by Yin (2003). Therefore, the study employs a combination

of category-based content analysis and network analysis, drawing on qualitative data (Leifeld, 2016a).

The primary focus of this research revolves around the actors' public statements, which can be broken down into three key elements: the identification of the individuals involved (who), the conceptual framework underlying their statements (what), and the manner in which these actors position themselves (how). The scope of the statements and data sources in question was restricted to media interviews and/or the viewpoints expressed by actors as documented in online newspapers. The stakeholders involved in the politics of Electric Vehicle subsidy encompass various qualified actors, including civil society organizations, politicians, observers/analysts, academics, and industry associations. These actors frequently utilize mass media platforms to publicly articulate their arguments. This is significant due to the broader reach and audience engagement offered by online media channels.

The preceding section elucidates the analysis unit and data source, which are subsequently succeeded by a series of processes involved in data collection. The initial phase entails the systematic acquisition of online mass media news stories in Indonesia, ensuring a consistent frequency of collection during the specified timeframe of January 2023 to June 2023. Hence, the search queries' keywords were identified as policy, subsidy, and Electric Vehicle, and they were examined across 16 mass media platforms, namely Detik.com, Kompas.com, CNN.com, Tribunnews online, tvonenews.com, Liputan6.com, Okezone.com, Kumparan.com, Tempo.com, Viva.co.id, Merdeka.com, Sindonews.com, BBCnews.com, IDNtimes, and Jawa Pos Online (Reuters Institute, 2023). Based on a study conducted by the Reuters Institute and Oxford University, it is recognized that these platforms have most frequently appeared and been accessed by the Indonesian population, which revealed that 88% of media news sources in Indonesia are online-based. This finding highlights the substantial role played by online media in disseminating news and information.

During the second phase of analysis, the gathered articles underwent a screening process to determine their suitability for inclusion in the study. This involved evaluating each source against predetermined criteria to ascertain if it contained a statement that was relevant to the topic under investigation. In order to safeguard the integrity of the data, the articles lacking statements from actors were deemed inconsequential (Eriyanto and Ali, 2020; Eriyanto, 2022). The subsequent step involves the examination of suitable articles, wherein the statements derived from online media are cross-referenced. The objective is to select the most comprehensive statement from the list of articles (Leifeld and Haunss, 2012; Ghinoi and Steiner, 2020; Wallaschek, Starke and Brüning, 2020).

The initiation of the third stage involves commencing the coding process through the utilization of the most recent iteration, version 3.0.10, of the Discourse Network Analyzer

(DNA) Software. The software can be accessed via the following link: <https://github.com/leifeld/dna/releases>. The key components in this phase are recognized as the designation of the individual/actor organization, discourse notion, and consent (Ghinoi and Steiner, 2020). The selection of the inductive coding model is motivated by the aim to categorize essential concepts according to the core arguments presented in the actor's statement (Leifeld, 2016a; Eriyanto, 2022). This approach is employed in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding and consensus on the discourse.

Finally, the fourth stage involves utilizing the Visone program (<https://visone.ethz.ch/html/download.html>) to visually represent the modularity element of the affiliate networks, actors, and concepts.

Findings and Discussion

The researcher gathered a total of 87 news pieces from national media sources over a period of five months (January to June 2023). These articles primarily focused on the topic of EV subsidy. The articles are obtained through the utilization of a media-search software program called "Media Cloud," employing relevant keywords such as electric car, electric vehicle subsidy, and incentive policy. In addition, the data underwent filtration and analysis using Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), resulting in the generation of 198 assertions made by actors. Subsequently, the data obtained from the study was subjected to analysis using the software tool Visone in order to facilitate a comprehensive examination of the findings. The analysis involves exploration of centrality within the network. In this regard, there are three types of centrality: degree centrality, closeness centrality, and betweenness centrality.

The concept of degree centrality pertains to the quantification of an actor's popularity inside a network, as determined by the number of connections that actor has with other actors in the network. The degree centrality level plays a crucial role in capturing the distinctiveness of the dominant actor and topic inside discourse. According to McCulloh *et al.* (2013) and Eriyanto (2020), The closeness centrality metric quantifies the degree of proximity between an individual actor and other actors within a network. This category pertains to the level of accessibility an actor can achieve with other actors inside the network (McCulloh *et al.*, 2013; Eriyanto, 2020). Actors exhibiting high closeness centrality are characterized as individuals who maintain close proximity to other actors within a network. Finally, betweenness centrality characterizes the actor's position as a mediator between other players. An actor possessing a high degree of centrality is considered to be the actor most inclined to serve as a mediator between two other actors, given their elevated level of prominence. Hence, players of this nature hold a pivotal role, since their mere existence

plays a decisive role in shaping the interconnectedness of the actor's network (McCulloh *et al.*, 2013; Scott, 2017; Eriyanto, 2020).

1. Actor Network

DNA uses a line to show the relationships between the actors so that the viewer can perceive the network between them. Consequently, lines will be used as markers to connect actors who are related to one another. When actors present the same fundamental idea when examining an issue, this network can be created based on an affiliation network (Leifeld and Haunss, 2012).

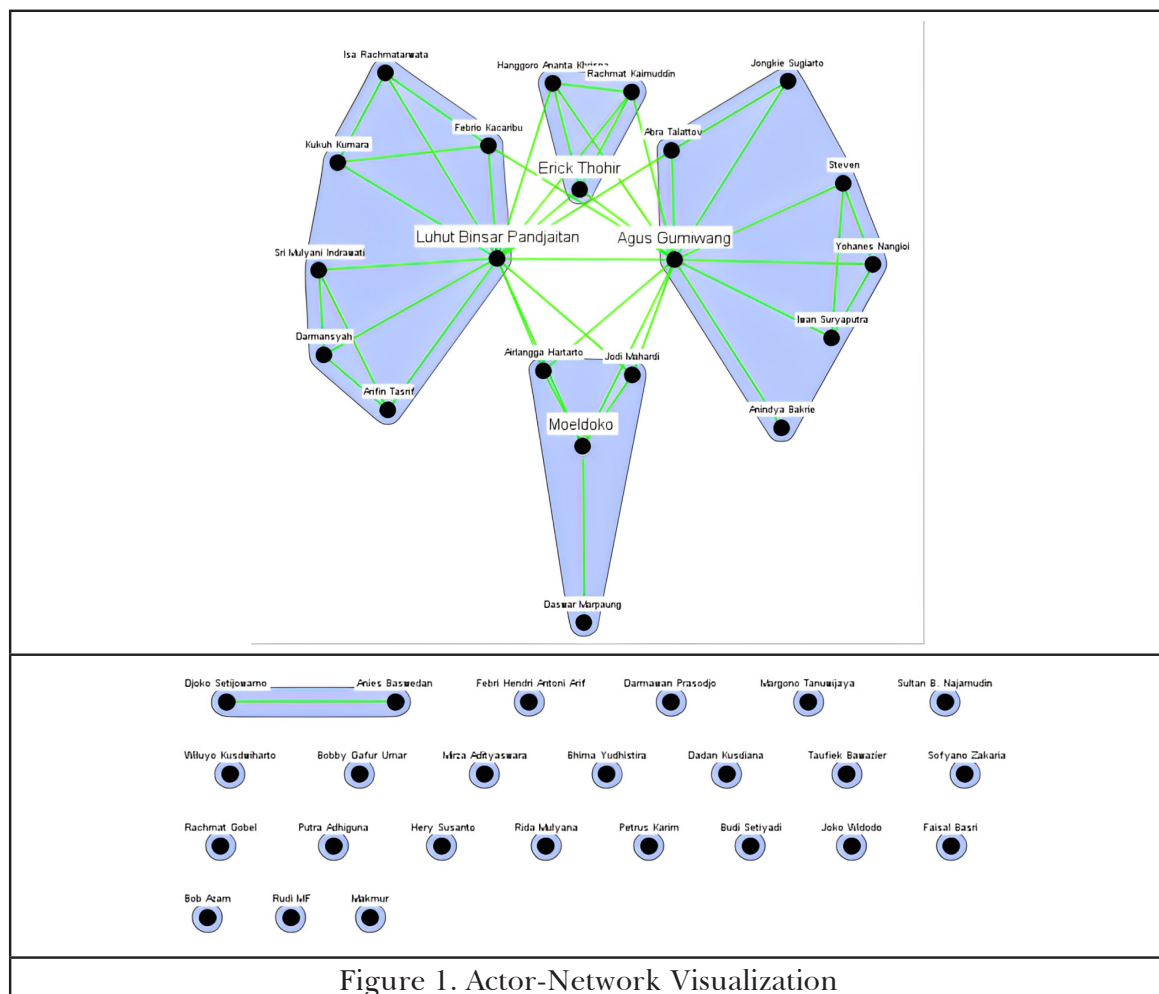


Figure 1. Actor-Network Visualization

Figure 1 illustrates how 45 actors from a total of 16 organizations participated and shared their thoughts on the pros and negatives, which are shown in two results. First, the upper graphic shows the players who share a common essential notion which is connected by the lines. The more lines the actor has lead to a more dominant correlation in the public

discourse. In contrast, the bottom graphic shows actors that are not connected by a line making them non-dominant actors in their judgment, which have no similarities.

Table 1. EV Incentive Actor Network Statistics

Name	Frequency	Degree (%)	Indegree (%)	Closeness (%)	Outdegree (%)	Betweenness (%)	Doseness (%)
Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan	20	15.909	15.909	15.909	15.909	42.11	7.012
Agus Gumiwang	26	15.909	15.909	15.909	15.909	44.525	7.012
Erick Thohir	2	4.545	4.545	4.545	4.545	0	4.928
Hanggoro Ananta Khrisna	2	4.545	4.545	4.545	4.545	0	4.928
Rachmat Kaimuddin	4	4.545	4.545	4.545	4.545	0	4.928
Moeldoko	11	5.682	5.682	5.682	5.682	9.34	5.209
Febrio Kacaribu	4	4.545	4.545	4.545	4.545	2.738	4.928
Airlangga Hartarto	2	3.409	3.409	3.409	3.409	0	4.928
Jodi Mahardi	2	3.409	3.409	3.409	3.409	0	4.928
Abra Talattov	3	3.409	3.409	3.409	3.409	1.288	4.798

For the interest of results, the table above analyzes the top 10 actors with the highest results of dominance. According to the table, Agus Gumiwang, the Minister of Industry, has appeared in news stories tracking the development of the electric vehicle subsidy policy 26 times. Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the Coordinating Minister of Maritime and Investment, is ranked second in the study with a total score of 42.110%, and Agus Gumiwang, the most frequent actor, has a percentage of Betweenness of 44.525%, indicating that he has a critical position to link to other actors. Therefore, Indegree and Outdegree percentages show how Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan and Agus Gumiwang are very popular actors who control conversations on the Political Policy of EV Subsidy in Indonesia since they both have the same Degree of Centrality (15.909%). These two actors are identified as the primary actors in this issue based on the visualization that was produced from the collection of articles, with the highest results of referring and referred in the ongoing public discourse.

2. Concept Network of Electric Vehicle

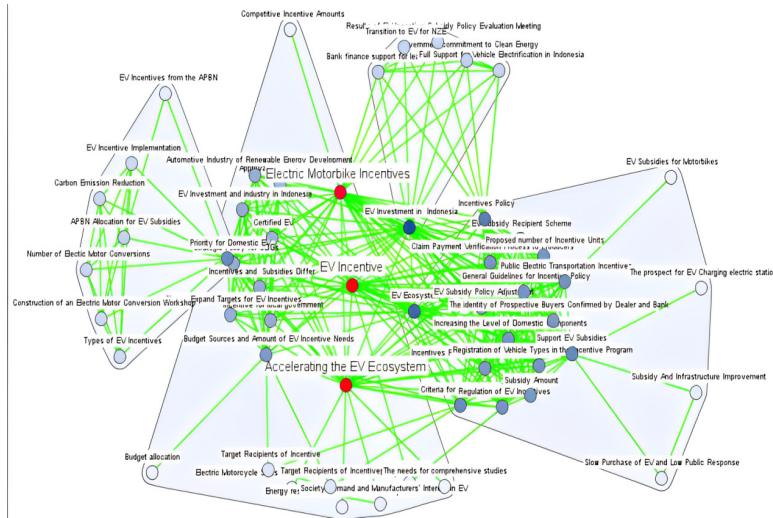


Figure 2. Concept Network Visualization

Figure 2 depicts the outcomes of the debate pertaining to the subsidy program, highlighting the interconnectedness of the pros and cons associated with this subject. The discourse presented pertains mostly to discussions surrounding EV incentives, the acceleration of the EV ecosystem, and incentives for electric motorbikes. The table presented below provides a statistical examination of the centrality of the concepts.

Table 2. EV Concept Network Statistics

Name	Frequency	Degree (%)	Closeness (%)
Electric Motorbike Incentives	4	4.346	2.504
EV Investment in Indonesia	5	4.239	2.47
Accelerating the EV Ecosystem	9	4.115	2.437
EV Incentive	3	3.741	2.344
EV Ecosystem	2	3.616	2.314
Incentives Policy	2	2.993	1.987
Criteria for EV Producers	2	2.743	1.966
Support for EV Subsidies	4	2.743	1.945
Priority for Domestic EV	4	2.618	2.009
Public Electric Transportation Incentives	2	2.494	1.904

The analysis reveals that the notion of “Accelerating the EV Ecosystem” exhibits the highest frequency of occurrence in media coverage, appearing a total of nine times. The aforementioned statement elucidates that both individuals and organizations involved in the discourse emphasized the significance of expediting the development of the electric car ecosystem in Indonesia.

The notion of “Electric Motorbike Incentives” holds the highest degree of prominence in the table, indicating that it is the most extensively discussed and influential topic in the public discourse on the problem. It has a score level of 4.346%, signifying its prominence, and a closeness score of 2.504%. The closeness centrality within this framework refers to the ability of this discourse to establish connections with other notions inside the network. In contrast, the concept of “Public Electric Transportation Incentives” exhibits the lowest proximity centrality, measuring at 1.904%. This finding suggests that this particular thought is closely related to other concepts depicted in the figure.

3. Affiliation Network (Organization-Concept)

The affiliation network visualizes the interconnectedness between organizations and concepts, as demonstrated by Leifeld and Haunss (2012). This part will be focused on the Network Organization-Concept, as shown in the figure below. Therefore, the nodes that appear in this section are differentiated into three nodes; Government (Red), Civil Society Organization (Yellow), and Corporate/Private Company (Blue).



Figure 3. Affiliation Network (Organization-Concept) Visualization

The relationship linkages between the concepts and organizations are obviously shown in the above figure. As a result, government institutions like the Ministry of Finance, OJK (Financial Service Authority), the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, etc. are mostly represented by the red nodes, which are dispersed on the right side of clusters.

The government-affiliated node primarily supports the subsidy program and talks about ideas about who should receive the incentives, how much APBN should be allocated for EV subsidies, how many vehicles should be converted, and other things.

The blue nodes, which represent corporate actors, are divided among three clusters. The figure above demonstrates that the nodes mostly center on the commercial aspects of the charging Vehicles subsidies. These include the evaluation of the EV charging station’s potential, the regulatory framework governing prospective buyers, and the measures taken to promote vehicle electrification in Indonesia. The final nodes, denoted by the color yellow, represent Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) such as Periklindo, AISMOLI, and INDEF, which are distributed over nearly all of the clusters. In the capacity of a Chief Strategy Officer (CSO), this entity assumes responsibility for overseeing the management of public discourse pertaining to many aspects of civilian involvement. These include but are not limited to the sluggishness of procurement processes, the tepid public response, the sources of funding for EV budgets, and the outcomes of meetings evaluating the efficacy of EV incentive subsidy policies.

The table below provides a statistical analysis of centrality in the organization-concept network

Table 3. Affiliation Network (2 Network Organization-Concept) Statistics

Name	Frequency	Degree (%)	Betweenness (%)	Closeness (%)
Min of Industry	25	9.375	19.141	1.746
Coord Min of Maritime and Investment	20	6.641	14.948	1.665
Min of Energy and Mineral Resources	11	4.297	6.903	1.131
Min of Finance	9	3.125	4.913	1.352
CELIOS	6	2.344	0.149	0.329
INDEF	6	2.344	3.21	1.232
The Executive Office of the President	6	2.344	3.221	1.258
Indonesian Transport Society	6	1.562	0.119	0.219
PLN	5	1.562	0.119	0.219

Based on the table above, it has been observed that the Ministry of Industry organizations exhibit the highest frequency of occurrence, with a total of 25 appearances in media coverage. Additionally, this entity also demonstrates the highest degree of centrality percentage, amounting to 9.375. This indicates that the group enjoys significant

prominence and influence in media coverage pertaining to the subject of electric vehicle subsidies in Indonesia. Simultaneously, the Ministry of Industry exhibited the highest betweenness centrality score of 19.141% and a closeness centrality value of 1.746%. This demonstrates the role of organizations as intermediaries in connecting claims made by different organizations, while also establishing links between the pros and cons associated with these relationships.

Conclusion

Accelerating the support of Electric Vehicle has been implemented as a subsidy policy regulation to show the main goal of the government to reach a sustainable future while achieving the commitment of the Net Zero Emission (NZE) program in 2060. More over than that, this study aims to look at the dynamics that occur in the agenda-setting and evaluation process of implementing the subsidy policy based on the discourse put forward by stakeholders. Therefore, to examine the statements that revolve around the actors, the researcher divided them into three key elements: the identification of the individuals involved (who), the conceptual framework underlying their statements (what), and the manner in which these actors position themselves (how).

Based on the Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF), it indicates that there are three findings. The first one is the Main Actors who dominate this debate, which are considered key players in policy regulations. Agus Gumiwang (Minister of Industry) and Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan (Coordinating Minister of Maritime and Investment) have the same degree of Centrality (15.909%), which makes them identified as the primary actors in this issue based on the visualization that was produced from the collection of articles. Second, Dominant Concepts. The DCF Theory revealing the notion of “Accelerating the EV Ecosystem” exhibits the highest frequency of occurrence in media coverage for a total appearance of nine times. Therefore, “Electric Motorbike Incentives” has the highest degree of prominence in the analysis, indicating that it is the most extensively discussed and influential topic in the public discourse on the issue.

It shows a score level of 4.346%, signifying its prominence, and a closeness score of 2.504 refers to the ability of this discourse to establish connections with other notions inside the network. Lastly, the third findings are Dominant Organizations. From the visualizations, it is observed the Ministry of Industry organizations gain the highest frequency of occurrence with 25 times appearance in media coverage, while also demonstrating the highest degree centrality percentage (9.375%), making it the dominant organization in media coverage to the subject of electric vehicle subsidies in Indonesia. On the other hand, the Ministry of Maritime and Investment has the highest betweenness centrality (19.141%) and closeness centrality (1.746%), making them appear as the intermediaries in connecting organizations, with the ability to link the pros and cons.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the political dimension of this research based on the findings is seen in the significant role played by the actors, as stated in the Discourse Coalition Framework. According to Hajer (1995), Actors as the key players are able to construct the statements according to the position and power they hold. This situation then led the actors to influence the policies by making a discourse in the public sphere with the primary focus on targeting the voices of the wider audiences. While each actor challenges their influence to convince the public, the argumentation is created under the actors' preferences in positioning themselves to the controversial issues that arise (Hajer, 1995, p.54). Furthermore, the ongoing debate could be seen as a part of the "political" aspect when the actors have attempted their effort to claim the dominant presence. It is critical to make claims so that the legitimacy claim can be proposed under the discourse they proposed. As a result, it is knowledge if the agenda-setting process is carried out through the dominant statements in the media. This means that the efforts to dominate the discourse are performed not only through the statements but also using their ability to persuade the public and win the interest compared to others. Hence, it is acceptable if the succession of a discourse to be dominant is caused by the actors' influential skills in delivering their message to the public.

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