

Discourse Battle on Borobudur Temple Tariff Increase Policy in Discourse Analysis Network

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<p>Article History: Received February 1st 2023</p> <p>Revised March 25th 2023</p> <p>Accepted March 28th 2023</p>	<p>ABSTRACT</p> <p>This study discusses the dynamic process in canceling the Borobudur Temple tariff increase policy using the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method and looking at the dynamics that develop through a network of actors and discourses sourced from various online media. The results showed that there was a change in government policy in a short time. The shift of the coalition of supporters to the opposition shows preventive measures in anticipation of widespread chaos. This shows that there are many factors that influence the policy-making process and political decisions. The DNA method used in this study can help map the relationship between actors and discourse in a network, so as to provide a more comprehensive picture of the policy-making process and political decisions. The research also shows the importance of the role of online media in shaping public opinion and influencing the policy-making process. The results of the study showed a change in policy delivered by the government. The shift of the coalition of supporters to the opposition shows preventive measures in anticipation of widespread chaos. In the policy context, this research makes an important contribution in understanding the dynamic processes that occur in policy-making and political decisions, as well as the factors that influence those processes. This can help the government and relevant stakeholders in making better decisions and taking into account all factors involved in policy making</p> <p>Keywords: <i>discourse network analysis; discourse coalition theory; Borobudur Temple fare.</i></p> <p>ABSTRAK</p> <p>Penelitian ini membahas proses dinamis dalam pembatalan kebijakan kenaikan tarif naik Candi Borobudur dengan menggunakan metode Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) dan melihat dinamika yang berkembang melalui jaringan aktor dan wacana yang bersumber dari berbagai media online. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat perubahan kebijakan pemerintah dalam waktu yang singkat. Pergeseran koalisi pendukung menjadi pihak oposisi menunjukkan tindakan preventif sebagai antisipasi terhadap kekacauan yang meluas. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa ada banyak faktor yang mempengaruhi proses pembuatan kebijakan dan keputusan politik. Metode DNA yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini dapat membantu memetakan hubungan antara aktor dan wacana dalam suatu jaringan, sehingga dapat memberikan gambaran yang lebih komprehensif tentang proses pembuatan kebijakan dan keputusan politik. Penelitian ini juga menunjukkan pentingnya peran media online dalam membentuk opini publik dan mempengaruhi proses pembuatan kebijakan. Hasil Penelitian menunjukan adanya perubahan kebijakan yang disampaikan pemerintah. Pergeseran koalisi pendukung menjadi pihak oposisi menunjukan tindakan preventif sebagai antisipasi terhadap kekacauan yang meluas. Dalam konteks kebijakan, penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi penting dalam memahami proses dinamis yang terjadi dalam pembuatan kebijakan dan keputusan politik, serta faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi proses tersebut. Hal ini dapat membantu pemerintah dan stakeholder terkait dalam mengambil keputusan yang lebih baik dan memperhitungkan semua faktor yang terlibat dalam pembuatan kebijakan..</p> <p>Kata Kunci: <i>analisis jaringan wacana; teori koalisi wacana; tarif naik Candi Borobudur</i></p>
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INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government through the Minister of Public Works and Public Housing, Basuki Hadimuljono announced the cancellation of the tariff increase for borobudur temple on June 14, 2022. Even though the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment, Luhut Panjaitan loudly announced the plan to increase tariffs to increase borobudur temple through his Instagram as a result of a Limited Meeting with the President of the Republic of Indonesia on June 5, 2022. The new policy plan must be postponed on June 7, 2022 for a review that ends with cancellation on June 14, 2022.

A number of comments from various circles allegedly resulted in the cancellation of the policy plan. A number of politicians have been observed rejecting the government's plans. Chairman of the National Awakening Party, Cak Imin, assessed that the tariffs set by the government are too expensive and can harm Indonesian tourism (Farisa, 2022). On the contrary, there are also those who agree with the government's plan. The Indonesian Tourism Actors Association (ASPPI) supports the government's plan to increase the tariff increase of Borobudur Temple. According to him, this is one way to appreciate Borobudur (Dilanggi, 2022). According to Mahmudan, during the Covid-19 pandemic, Borobudur Temple visitors experienced a decrease (Mahmudan, 2022)

If you look back, Borobudur temple currently says it is not included in the seven Islamic institutions of the world (Glugut, 2022). Borobudur Temple, which is more than 1200 years old, has experienced wear and tear precisely on the stairs and floors. The pressure of footwear from visitors is always increasing every year (Antara, 2022). This has implications for the wear of stairs and temple floors by 0.175 centimeters annually (Safutra, 2022). The seriously designed tariff assessment with UNESCO had to run aground halfway through. Why should a policy that should have been carefully considered before be rescinded and How did the debate that ensued eventually result in the policy being overturned? Through this study, the discussion to answer the question will be explained by the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method. With DNA, researchers will analyze and discuss the discourse battles carried by each actor and the dynamics that occur in the process towards the cancellation of these policies.

Several previous studies have examined policy changes using discourse network analysis, Jin and friends' research examines the participation of interested parties in debates related to engineered organisms in China with results that show strong opposition to the plant and the existence of a coalition of competing supporters and opponents (Jin et al., 2022). Leifeld examines the transition from one coalition to another regarding old-age fund policies in Germany with the result of polarization and shifting coalition membership interacting and resulting in coalition changes and major policy changes (Leifeld, 2013). Fergie and colleagues identified and mapped out the discourse coalitions that emerged in the British MUP debate with results showing the existence of two polarized discourse coalitions (Fergie et al., 2019).

Discourse network analysis is a way to analyze the interactions between different people and the language they use to talk about important issues. This information can help us understand the dynamics of policy debates and the factors that influence policy change. Jin et al.'s study on engineered organisms in China shows that there is strong opposition to them, while Leifeld's research on old-age

fund policies in Germany shows that there is a lot of polarization in Germany and that different groups are changing their positions. Fergie et al.'s study on the British MUP debate shows that there are two polarized groups in the debate. These studies show that understanding the dynamics of discourse coalitions in policy debates can help policymakers and other stakeholders better understand the factors that influence policy change. discourse network analysis can help us understand how different groups of people are connected and how that affects the way they think and talk about issues.

The Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory proposed by Maarten A. Hajer in the 1900-2000s saw the process of making public policy as a battle of discourse by actors. Hajer defines discourse as a set of ideas, concepts, categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, which are produced and reproduced through a series of identifiable practices (Hajer, 2006). Discourse has several important characteristics, namely: First, discourse related to the meaning of phenomena, where phenomena are interpreted in different ways and are subjective understandings of people or groups of people. Second, discourse is restrictive, through certain concepts, ideas, and categories. Third, discourse is produced and reproduced through a number of practices and continuously (Eriyanto., 2022; Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). Actors build discourse by defining a problem in a certain way in order to gain public support. The victory of the actor is seen from the extent to which the discourse is accepted then becomes a policy. These actors use a variety of strategies to make their meaning the most acceptable.

The Discourse Coalition Framework theory suggests that public policy is a battle between different groups of people trying to define and shape the meaning of important social and physical phenomena. Talk is a way of getting ideas across to other people. People use talk to define problems, and then aim to get others to agree with their solution. An actor's success is based on how widely their views are accepted and implemented. They may use a variety of tactics to make their views more popular, such as framing the issue in a particular way, highlighting key points, and appealing to emotions. The DCF theory helps explain how public policy is made, focusing on the way that different groups of people talk to each other and the ways that this affects the way that policies are developed. The DCF theory is about how people talk to each other and how that affects the way public policy is made. It explains how different groups of people with different opinions try to influence government officials to make decisions that will benefit them. This theory is very important because it helps us understand how public policy is made and how it can affect our lives.

According to DCF Theory, the victory of a discourse can be done through a coalition of discourses (Hajer, 2006). In the context of this study, it refers to a group of actors who use a certain discourse on an issue in a certain period. The establishment of a discourse coalition must go through a long process where one discourse merges with another so that a coalition is formed. Initially, the actors proposed discourses according to their respective perspectives. The next development is that there is a wedge of discourse. This slice then widened to form a grand coalition. The discourse that developed in society then became one only a few coalitions of discourse. Hajer calls this process an affinity of discourse (Eriyanto., 2022; Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). The existing discourse coalition then fought for public support. Actors use various media to dominate the public conversation. In the process, there will be a concept where certain discourses begin to dominate the

conversation. Hajer (Hajer, 2006) called this situation is called the structure of discourse. This is marked when certain discourses are more discussed by the public through media reports, conversations in seminars, classrooms, talk shows on television, social media and others. The final stage is when this discourse wins the fight. A situation where a certain discourse is taken into a policy called institutionalization of discourse (Eriyanto., 2022; Eriyanto & Ali, 2020). This research will illustrate starting from the actors building a discourse related to the increase in tariffs on Borobudur Temple which will be produced and reproduced continuously by the actors so that the discourse forms a grand coalition that is widely discussed through various media and taken as a government policy related to the tariff increase of Borobudur Temple

DCF theory suggests that groups of people with similar opinions can work together to create a unified message on an issue. This process, called coalition formation, is a gradual process that begins with different people proposing their own ideas, and then gradually combines them into a powerful force.

When people come together to talk about something, they can start to shape the way that people think about it. For example, when a group of people get together to talk about politics, they can start to shape the way politics are talked about in the media and in public spaces. This is called discourse structuration. The institutionalization of discourse happens when a particular discourse becomes a part of official government policy. This happens when a particular discourse coalition is successful in shaping public policy and influencing decision-making processes. The DCF theory helps explain how different groups of people come together to create and support a particular view about a problem. In this case, the theory can help us understand how the government increased the tariff on Borobudur Temple.

METHODS

This study used the discourse network analysis method Discourse Network Analysis (DNA). The method developed by Philip Leifeld is a discourse analysis (qualitative content) and social networking method. The DNA method maps every discourse that develops about an issue (what) and the actors who propose that discourse (who). In this study, the DNA method was applied to describe changes in the dominance of actors and discourse over time over the policy plan to increase the tariff increase of Borobudur Temple. The step taken in this study is to collect material in the form of articles related to the increase in tariffs for Borobudur temple which are collected from various online media in Indonesia within the period after the policy plan is announced to the public until the cancellation of the policy plan in question, namely within 5 to 14 June 2022. Researchers collected news articles using the Media Cloud with the keyword "Borobudur Temple Rising Tariff". A total of 422 news were collected from various online media. The news was then selected and obtained as many as 80 articles that could be used. A total of 342 articles were not used because as many as 36 news stories did not fit the topic, 89 news stories had no statements and 217 news stories had the same statements as the news that had been taken before. The collected 80 articles were then entered into the DNA Analyzer software to be coded with the categorization of people's names, organizations, concepts and agreements and produced 131 statements, 76 actors and 52 concepts. The entire categorized statement is then processed using Visone software. The

software is used to perform mapping and visualization of networks of actors and concepts. In addition to network visualization, the software is used to present network description data that includes degrees that show the popularity of actors and concepts, closeness that shows the closeness between actors or concepts with other actors or concepts, and betweenness measures the extent to which actors or concepts connect with other actors or concepts.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study examines the discourse and actors who participated in the debate related to the policy plan to increase the tariff increase of Borobudur Temple as a whole as well as the dynamics that occur in terms of different time spans from June 5 to 14, 2022. The dynamics or development of discourse and actors who play a role in the debate are divided into 3 phases, the first phase is June 5, 2022, the second phase is June 6, 2022 where the debate reaches its peak and the third phase on June 7 to June 14, 2022 where the debate subsides and the policy plan to increase the tariff increase of Borobudur Temple is canceled.

Actor Network

The results of the analysis of actor networks, in figure 1, namely in the period of the emergence of policy plans until the cancellation shows the representation of a number of actors as a whole who participated in the debate of this policy plan with a total of 76 actors from governments, politicians, religious organizations, tourism associations and community member

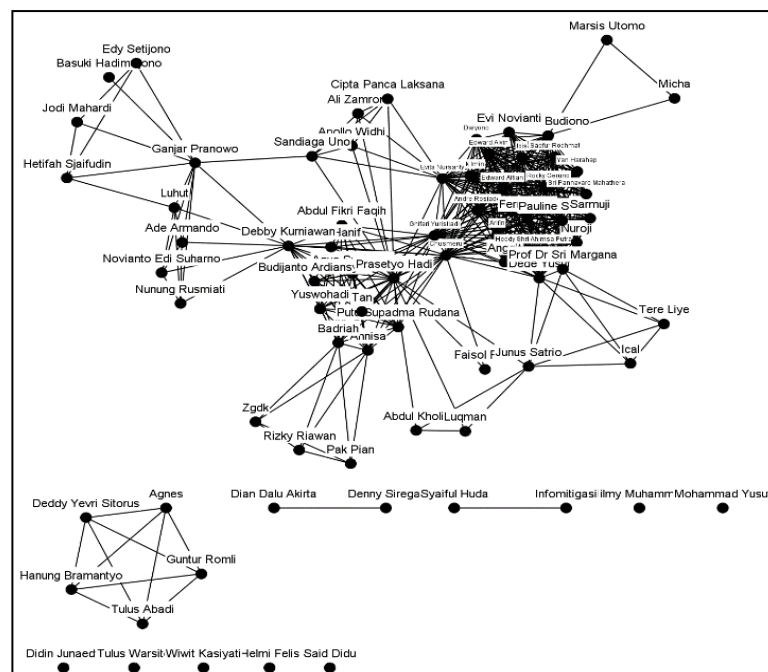


Figure 1. Actor Network Visualization Period 5-14 June 2022

The dynamics of the actors participating in the debate vary in each phase. In figure 2, in the first phase the actors who play the role are still limited. A total of 21 actors were involved in the first phase of the debate. Government actors such

as Ganjar Pranowo also supported the statement of the Coordinating Minister as one of the decisions in the Limited Meeting with the President of the Republic of Indonesia. While other actors from politicians and academics and tourism associations have started popping up in this first phase. Based on the results of statistical calculations in Table 1, it can be seen that the dominating actors are Debby Kurniawan (12.5%), Luhut Panjaitan (9.37%) and Ganjar Pranowo (9.37%).

It's interesting to note that in the first phase of the debate, the government actors seem to have more influence, with Ganjar Pranowo supporting the Coordinating Minister's statement. However, other actors such as politicians, academics, and tourism associations have also started to participate in the discourse. It's also worth noting that the dominating actors in this phase are Debby Kurniawan, Luhut Panjaitan, and Ganjar Pranowo, based on the results of statistical calculations in Table 1. It will be interesting to see how the dynamics of the actors change in the subsequent phases of the debate.

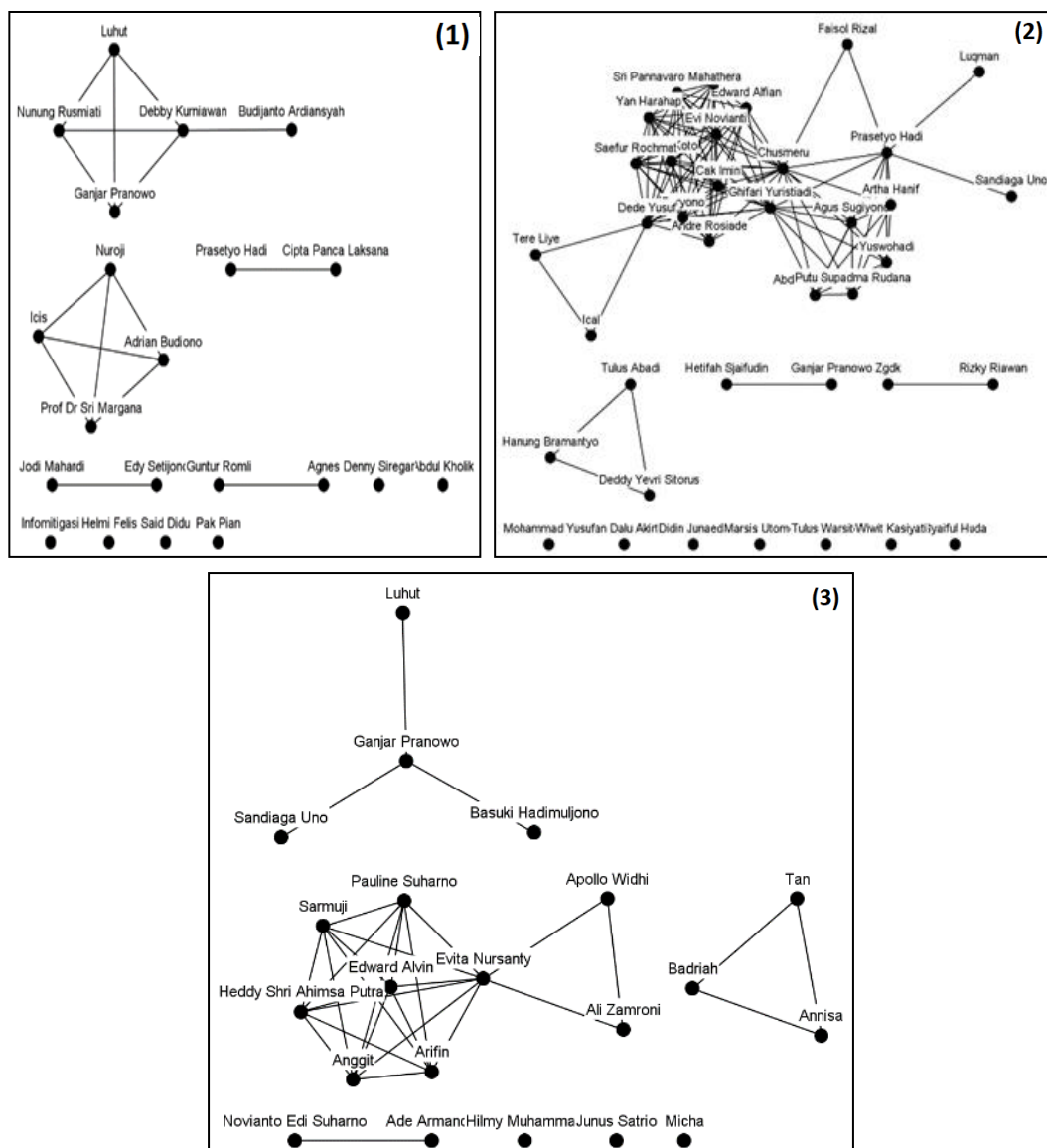


Figure 2. Visualization of Actor Networks In Phases 1, 2, and 3

Different things are shown in the second phase which is the peak phase, where the actors participating in this debate are getting more and more and growing. A total of 38 actors showed their participation in responding to the policy plan submitted by the government. Actors from politicians and religious organizations, academics, tourism associations, and community members emerged in the debate over this policy plan. Actors from political parties such as Dede Yusuf, Andre Rosiade Dan Chusmeru appeared in this second phase, while from the government side, there were still actors who appeared but the number was not significant. The Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo is still appearing in this first phase. Based on the results of statistical analysis in Table 1, the actors who dominated the debate were Agus Sugiyono (29.91%), Putu Supadma Rudana (29.91%) and Abdul Fikri Faqih (29.91%), actors who had close ties to other actors were Agus Sugiyono (38.19%), Putu Supadma Rudana (38.19%), and Abdul Fiqih Fakri (38.19%), and the actor most related to other actors was Ghifari Yuristiadi (25%), Prasetyo Hadi (22.12%) and Dede Yusuf (20.19%).

In the second phase of the debate, more people from different backgrounds are talking about the policy plan. Political party representatives and community members also join in, indicating that the plan has attracted a lot of attention and concerns. The statistical analysis shows that Agus Sugiyono, Putu Supadma Rudana, and Abdul Fikri Faqih were the most active participants in this phase. It's also interesting to see that Ghifari Yuristiadi, Prasetyo Hadi, and Dede Yusuf are the actors with the most influence among other participants, indicating that they are important players in the discussion. Overall, the second phase shows the complexity of the debate and how it changes over time.

In the third phase, the number of actors who played roles decreased. The strong political participation of various actors seems to be a separate consideration for the government in maintaining the policy plan. A total of 21 actors played a role in this phase. The actors that emerged in phase 3 still consisted of politicians, religious organizations, tourism associations and community members. The dominance of actors from the government reappears in this phase as depicted in the visualization of figure 2 with the dominating or most popular actors as per table 1. are Ganjar Pranowo (16.12%), Basuki Hadimuljono (16.12%), and Sandiaga Uno (16.12%), with actors who have close ties to other actors are Ade Armando (13.89%), Novianto Edi Suharno (13.89%) and Pauline Suharno (8.89%), and the actors most related to other actors include Evita Nursanty (80%) and Ganjar Pranowo (20%).

It is interesting to observe the changes in actor participation and dominance in each phase of the debate over the policy plan on Borobudur Temple tariff increase. The first phase saw limited participation from actors, with government actors and tourism associations dominating the discourse. In the second phase, there was a significant increase in the number of actors participating, with politicians, religious organizations, academics, and community members emerging in the debate. Actors with close ties to each other dominated this phase, with no significant government actors appearing. In the third phase, the number of actors decreased, and the dominance of government actors reappeared, indicating that political considerations played a role in maintaining the policy plan. Overall, the analysis provides insights into how discourse coalitions are formed, and how actor participation and dominance can change over time in the policy-making process.

Table 1. Description of Actor Network Centrality

Name	Variable	Degree (%)			Closeness (%)			Beetweness (%)					
		Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Evita Nursanty	Person	32,33	-	-	12,9	2,06	-	-	11,11	7,55	-	-	80
Prof Dr Sri Margana	Person	30,02	9,37	-	-	19,28	8,85	-	-	3,15	0,00	-	-
Dede Yusuf	Person	30,02	-	5,98	-	19,28	-	4,6	-	3,15	-	20,19	-
Debby Kurniawan	erson	19,63	12,5	-	-	19,84	11,84	-	-	17,33	0,1	-	-
Ganjar Pranowo	Person	11,54	9,37	0,4	16,12	14,39	9,4	0,29	4,16	10,13	0,00	0,00	20
Luhut	Person	0,69	9,37	-	16,12	13,62	9,4	-	2,5	1	0,00	-	0,00
Agus Sugiyono	Person	13,85	-	29,91	-	18,24	-	38,19	-	0,00	-	0,00	-
Putu Supadma Rudana	Person	13,85	-	29,91	-	18,24	-	38,19	-	0,00	-	0,00	-
Abdul Fikri Faqih	Person	13,85	-	29,91	-	18,24	-	38,19	-	0,00	-	0,00	-
Basuki Hadimuljono	Person	0,11	-	-	16,12	1,02	-	-	2,5	0,00	-	-	0,00
Sandiaga Uno	Person	0,69	-	0,42	16,2	17,46	-	26,1	2,5	37,36	-	0,00	0,00
Ghifari Yuristiadi	Person	3,92	-	7,69	-	23,76	-	5,59	-	13,3	-	25	-
Chusmeru	Person	4,04	-	0,81	-	24,04	-	5,8	-	15,04	-	3,2	-
Ade Armandi	Person	0,57	-	-	16,12	13,53	-	-	13,89	0,00	-	-	0,00
Novianto Edi Suharno	Person	0,57	-	-	16,12	13,53	-	-	13,89	0,00	-	-	0,00
Pauline Suharno	Person	2,65	-	-	9,67	1,84	-	-	8,89	0,00	-	-	0,00
Junus Satrio	Person	0,8	-	-	0,00	16,09	-	-	0,00	19,46	-	-	0,00
Prasetyo Hadi	Person	24,24	3,12	4,2	-	2,02	2,95	4,12	-	10,21	0,00	22,11	-

Concept Network

The existence of a policy plan to increase the tariff of Borobudur Temple has caused various reactions from various actors with its discourse. The actors will try to build discourse according to their respective subjectivities to influence the public through the existing mass media. Figure 3 visualizes a number of evolving discourses delivered by actors related to the planned hike. A total of 52 concepts emerged in this debate. In a debate, actors will use different discourses to influence public opinion based on their own subjectivities and interests. The planned hike in Borobudur Temple's entrance fee has sparked various reactions and debates among different actors, including politicians, academics, tourism associations, and community members. Each actor has their own perspective and agenda, which can shape the discourse they deliver and the arguments they use to support their positions. The media also plays a crucial role in disseminating these discourses to the public and shaping their opinions on the issue. The media is an important intermediary between the actors involved in the debate and the public. Through their coverage and reporting, the media can shape public opinion and influence the way people think about the issue. Different media outlets may have different biases or perspectives, which can affect the way they present the issue and the information they choose to highlight. It is important for the public to be aware of these biases and consider multiple sources of information when forming their opinions on a particular issue.

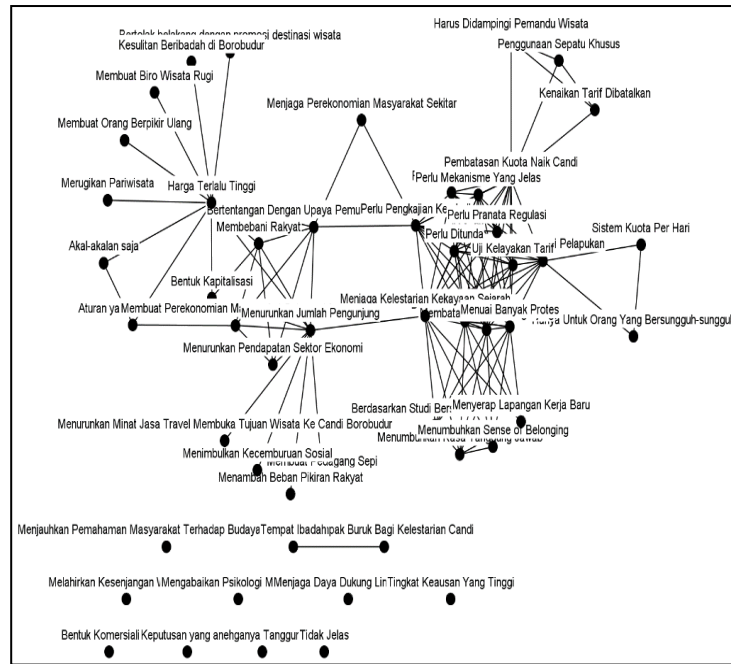


Figure 3. Concept Network Visualization Period 5-14 June 2022

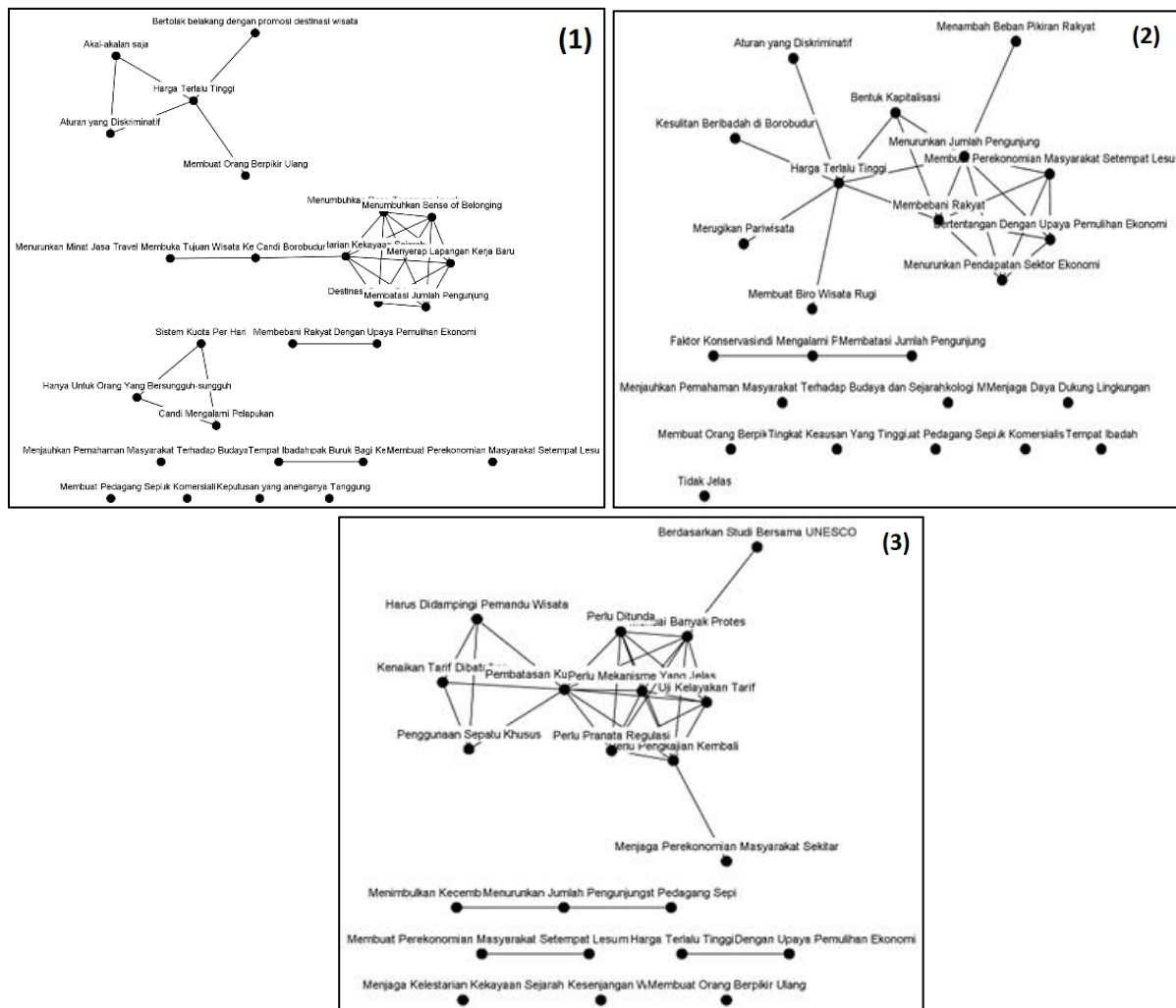


Figure 4. Concept Network Visualization Phases 1, 2, and 3

Changes in discourse related to this policy plan also change from time to time. In the first phase, the discussion of this topic is also still limited. Most of the discourse was conveyed by the government regarding the increase in tariffs for Borobudur Temple. A total of 26 discourses were presented in the first phase. The discourse in this first phase seems to try to provide an explanation regarding the importance of increasing the tariff for Borobudur Temple. The Discourse on Temple Conditions Experiencing Weathering, Cultivating a Sense of Belonging and Opening New Jobs seems to explain the reasons behind the emergence of the policy. In addition to discourse from the government, discourse from other parties has also begun to emerge in this phase. The discourse of too high prices, discriminatory rules and subterfuge alone becomes a discourse that seems to question assumptions in the government's policy considerations. The three dominations/popularity of discourse in this phase based on the description in table 2, namely the temple experiencing weathering (37.03%), the Quota System Per Day (37.03%) and only for earnest people (37.03) are the dominating discourses in this phase. While the discourses that have close proximity to other discourses are Temples Experiencing Weathering (32.6%), Quota Systems Per Day (32.6%), and Only for Earnest People (32.6%), and discourses that are most related to other discourses are Maintaining the Preservation of Historical Wealth (4.76%), Reducing the Number of Visitors (20.85%), and Too High Prices (2.38%).

Things are different in the second phase, discourse from the government no longer dominates the debate. The existing discourse develops differently from the first phase which strengthens the discourse of orders, in this second phase the discourse that appears is contrary to the policies conveyed by the government. Dominating political actors expressed their protest against policies by raising discourse related to the community's economy. The Discourse of Too High Prices, Burdening the Community Contrary to Economic Recovery Efforts colors the debate in this phase.

Based on the statistical results in Table 2, the concepts that dominate the tariff increase are Contrary to Economic Recovery Efforts (9.09%), Burdening the People (13.63%) and Reducing Economic Sector Income (9.09%). This is different from the first phase where the explanation from the government explains more supporting discourse, in this phase the discourse that develops tends to be contrary to the discourse that supports the government. Discourses that have closeness to other discourses are Limiting the Number of Visitors (17.67%), Conservation Factors (17.67%), and Too High Prices (10.69%), and the discourses that are most related to other discourses are Reducing the Number of Visitors (30.15%), Temples Experiencing Weathering (15.87%) and Burdening the People (14.28%).

Conditions in the third phase are different from the second and first phases. The growing discourse decreased in quantity by 22 discourses. The visualized discourse tends to be contrary to the first phase where the discourse that develops comes from the government but with the discourse that is contrary to the discourse put forward by the government in the first phase. In this phase, the discourse of Reducing the Number of Visitors (30.3%), Too High Prices (15.15%) and Maintaining the Economy of the surrounding community (15.15%) became the dominating discourse in this phase. Discourses that have closeness to other discourses are Reducing the Number of Visitors (21.9%), Causing Social Jealousy (14.6%) and Making Traders Deserted (14.6%), and the discourses that are most related to other discourses are Limiting Temple Riding Quotas (53.33%), Reducing the Number of Visitors (22.2%), and Reaping Many Protests (2.22%).

Table 2. Description of Network Centrality Concept

Name	Variable	Degree (%)			Closeness (%)			Beetweness (%)					
		Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Main Phase	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Super Priority Destinations	Concept	57,25	0,92	-	-	2,90	7,98	-	-	1,15	0,00	-	-
Reaping Many Protests	Concept	57,25	-	-	10,6	2,9	-	-	8,83	1,15	-	-	2,22
Limiting the Number of Visitors	Concept	57,25	0,92	2,27	-	2,9	7,98	17,67	-	1,15	0,00	0,00	-
Needs Review	Concept	4,96	-	-	10,6	32,46	-	-	8,83	9,42	-	-	2,22
Contrary to Economic Recovery Efforts	Concept	0,26	18,5	9,09	15,15	31,21	16,3	7,29	10,95	9,13	0,00	0,00	0,00
Temple Experiencing Weathering	Concept	4,96	7,03	4,54	-	28,37	32,6	2,65	-	57,54	0,00	15,87	-
Reducing Number of Visitors	Concept	4,19	37,03	1,59	30,3	3,46	7,98	10,69	21,9	24,16	2,85	30,15	22,22
Maintaining the Preservation of the Historical Riches	Concept	6,1	1,11	-	0,00	0,36	9,98	-	0,00	20,12	4,76	-	0,00
Daily Quota System	Concept	0,76	37,03	-	-	19,97	32,6	-	-	0	0,00	-	-
Only For Serious People	Concept	0,76	37,03	-	-	19,97	32,6	-	-	0	0,00	-	-
The Price is Too High	Concept	4,19	7,4	1,59	15,15	2,74	6,52	10,69	10,95	17,66	2,38	5,39	0
Burden the People	Concept	2,29	18,51	13,63	-	2,6	16,3	10,02	-	0,44	0	14,28	-
Reducing Economic Sector Income	Concept	15,26	-	9,09	-	24	-	7,29	-	0	-	0,00	-
Conservation Factor	Concept	4,19	-	2,27	-	2,77	-	17,67	-	0	-	0,00	-
Protecting the Local Economy	Concept	0,76	-	-	15,15	25,74	-	-	5,29	0	-	-	0
Causing Social Jealousy	Concept	0,38	-	-	15,15	22,69	-	-	14,6	0	-	-	0
Making Merchants Lonely	Concept	0,38	0	0	15,15	22,69	0	0	14,6	0	0	0	0
Temple Rising Quota Limitation	Concept	0,53	-	-	13,63	28,69	-	-	1,01	8,39	-	-	53,33

Propositions and Opposition

Based on the results of data processing in the period 5-14 June 2022, there is a discourse divided into 3 large clusters and 9 small clusters. This large cluster dominated by Figure 5 describes an overall visualization of those who agree and oppose the policy. The Pro side on the left side and the Cons on the right

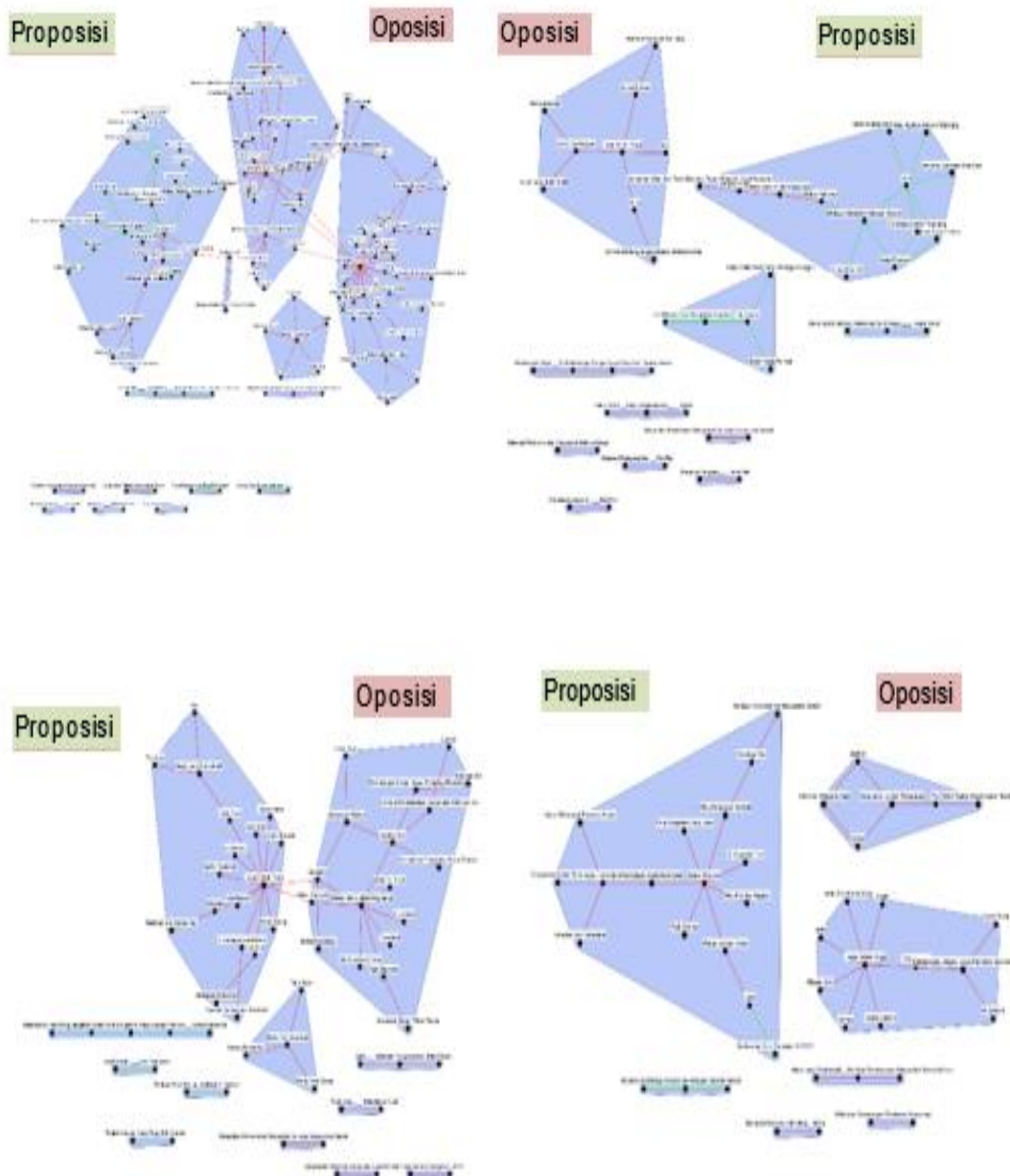


Figure 5. Visualization of Phase Modularity Period June 5-14, Phases 1, 2, and 3

During this period, there was a dynamic change in actors involved with their respective discourses. Based on figure 5, In the first phase, the coalition is divided into 3 main clusters. The left side shows actors with discourse that opposes policy plans and the right side shows actors with concepts that support government policy plans. This first phase is the beginning of the emergence of the Borobudur Temple tariff increase policy. The central and local governments tried to convey to the public regarding the plan with a discourse explaining the reason for the Borobudur Temple tariff increase. The discourse on the condition of the temple that experienced weathering and made Borobudur Temple a Super Priority Destination was conveyed by the government in this phase.

Different things are shown in the second phase where the public becomes a supervisor of various government policies and is free to give their opinions. Politicians, academics, religious organizations, and community members responded to the policy by opposing and conveying burdensome economic discourse if there was an increase in tariffs. The discourse battle in this phase is dominated by those who oppose the policy. The coalition formed was divided into 3 clusters with different discourse dominance and more than 85% percent of discourse opposed the policy. The shift of supporting actors in the first phase occurred in the third phase. The government that supported the first phase changed its attitude in the third phase. The government no longer conveys a discourse of support for the Borobudur Temple tariff increase policy, but withdraws the discourse it conveyed in the first phase. The reason for the political uproar was conveyed by one of the government actors. The actors who participated in the debate in the second phase are considered to be looking for a political stage by cornering the government in this policy. Several other actors revealed that widespread protests led to the need for a delay to the policy

CONCLUSION

This research has descriptively shown how a policy change presented by the government occurs. The shift in the coalition of supporters of policy discourse suggests preventive measures in anticipation of the broader chaos. The shift from a coalition of supporters to a coalition of opponents occurred quickly taking into account the political dynamics arising from the emergence of policies that most actors consider these policies to be unreasonable and affect the economy at large. In this process, some of the actors who played a role in the beginning of the emergence of policies shifted their affiliations by paying attention to political developments over time until finally the policies changed and legitimized in the new policies.

Another thing that may be considered is that not all policies can be implemented perfectly because in fact the implementation of policies is indeed more difficult than their formulation. Implementation concerns real conditions that change frequently and are difficult to predict. As a result, in reality there is an implementation gap, namely the difference between what is formulated and what will be implemented. In this study, the evolving political dynamics may be one of the factors that cause the orientation of a government policy to change to form a new policy, political participation in modernization has changed the position of the public in seeing the policies conveyed by the government. The weakness of the policy itself because the theory behind the policy or assumptions or studies used in the formulation of improper can result in the failure of the implementation of a government policy (Abidin, 2006)

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