

DISCOURSE COMMUNICATION NETWORK ANALYSIS OF “3 PERIODE” ON TWITTER SOCIAL MEDIA.

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ABSTRACT

This research proposes Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) as an innovative qualitative methodology to investigate the use of social media as a platform of power control through shared opinions. A phenomenon where social media used as a medium for public to express themselves whereas previously was often done physically (offline), is now more likely to be done in digital area through social media. This study found that the main discourse held no more power than the opponent's discourse in the contestation. In reality, the main discourse weakened and morphed to dampened actions but still could not become a consensus that led to student action on the streets. While the main discourse was powerfully amplified from bottom to center elites, it ultimately resulted in defeat and failed to acquire acceptance or legitimation by society, leading to pseudo-power.

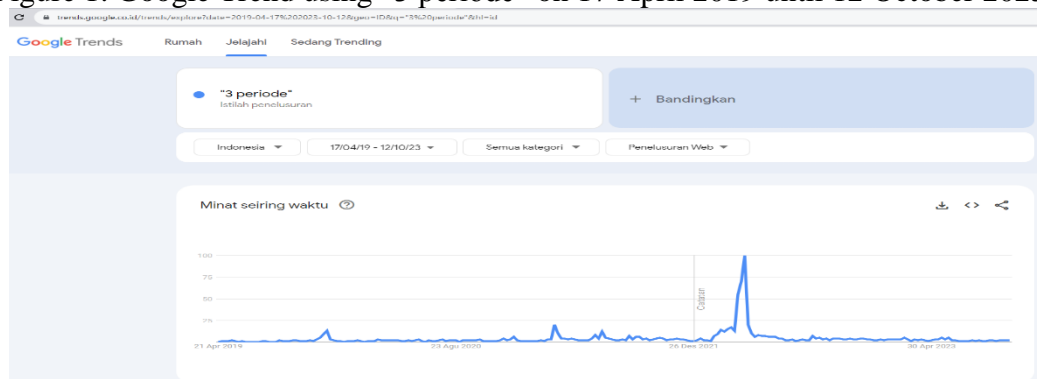
Keywords: *Discourse, Communication Network Analysis, 3 periode, Twitter*

A. PREFACE

“3 Periode” used as a keyword on Google search engine with time range started on 17 April 2019 (when presidential election occurred) until 31 December 2019. This search result provides a finding on news portal named Detik News (detiknews.com) with “Jokowi Akan Jadi Presiden 3 Periode” as the news headline on 22 July 2019 (Gabriel, 2019). This news was published 22 days after presidential election (pilpres) winner has been decided. It contained an opinion stated by constitutional law expert named Margarito in regard to the idea of conducting a comprehensive review and discussion about president's term limit amendments as this will have profound implications on the democratic processes in Indonesia. There is also a news published in early October about Johny Gerald Plate's (The head of Nasdem political party fraction) proposal to change the president's office term into 3 periods with the sake of consistent development as the main reason of the proposed action (Aditomo, 2021). Later on 23 October 2019, Johny Gerald Plate was officially appointed by president Joko Widodo as the minister of communication and informatics (Menkominfo) in Kabinet Kerja

Jilid 2 for 2019-2024 term office. On search conducted using google in news category, a news related to extending 3 periods of president office terms was published on 12 November 2019 through Merdeka.com news portal. The headline of the news is “Politikus Demokrat Kritik Isu Masa Jabatan Presiden 3 Periode” (Merdeka, 2019). This issue then became more frequent to be discussed in news portals until president Joko Widodo responded regarding the issue via his official Twitter account on 2 December 2019.

Figure 1. Google Trend using “3 periode” on 17 April 2019 until 12 October 2023



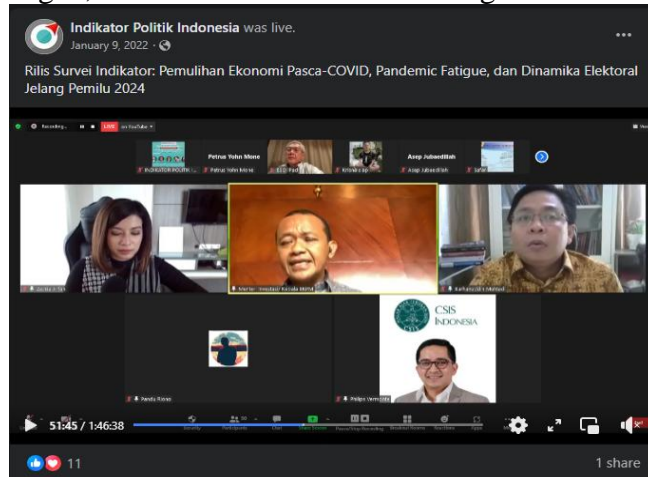
Source: Web Screenshot Goggle Trend (2023)

Figure 1 showed Google Trend search result between 17 April 2019 and 12 October 2023 using “3 Periode” as the keyword. Result to global reading using Google Trend shows that the trend of “3 Periode” tends to be flat in the end of 2021 and increased at the beginning of 2022. The peak occurred on 11 April 2022 when student protest took place to express their dissent against postponement of president election in 2024. One of the points conveyed is to urge and demand The House of Representatives to not betray the country’s constitution by approving the amendment and to remain steadfast in rejecting postponement of 2024 president election or to extend the current president’s term. This sequence of events serves as the initial foundation for tracing issues related to the timing of occurrences in connection with “3 Periode” discourse.

On 9 January 2022, Indikator Politik Indonesia was broadcasting “Rilis Survey Indikator: Pemulihan Ekonomi Pasca-COVID, Pandemi Fatigue, dan Dinamika Elektoral Jelang Pemilu 2024” live on several social media such as YouTube and Facebook. Figure 2 shows a screenshot of the live event that lasts for 1 hour 46 minutes 38 seconds. The event was attended by Bahlil Lahadalia (Minister of Investment/Head of the Investment Coordinating Board), Burhanuddin Muhtadi (Indikator Politik Indonesia), Pandu Riono (Academician at Faculty of Public Health Universitas Indonesia), Philips Vermonte (CSIS Indonesia), and others. This event was moderated by Zackia Arfan. “3 Periode” discourse in the beginning of 2022 was delivered and started unexpectedly by Bahlil Lahadalia during the midpoint of the “Rilis Survey Indikator: Pemulihan Ekonomi Pasca-COVID, Pandemi Fatigue, dan Dinamika Elektoral Jelang Pemilu 2024” event. This discourse subsequently elicited a response from the media, leading to extensive news coverage and the emergence of a trending topic

with the hashtag #RakyatTolakJokowi3Periode on 12 January 2022. This was in response to public disapproval of the discourse introduced by Bahlil Lahadalia.

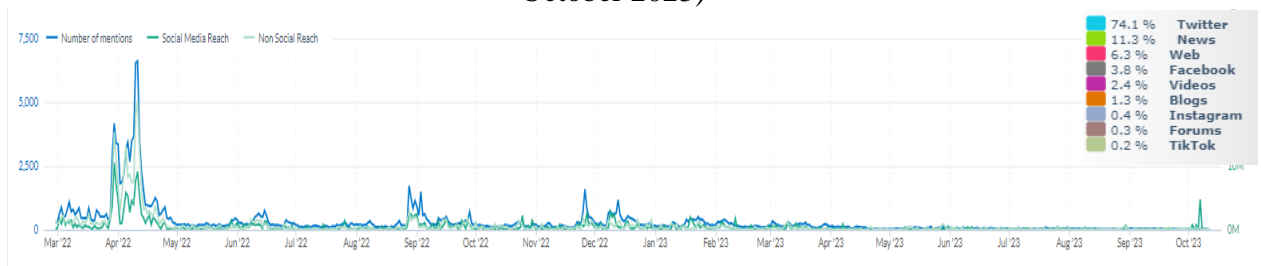
Figure 2. Rilis Survei Indikator: Pemulihan Ekonomi Pasca-COVID, Pandemic Fatigue, dan Dinamika Elektoral Jelang Pemilu 2024



Source: Screenshot from Facebook Indikator Politik Indonesia (2023)

“3 Periode” discourse subsequently continued through the involvement of prominent figures from various political factions including several ministers: Muhaimin Iskandar (Head of PKB political party fraction), Zulkifli Hasan (Head of PAN political party fraction), Airlangga Hartarto (The head of Golkar political party fraction), and Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan (Minister of Maritime and Investment Coordinator). The reasons behind the construction of this discourse is vary. Muhaimin Iskandar claimed to have big data as justification for his support on “3 Periode”, Airlangga Hartarto stated that the rationale of his support in this discourse came from people’s aspirations, whereas Zulkifli Hasan has five fundamental factors such as pandemics, economic condition, Russia-Ukrania war, the high incurred cost for upcoming election, and several programs that have been delayed. The final figure, Luhut Pandjaitan, shares the same reason as Muhaimin, namely based on people’s aspiration (Dzulfaroh, 2022).

Figure 3. "3 Periode" Conversations on digital media (28 February 2022-12 October 2023)



Source: Researcher’s Data (2023)

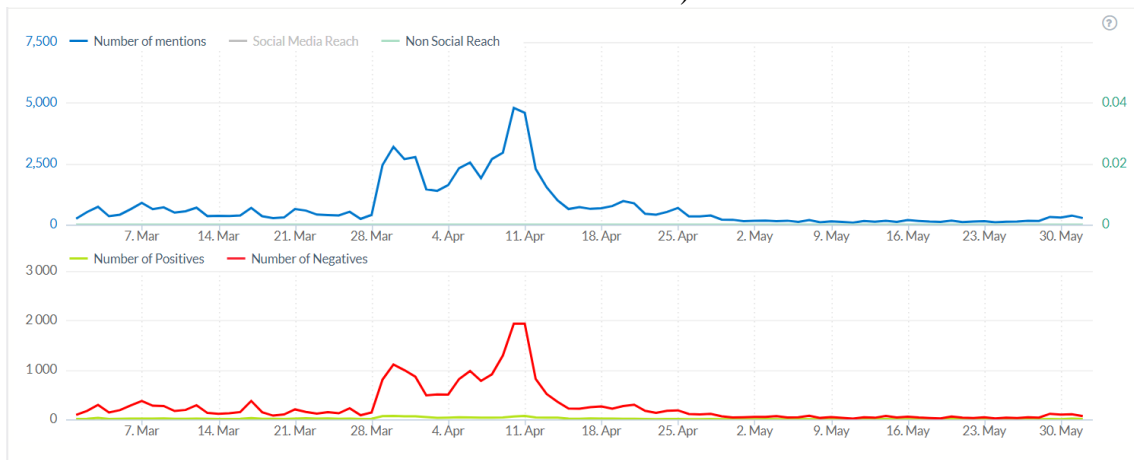
“3 Periode” issue appears to be persistent, as evidenced by the ebb and flow of discussions that took place from March to October 2023, as illustrated in Figure 3. The highest numbers of conversations occurred on Twitter (74,1%) and

followed by news media (11,3%). The initial peak spike occurred on 30 March 2022 and the highest occurred on 11 April 2022. This discourse subsequently reoccurred on 29 March 2022 and reintroduced by Asosiasi Pemerintah Desa Seluruh Indonesia (APDESI) in “Silaturahmi Nasional APDESI” event at Istora Senayan Jakarta. This event was attended by President Joko Widodo and several notable figures, including Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, Tito Karnavian (Minister of Home Affairs), Pratikno (Minister of State Secretary), Abdul Halim Iskandar (Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia) , Arie Setiady (Vice Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia), and Surta Wijaya (Chairman of APDESI).

APDESI is an organization which accommodates the village governments throughout Indonesia. The presence of ministers and high state officials can be interpreted to show the importance of village’s government in regional and nation development. Within this particular context, the resurgence of the discourse concerning “3 Periode” may be associated with an endeavor to solicit support on upcoming president election in 2024 and to continue the development and reform programs implemented in the previous term. This also indicates the portrayal of the functions and positions held by the village's governing authority is considered important in the development and progress of the nation. As a consequence, the topic of “3 Periode” was brought into focus during the event. The significance of ministers and high state officials presence in the event revealed the central government’s support for regional development, especially at the village level. During Joko Widodo’s leadership, government has shown significant attention to the infrastructure, healthcare, and education in regional scope development, including villages. APDESI’s national social gathering also serves as a forum to gather all inputs and suggestions from village leaders in order to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the development programs that have been implemented thus far. It indicates how important collaboration between central and regional government in advancing development in Indonesia. The resurfaced three period discourse can be interpreted as an effort to gain support from regional government especially the village’s leaders in 2024 president election. Furthermore, this discourse can be seen as a part of political strategy to sustain development and reformation program that has been implemented before.

Overall, APDESI national gathering serves as a crucial forum for deliberating development at regional level and to strengthen collaboration between central and regional government. The discourse of “3 Periode” that has been reemerged reflects political dynamics that took place in Indonesia, as an efforts to sustain development programs and garner support from local governments constituted one of the primary focal points. The “3 Periode” discourse development had risen, although not as high as at the beginning of 2022, particularly at the end of May, in mid and late June, mid-July, early August, and experiencing a subsequent increase in early September 2022.

Figure 4. Sentiment and Conversation about "3 Periode" on Twitter (1 March 2022-1 June 2022)



Source: Researcher's Data (2023)

On the social media platform Twitter, within the time span from March 1, 2022 to June 1, 2022, as depicted in Figure 4, there is an observed increase in activity on March 29, 2022, coinciding with the National Gathering event which gave rise to the discourse "3 Periode," reaching its zenith on April 11. On this particular date, a large-scale demonstration against a potential third term subsequently occurred, after which the activity gradually decreased until May 1, 2022 (National Worker's Day).

Novelty in this study using Discourse Communication Network Analysis through big data social media will obtain visualization into a network so that Faucauldian Discourse Analysis studies on social media that not only talk about what is hidden but also the relationships that occur between actors with one another.

B. OVERVIEW

Network Society and Social Media

Social media is inseparable from the network society. The term network society was introduced in 1981 by Norwegian sociologist and social psychologist Stein Braaten, who described network society as a society supported by communication networks and information technology. According to Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells, network society emerged as a society transitioning from the industrial age to the information age. In this era of oppression, capitalism is no longer the center of production, but rather the center of science and information. Castells calls network society the economic manifestation of this new era's social structure, global information economy, cultural expression, and virtual reality culture. According to Castells, networks now form a new architecture in society, and the organization of social relations has become mainstream. For Castells, a network is a system of distributed nodes that communicate. Each node is necessary for the system to function, although not all nodes have the same importance. Communication between nodes in these networks is multidimensional and multidirectional, and is not limited by time and space. Castells argues that social networks themselves are not new. The difference

between a networked society is that microelectronic communication technologies such as the Internet and mobile communication are used to process documented information, so society does not need to be described as a specific geographical space of a country, but only for communication purposes there is no need to describe it as a space and information flow.

Castells stated that the new social networks exhibit remarkable efficiency by adeptly managing complexity, demonstrating high levels of dynamism and innovation, and swiftly adapting to evolving social circumstances. The advent of a networked society introduces alterations in social dynamics, interpersonal relationships, and the connections between individuals, institutions, and organizations. The control over network access is no longer confined to influential social cohorts, as the network has progressively become accessible to the global populace. In 1997, Castells cited the example of the marginalized Zapatistas, an indigenous political group in Mexico, which harnessed the Internet to coordinate their endeavors and advocate for autonomy and self-determination in their dealings with the Mexican government. WikiLeaks serves as another illustrative instance of Internet activism as a component of democratic engagement (Castells, 2010).

Social media messages containing accusations and negative criticism of political groups that are out of place are favored by the public, so criticism gets louder even without facts and increases rapidly, regardless of social, economic or political class. Political information on Indonesian social media tends to be obtained through individual or group accounts that are inseparable from parties that are not considered sources. The one-sided focus on fulfilling information needs makes people less concerned about the accuracy and effectiveness of information. Political groups use social media as a supporting force to influence audiences, mobilize actors, and continue to investigate controversial messages. The spread of fake news related to political conflicts brings uncertainty in society. The mainstream media is trapped as a secret party media or clearly supports a certain political faction. In fact, on the one hand, people expect the mainstream media to disseminate information objectively, so people cannot fully trust the mainstream media, especially those associated with certain political groups. (Susanto, 2017). In online media, politics can develop towards achieving negative goals such as black campaigns, spreading fake news (hoaxes), imposing certain ideologies, and others (Retnosari et al., 2019).

Power and Knowledge

Foucault's interest on how power created through technology and knowledge. Power is one dimension of a relation; where there is power, a relationship exists, and this dynamic appends everywhere. Panopticon represents the ubiquitous reality of a structure wherein inmates are continuously monitored by prison authorities. Power intensifies as inmates regulate their behavior out of concern for being observed by guards stationed in the tower. This illustrates the clear relationship between knowledge, technology and power. (Ritzer, 2018). In the development of technology, especially in the era of social media, the contestation of knowledge and power is facilitated by social media, which currently has more developed characteristics on Twitter.

Power within Foucault's perspective is productive and reproductive. Productive and reproductive here are omnipresent and normalized within disciplinary practices that are not centralized. Power is a term used for complex-strategic situations in society. Power should be regarded as a multifaceted and decentralized set of relationships, akin to a network that is perpetually generated in each moment and every relation. Nietzsche influenced Michel Foucault's concept of power. According to Foucault, traditional political philosophy is always oriented towards legitimacy. In this case, power is something that is metaphysically legitimized to the state so that the state can oblige its citizens to obey. For Foucault, power is everywhere and power is not only controlled by the state (M Foucault & Sheridan, 2002).

Knowledge and power, the will to power is an engine by which the discourse of knowledge seeks to discover truth and falsehood. What is true and eliminates what is considered false is determined by knowledge. The will to truth is an expression of the will to power. Knowledge cannot be neutral and pure because there is always a correlation: power contains knowledge as well as knowledge contains power. One scientific explanation seeks to dominate by eliminating other scientific explanations. The existence of technology facilitates coercion, especially science which is manifested in technology (a shift in the instrument used to coerce). Knowledge organizers consistently generate knowledge as a source of power; there is no knowledge without power, and conversely, there is no power without knowledge (Michel Foucault, 1980). Controlling power is closely related to the implementation of discipline. The phenomenon of body discipline is always controlled by two instruments of discipline applied from military discipline in society. In handling deviance, the apparatus/psychiatrist is not a scientist but an adjudicating power (Michel Foucault, 2012).

The convenience of social media cannot be separated from the power relations between social media and human life itself. Basically, social media users are like prisoners in a panopticon who always feel watched and adjust to the wishes of the guards. Netizens also basically assume that they are being watched for the content they share and even framing the content to make an impression on other netizens. The Panopticon effect shapes our identity on social media. Netizens realize or do not realize that their communication production is stored in big data and will be directly accessible to millions of other netizens connected in the network. In Foucault's perspective, social media is nothing more than a tool to shape identity and engage in its subjectivation. In social media, private space becomes publicly shared consumption where there must be parties who monitor and even follow without space and time constraints. The awareness of being monitored makes netizens lose their freedom, which is what Foucault calls the Panopticon-the space of power relations.

Power, knowledge, and discourse are three things that underlie Foucault's thoughts about reality or phenomenon that occur in societal context. Power in Marxist perspective about determinism material and class in society, knowledge as the history of ideas or thoughts, and discourse are structural linguistic (the use of language in the context of society). Power plays a role in the process of shaping individual subjectivity and dictates how to behave and act (in their role in society)

including the continuation of speech, language, writing and conversation that is produced. The reproduction of knowledge and truth in society depends on how truth and knowledge are conveyed, which ultimately belongs to the dominant power. Truth is seen from who states with the language used and how the subject assesses the truth itself so that knowledge can be revealed in its origin and context. Discourse not only looks at language production and language rules but also at the context in which the language is used and the rules of language and language use are made. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis terminology used (collection of facts/data for analysis) includes: Structural linguistics, archives, archaeology of knowledge and discursive formations (Ida, 2014).

Discourse can be revealed through a systematic formation of ideas, concepts, opinions, and worldviews within a specific context, ultimately influencing both actions and modes of thought. In Foucault's case, power is always conveyed through knowledge where knowledge always has a power effect. The organizers of power in this case can be said to always produce knowledge about the truth as the basis of their power. Foucault's concept has the consequence that to find out about power, research is needed on the production of knowledge that underlies power because in every arrangement of power, power is established and even power is realized through knowledge and through certain discourses (Eriyanto, 2005).

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis emphasize on power and knowledge that determined on how body and behavior dictate someone to the reality that they created. How narratives or posts that create knowledge have a relationship with power. Social media creates knowledge produced by social media actors as a conditioning space for power/knowledge relations. On social media there is also no power relationship without being stated in relation to the knowledge area. This is where genealogy finds its true meaning that the discourse produced becomes an arena for power struggles. According to Michel Foucault, discourse analysis is a way to analyze how meanings and values in society are produced and communicated through discourse or discourse that prevails in society. Foucault's discourse, or better known as Foucault's discourse theory, is one of the theories developed by Michel Foucault that explains how understanding of the world is considered true and how this understanding is formed through discourse or conversations that occur in society. This theory emphasizes that the concepts we have and the way we think about the world are formed from the discourse that occurs in society and cannot be separated from the historical and social context.

Kendall and Wickham in their book "Using Foucault's Methods" present the five stages of the Foucauldian discourse analysis procedure, namely: recognizing that discourse is a set of statements organized in a regular and systematic way; identifying the rules of how these statements are made; identifying what can and cannot be said (written); identifying how the spaces in which new statements can be made; and making practices simultaneously material and discursive (Kendall & Wickham, 1999).

The link with discourse on Twitter is that Twitter is one of the most widely used platforms for sharing information, opinions, emotions and ideas on a variety of topics, including politics, culture, health and others. The discourse formed on

Twitter can influence public perception on important issues, as well as create identity and community for its users. However, Twitter also has certain limitations, such as a limited number of characters, algorithms that determine what is displayed on users' timelines, as well as the phenomenon of misinformation, disinformation, polarization and hate speech. Therefore, Foucauldian discourse analysis can help to understand how the 3-period discourse on Twitter is shaped by and shapes power in society.

Identifying the rules of how statements are made is that every discourse has certain criteria that determine what can and cannot be said or written in that discourse. These rules relate to context, genre, style, logic, ethics and so on. They also reflect and reinforce the particular power behind the discourse. Twitter also has certain rules that govern how users can make their statements. Some of these rules are explicit, such as community guidelines, content policies, terms of service and so on. Other rules are implicit, such as social, cultural or political norms that prevail among Twitter users. These rules can limit or facilitate Twitter users' self-expression, as well as indicate who has the authority or legitimacy to speak on certain topics.

Identifying what can and cannot be said (written) in the discourse. This means that not all statements that one might say or write will be accepted or considered valid in a particular discourse. There are some statements that are considered taboo, wrong, inappropriate or irrelevant in that discourse. This stage also involves analyzing how these statements are produced, disseminated, consumed and criticized by the people involved in the discourse. Twitter also has restrictions on what its users can and cannot say (write). Some of these restrictions are technical, such as the limited number of characters, the allowed text or image formats, and features such as retweet, like, reply and others. Others are social, such as public sentiment, trending topics, hashtags, influencers and so on. Still others are political or ideological, such as censorship, blocking, reporting, banning and so on. These restrictions can affect how Twitter users express their opinions on important issues.

Identifying how spaces where new statements can be made means that every discourse has the potential to change or evolve with time and situation. There are several factors that can create new spaces for making new statements in the discourse, such as social, cultural or political change; criticism, challenge or opposition; innovation, creativity or experimentation; and so on. This stage also involves analyzing how these new statements can influence or change the existing discourse. Twitter also has dynamics that can create new spaces for making new statements within the existing discourse. These new spaces can provide opportunities for Twitter users to voice their opinions more freely, widely or diversely.

Making practices simultaneously material and discursive. This means that any discourse does not only consist of abstract words or texts, but also involves concrete actions, behaviors, objects, institutions and others. Discourse and practice influence and shape each other in complex power relations. Twitter is also a social practice that involves various material and discursive aspects. Some of the material aspects involved in Twitter are: the hardware and software used to

access the platform; the network infrastructure and servers that support the platform; the data and algorithms that govern the platform; and the economic and political resources associated with the platform. Some of the discursive aspects involved in Twitter are: the language and style used by users; the topics and issues discussed by users; the views and opinions expressed by users; and the identities and communities formed by users. These material and discursive aspects interact and influence the way Twitter users participate in social discourses.

Thus, it will gain an understanding of how discourse on Twitter is formed and functions in certain historical and social contexts; how discourse on Twitter reflects and influences power and power relations in society; how discourse on Twitter produces or reproduces certain subjects who have certain identities, positions, roles and responsibilities; how discourse on Twitter can change or develop over time and situations; and how discourses on Twitter can be criticized, challenged or offered alternatives by other users. Thus, Foucauldian discourse analysis can provide a critical and comprehensive perspective on social phenomena that occur on Twitter.

C. METHODS

Methodology serves as a tool to generate solutions for the issues presented in order to fulfill the research objectives in this study, employing the Cultural Studies methodology. In the tradition of cultural studies methodology, it can also be done by combining empirical research methods (Ida, 2014). Using empirical research methods in the Cultural Studies Methodology tradition can involve the use of quantitative methods combined with qualitative methods to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the culture and social phenomena under study. It allows researchers to combine the strengths of both methods, namely the more structured and generalized quantitative analysis with the in-depth and contextual understanding of qualitative analysis.

Quantitative research methods cannot reveal the dynamics of social life as a whole, in detail and in depth in the sense that this can be revealed by qualitative research methods. (Suyanto, 2015). The weaknesses of each method have raised awareness, attention, and solutions to overcome by using a combination of the two methods. (Lund, 2012). The increased interest in this research is attributed by Hollstein as an attempt by researchers to combine the strengths of quantitative and qualitative methods in the process offsetting the respective weaknesses of both approaches (Pearce, 2016).

The discourse analysis used in this research is Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as an innovative qualitative method to be applied to social media and discourse encounters, Discourse Communication Network Analysis. Discourse Communication Network Analysis is used to visualize discourse into a network so that it depicts a network (the structure of the communication network formed) related to a certain phenomenon in this case the discourse of 3 periods.

Discourse analysis is a textual analysis that focuses more on language structure and social context and what is used is discourse analysis in the Foucauldian tradition in accordance with the problem of contestation or discourse battles on Twitter social media about 3 periods. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

adheres to Foucault's three key elements of discourse, history and power with 5 Stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis Procedure. (Kendall & Wickham, 1999).

Communication Network Analysis is a way to visualize and explain network structures and communication networks. Besides that, it also explains the relationship between actors so that they can find out the communication patterns of actors in a system. Communication Network Analysis looks at the position of actors and relationships that exist based on communication relationships. Communication network analysis will answer how the communication network structure is formed from political movements or activities carried out related to the 3-period discourse on social media. Big data-based social media research is still relatively new with various challenges ranging from the process of downloading, storing, cleaning, analyzing and making decisions.

From a quantitative perspective, Communication Network Analysis provides a broad view of the total amount of data through a focus on nodexl counts and interactions within the network. From a qualitative perspective, discourse analysis provides an empirical, in-depth perspective on specific elements of the data achieved partly through the researcher's interpretation. Communication Network Analysis is analogous to a zoom tool (macro perspective) to select data to be examined in depth (micro perspective). Through Communication Network Analysis key actors, interactions and conversations can be identified. Through Discourse Analysis, it is possible to analyze conversational messages that have received dominant attributes (the result of Communication Network Analysis) to gain content insights.

The object of this research is tweets in Indonesian (lang:id) about 3 periods with the determination of the data collection period from March 29 to April 11, 2022. The tweets on March 29, 2022 were chosen because on that date the 3-period discourse appeared in the National Village Gathering at Istora Senayan Jakarta, which was attended by the President, Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Minister of Home Affairs and became trending on Twitter social media. Meanwhile, April 11, 2022 was chosen because that day was a big student demonstration as the peak of the rejection of the 3-period discourse.

D. RESEARCH RESULTS

3 Period Discourse

The strong desire to maintain power is shown in such a way through various efforts and structured actions. The efforts made by a number of parties actually show who the figures are, namely the political elites who have been conditioned. In fact, power is not something to be possessed and is not a guide in conditioning public opinion in the digital era. This step, which is believed to be correct, actually creates pseudo power. Genealogically, the 1998 reform wave that occurred has led to the emergence of the reform era which is a form of successful struggle in limiting power. The New Order era at that time was considered not to reflect democratic values in the life of the state so that demands emerged for the enforcement of the rule of law, KKN (corruption, collusion and nepotism), the abolition of the Dwi Fungsi ABRI, regional autonomy, restrictions on presidential

power, and amendments to the 1945 Constitution. During the New Order era, the constitution did not provide a time limit on the president's term of office. This is of course very different from the conditions that exist at this time because the constitution has explicitly stipulated regulations and limits regarding this matter. Based on Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution, the term of office of the president and vice president is five years and can be re-elected to the position for only one term (2 periods). The value contained in the article is the result of learning from the New Order era which has the aim of keeping democracy healthy and leadership succession occurs regularly. Airlangga Pribadi Kusman (Political Scientist of Universitas Airlangga) explicitly stated that 3 periods is a form of betrayal of the 1998 reform. The discourse of the presidential position for up to 3 periods cannot be tolerated because it is considered tantamount to encouraging a state leader to rule for a long period of time and tends to become tyrannical. In his notes, at least in the last three years, there has been a reversal of democracy, namely the tendency to build only aimed at perpetuating power, utilizing the law to weaken the rule of law and the emergence of influencers or buzzers that encourage manufacturing consent (engineering consciousness) so as to give birth to new depotism. This tendency is getting stronger among the elite (Hikam, 2021).

The 3-period discourse resurfaced and became trending on Twitter after APDESI Central Leadership Council (DPP) Chairman Surtawijaya said it after the National Gathering at Istora Senayan Jakarta on Tuesday, March 29, 2022. The event was attended by President Joko Widodo and several other figures including Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, Minister of Home Affairs Tito Karnavian, Minister of State Secretary Pratikno, Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Abdul Halim Iskandar, Deputy Minister of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration Budi Arie Setiadi. The speaker figures, the figures present, the location, the representation, and the atmosphere in this event are strong factors as builders of knowledge and truth created through discourse in the communication delivery space.

As noted in the timeline of the 2019 presidential election, the election was held on April 17, 2019, followed by the decision of the winner on June 30, 2019, followed by the inauguration on October 20, 2019. These dates will be used as the basis for the time span in reading trends related to the issue of 3 periods. Through google trends with the search keyword "3 periods" for all categories in the time span from June 30, 2019 to March 21, 2023, the highest trend increase was obtained from March to April 2022. This means that "3 periods" is being talked about in that time span and it is possible that the busy conversation related to this is closely related to the delivery of the 3-period discourse raised by APDESI after the National Gathering at Istora Senayan Jakarta on Tuesday, March 29, 2022.

There were various figures who attended the National Silaturahmi event. Among these figures, there was one figure who delivered a speech, Surtawijaya, who is the Chairman of the DPP APDESI. During the event, Surtawijaya called for President Joko Widodo to serve three terms, claiming that this was a form of aspiration from village heads (kades) who felt helped by the government and planned to declare support for Joko Widodo for three terms after Idul Fitri 2022.

This statement was then not kept and never implemented as various rejections and strong criticism emerged from various circles. The Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment, Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, is said to be the actor behind the discourse. (CNN Indonesia, 2022). Luhut Binsar Panjaitan's presence at the National Gathering event at Istora Senayan was polemic. This was later confirmed by Asep Anwar Sadat, who is the secretary general of APDESI, that Luhut's presence at the event was at the invitation of APDESI. Luhut made a claim that the Indonesian people want to postpone the 2024 elections as recorded in 110 million big data social media public aspirations. The statement was delivered in the #closethedoor podcast on Deddy Corbuzier's YouTube channel on Friday, March 11, 2022. (Detikcom, 2022). The podcast program hosted by Deddy Corbuzier can be considered a popular program considering that videos and footage from the show often go viral and become topics of discussion on social media. More than 30 podcasts on his YouTube channel have been watched more than 10 million times with the highest number of views being 34.9 million.

Minister of Home Affairs Tito Karnavian said that voicing the extension of the presidential term is not something that is prohibited, the constitution can be changed, only the holy book is taboo to be changed. (Liputan6.com, 2022). In a working meeting with Commission II of the House of Representatives, Tito explained that there are no rules for village heads and village officials not to engage in practical politics. Tito does not have the authority to reprimand village heads in APDESI for making declarations related to 3 periods. According to him, if this is prohibited, it will violate the rules and the spirit of reform because there is no legal basis that prohibits village heads from declaring before the election. (Waspada.co.id, 2022).

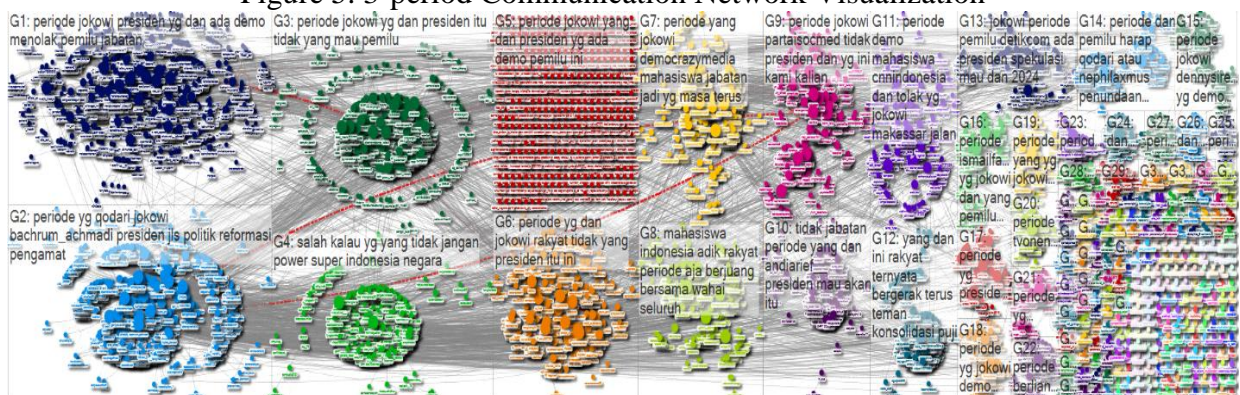
Three days in a row, three political party elites echoed the discourse of postponing the election. This discourse was first echoed by Muhaimin Iskandar, Chairman of PKB, after receiving MSME players, entrepreneurs and economic analysts from various banks in the House of Representatives Delegation Room, Nusantara III, Jakarta, Wednesday, February 23, 2022. The next day, on February 24, 2022, Airlangga Hartarto, Chairman of the Golkar Party, conveyed the aspirations of farmers in Siak Regency, Riau regarding the sustainability of the Jokowi administration so that it could serve for 3 periods. And then on February 25, 2022, Zulkifli Hasan, Chairman of PAN, agreed that the 2024 elections should be postponed. (Retaduari, 2022). Powerful figures, media popularity, and digital space and its acceleration are considered strong factors to amplify communication in building knowledge and truth. In the end, the main discourse loses to the counter discourse in the contestation. The main discourse weakened and metamorphosed into a damper for action but it still could not become a consensus that led to student action on April 11, 2022. This can be traced through the communication network analysis deepened with the FDA.

3 Period Discourse Communication Network

The communication network formed on the "3 periods" discourse in Indonesian (lang:id) from March 29, 2022 to April 11, 2022 consisted of 7,704 Twitter users who generated 23,599 ties (4,388 unique and 19,211 duplicate). There were 9 communication relations, namely: Tweet, Retweet, Mention in

Retweet, Quote, Replies to, Mentions in Reply to, Mentions, Mentions in Quote Reply, and Mentions in Quote tweet. A unique edge is established when there is only one tweet, retweet, mention, or reply between two users, but an edge with duplicates or the number of repeated point pairs is established when there is more than one tweet, retweet, mention, or reply between users. There are 694 connected components. A connected component is a set of nodes or sub-networks that are connected to each other but disconnected from the rest of the network. In other words, a component refers to a part of the network that remains intact after removing an isolate. A component can contain multiple clusters. There are 469 isolates or single-vertex connected components that are not connected to any other node in the entire network. (D. L. Hansen et al., 2011)..

Figure 5. 3-period Communication Network Visualization



Source: Researcher's Data (2023)

This network has a density level of 0.000405096313839236 indicating a low level of interconnection between actors. Based on a 0-1 density level with the highest value of 1 meaning all users are connected. (Hanneman & Riddle, n.d.). In this study, a very low density of 0.000405096313839236 was identified, which means that in this network, the density score of 40 out of 100,000 users is connected, so it can be said that the issue of 3 periods has a very low intensity of interaction and is less effective so that it can be said that communication and cooperation are not good. This illustrates that 3 periods will have difficulty in reaching consensus and difficulty in achieving common goals. (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Identified top 10 influencers based on Betweenness Centrality value are accounts: @jokowi (8807484,440), @fahmiagustian (3915535,044), @bachrum_achmadi (2487784,480), @andiarief__ (2152365,425), @democrazymedia (1847785,409), @cnnindonesia (1391352,553), @amrizaldy511 (1306148,319), @nicho_7777 (1183746,914), @drevachaniago (1141861,488), and @detikcom (965608,054). The dominant hashtags in the top 5 (five) intact networks include #mahasiswabergerak (451), #sayabersamajokowi (235), #jokowilayakturun (182), #jokowitaatkonstitusi (66), and #lengserkanjokowi (49). There is no hashtag that echoes 3 periods in the network, this reinforces that the main discourse weakens and metamorphoses into a damper on action but still cannot become a consensus until it leads to student action on the streets.

Vertices are clustered using the Clauset-Newman-Moore cluster algorithm where this algorithm helps group data based on the similarity between the data. This algorithm works by selecting a random point as the starting point, then finding points adjacent to the starting point and adding them to the cluster, a process that repeats until no more points can be added to the cluster (Clauset et al., 2004). (Clauset et al., 2004). In this study, 264 clusters were identified. Cluster 1 is more about accompanying Jokowi and a statement of obedience to the constitution. Cluster 2 is a cluster of the student movement and support for overthrowing tyranny. Cluster 3 is also a cluster of the student movement and demands to remove Jokowi. Cluster 4 is a cluster of Cak Nun supporters who support student action. Cluster 5 is also a cluster of the student movement that rejects 3 terms. Cluster 6 is a cluster that demands Jokowi to step down and supports student action. Cluster 7 is also a cluster of the student movement that rejects the postponement of elections. Cluster 8 is also a cluster of the student movement against 3 terms. Cluster 9 is a cluster that demands Jokowi to step down and supports students. Cluster 10 is also a cluster supporting the student movement. The majority of the narratives built in the clusters that were formed rejected 3 periods, only a few outside of it, but not to narrate 3 periods but rather to obey the constitution. Strengthening the findings of the main discourse is inferior to the counter discourse in the contestation. The main discourse weakened and metamorphosed into a damper for action but it still could not become a consensus that led to student action on April 11, 2022.

Discourse Contestation

The 3-period discourse contestation on Twitter social media can be studied through the network structure formed along with other attributes identified through Communication Network Analysis. The phenomenon of social media as a venue for public expression in the past was mostly done in physical areas, while nowadays it is mostly done in digital areas through social media, which creates a network that can be visualized. This new space of contestation in building knowledge and truth is a form of effort for a figure to be accepted by the community so that it is increasingly legitimized in the hope that there will be many people who use, share, and distribute the posts that have been published. As has happened before, people or figures are assumed to be in a position of power and are often considered to have the ability to change and influence what is believed to be true. With the calculation of communication network analysis, the ranking of actors who made discourse about the 3 periods can be identified.

Actor @jokowi builds knowledge "We have agreed that the elections will be held on February 14, 2024 and the regional elections in November 2024. The election stages have started in mid-June 2022. Then, on April 12, the KPU and Bawaslu for the 2022-2027 period will be inaugurated and immediately prepare for the 2024 simultaneous elections and regional elections". The knowledge narrative that was built very carefully to withstand the turmoil of the community, especially students, was delivered at 5:50 PM on April 10, 2022. Followed by an affirming knowledge narrative "I heard the issues circulating in the community that the government is trying to postpone the elections or speculation about the extension of the President's term of office, and about three periods. We have

already agreed on the 2024 election schedule. So, all of that is clear.", delivered at 5:50 PM on April 10, 2022. Followed by a reminder knowledge narrative "Towards this political democratic event, the temperature usually warms up. That's normal but don't let people be provoked by political interests that are not useful.", delivered at 5:50 PM April 10, 2022. It is identified that it is very late to see the graph of the tension of the movement of issues and the movement of sentiment with the movement of digital actors of informal figures who have new power, the power of network society.

Actor @fahmiagustian, Cak Nun's fan account builds knowledge "If Indonesia does not become a super power country, it means there is something wrong with the leadership! So don't choose the wrong leader. If two terms have failed, don't dare to do three terms. Cak Nun firmly conveyed that in front of Mbak @puanmaharani_ri." The narrative of contestation rejects 3 periods by assessing the failure in 2 periods as the leader's fault. The narrative received quite a lot of attention and support with 2544 retweets, 9065 likes, and 120 quotes. Contestation rejects the main discourse by building knowledge about the leader. Actor @bachrum_achmadi, a social media activist builds knowledge "M Qodari is the only political observer who most aggressively echoes Jokowi for 3 periods. M Qodari is a traitor to reformasi. Not worthy of being labeled as an observer! 🐦", submitted at 9:21 PM April 10, 2022. Contestation rejects the main discourse through the spirit of reformasi by bringing up a figure who betrayed reformasi. Actor @andiarief__, a Democrat party politician built a narrative of certainty knowledge through "The awaited statement, "I will not extend the office and do not want a 3-period presidency" whatever the reason", delivered at 10:10 PM April 10, 2022. Contestation rejects by asking for certainty from the subject of extending the presidential term, questioning the president's position in this matter. Actor @amrizaldy511, an account that positions itself as a true opposition, builds knowledge "O Indonesian people, wherever you are (all over Indonesia), join the struggle with the younger siblings of students, students alone are not strong and unable to fight, to oppose Jokowi's 3 periods", delivered at 2:15 AM April 10, 2022 accompanied by a video of the action. The knowledge narrative received enough attention and support through 611 retweets, 1903 likes, and 27 quotes. Actor @nicho_7777, a social media activist account known to be active in criticizing the government on various issues of building knowledge "Praise God, friends continue to move and consolidation is widened, it turns out that this movement is fully supported by elements of the people who are already worried about rising prices of fuel, electricity, gas, VAT and other basic necessities. To hell with 3 periods or extension of office, it's time for People Power. 🇮🇩", submitted at 11:25 PM April 9, 2022. Contestation of rejection by frontally calling for people power. The knowledge narrative received a lot of support and attention through 1150 retweets, 4458 likes, and 54 quotes. Actor @drevachaniago, lung doctor Eva Sri Diana Chaniago's account reposted accounts that rejected the 3-period discourse during the research period.

Actors @democrazymedia, @cnnindonesia, and @detikcom are media actors in the network reporting on 3 periods. There is no visible knowledge narrative from actors who are measured as top influencers who bring up the

discourse of 3 periods, 6 main actors in this network reject the main discourse, 3 main actors are the media, and only 1 actor is not an actor who narrates 3 periods but instead the subject of 3 periods who seems to "ketiban sampur" suddenly gets the task of completing work.

Twitter in Digital Democracy

In domestic and international politics, particularly in the context of social movements, demonstrations, and protests, social media has played an increasing role. The *Arab Spring* or what is often referred to as the "Twitter Revolution" contributed to political debates and the spread of movement messages around the world (Cottle, 2011; Howard & Parks, 2012). Twitter created a new digital democratic territory in freedom of expression, as a public space for exchanging ideas, debating, learning, and contesting *discourse*.

During the mass media era, *discourse* contestation was only reserved for the elite - the era of information creation and flow controlled by the news media, namely journalists and media owners. Meanwhile, the general public tends to be its consumers (passive). The public passively consumes information presented by the mass media. Journalists can be said to be a powerful source of information due to their control over the means of information production such as sources, tools and technology to collect, produce and disseminate information. The presence of the internet, especially social media, has changed many things. Digital media and communication technologies provide an arena for communication from many to many. Shifting control to the audience, making them active, interactive and involved in the whole process of information flow such as production, consumption and dissemination (Castells, 2004). The presence of this technology allows almost everyone to be able to frame and disseminate their own content to build as well as maintain relationships as part of digital discussions, especially on social media Twitter. Contestation facilitated by technology is mediated on the social media application Twitter

Twitter creates a wide selection of news and information, as well as the ability to find what you want by providing a space for sharing. News media utilize Twitter to share information, as a discussion space, and also a means to attract netizens to visit their news sites. One of the goals of political discourse is how heterogeneous communities contest ideas, notions and beliefs in order to collectively form a common public opinion. Online political discourse creates virtual groups of netizens who identify themselves in relation to certain schools of thought, groups, and offline socio-political communities (Himmelboim et al., 2009). The networked media environment creates a space to communicate where people from different groups, ideologies, backgrounds, cultures, and geographies can come together. It has become a platform for people who have diverse sets of values and beliefs to find like-minded individuals and form their own. (Himmelboim et al., 2013).

Twitter has been recognized as one of the top social media for news and political discourse (Hansen et al., 2011). Twitter has become a powerful tool for political deliberation especially during elections and other political events (Tumasjan et al., 2010). Twitter is a media space for news and political *discourse* that includes the voices of citizens (Himmelboim et al., 2013). Twitter is even

referred to as a news media that hosts millions of social relations in addition to disseminating information around the world (Kwak & Cho, 2018).

In the view of Foucault and Stuart Hall, the 3-period issue can be interpreted as an effort by dominant groups to build narratives and knowledge that support their interests and suppress minority voices. In the communication network related to the 3-period issue, there are a variety of actors involved, namely individuals, as well as media organizations. 3 of the top 10 influencers were identified as media accounts, namely @democrazymedia, @detikcom and @cnnindonesia. However, based on the Top Url cluster analysis, the three media were identified as being in clusters that did not support the 3-period issue.

The next finding is that there are 7 real (personal) accounts and 1 anonymous account identified, and only 1 account is in the 3-period issue cluster. This shows the complexity and variety of actors involved in communication networks related to the 3-period issue, both in terms of identity and political preferences. Analysis of communication networks and top influencers shows how dynamic and complex the issue is.

In the stages of Foucault's discourse analysis (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) data can be analyzed as recognizing discourse as a corpus of various statements that have a regular and systematic organization. In Foucault's discourse analysis, discourse is considered as a corpus or collection of statements that have a certain organization and systematic. In the context of the 3-term issue, discourse can be identified from a collection of tweets that repeatedly discuss the topic, both from individual accounts and media.

Identifying the rules of statement production, especially in determining the types and explanations, the rules of statement production include the ways in which statements are made, the types of statements used, and the explanations given. In the context of the 3-period issue, statement production rules can be seen from the ways in which actors produce tweets and the types of statements used, such as the use of certain words or the repetition of certain words.

Identify the rules that limit what may be said through a given statement. Rules that limit what may be said through statements include things that cannot be said or talked about in a particular discourse. In the context of the 3-period issue, these rules can be found from statements or tweets that avoid or avoid certain issues related to the 3-period issue.

In identifying the rules that create the space in which new statements can be made, the rules that create the space in which new statements can be made include things that support or prevent a discourse from continuing to develop or change. In the context of the 3-period issue, these rules can be found in how actors influence or expand the space of statements through their interactions with followers or other social media users.

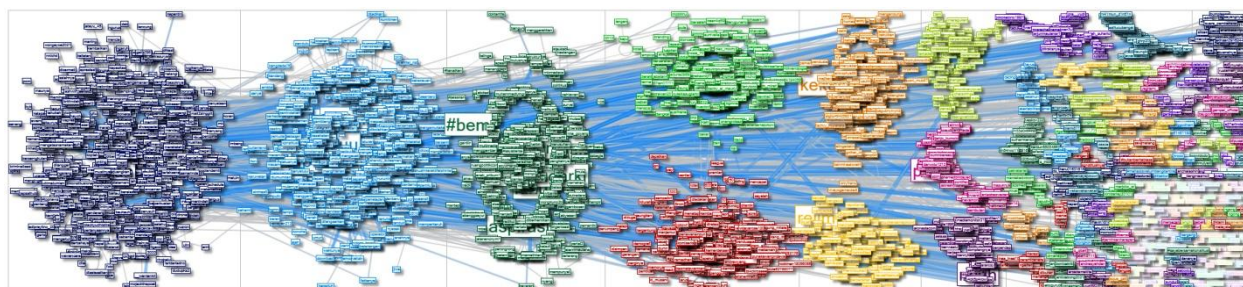
Identify the rules that ensure that practices are material and discursive at the same time. The rules that ensure that practices are material and discursive at the same time include the relationship between practices or actions and the discourse that produces them. In the context of the 3-period issue, such rules can be seen from how actors' practices or actions affect or are affected by certain discourses such as the way they organize campaigns or mobilize support from the public.

In the Foucauldian discourse analysis stage, researchers try to recognize discourse as a corpus or a collection of various statements that have a regular and systematic organization. In this case, the statements in question are all tweets related to the 3-period issue discussed in this study during the research period. In this research period, it was identified that the 3-period issue discourse had an organized and systematic corpus. The actors involved in this discourse conveyed their statements through Twitter social media accounts and interacted with each other. This corpus consists of a number of tweets uploaded by the actors involved, organized by time and type of issue discussed. In recognizing discourse as a corpus of statements. In this study, the tweets posted by the actors tended to use formal and argumentative language, citing reliable sources to support their statements. (Kendall & Wickham, 1999). It can be identified that some tweets received high responses in the 3-period network. These tweets can be categorized into several themes related to the 3-period discourse in this study.

Semantic Network

In text analysis, semantic networks are used to describe the way certain words or ideas are related in a collection of tweets. When two words co-occur frequently in a text, they are connected by links or edges in the semantic network that reflect the semantic relationship between the entities. The semantic network helped reveal the interaction patterns between ideas in the tweet texts related to the discourse of the 3 presidential term extension periods in the research period.

Figure 6. 3-period Semantic Network Visualization



Source: Researcher's Data (2023)

In the semantic network analysis, here are some major themes related to the discourse of the three periods of student rejection: Theme 1: Democracy and Reform (discourse, demo, people, demands, bem, students, action, democracy, reform, reject, amendment, aspiration, riot, and power). Theme 2: Fuel and Oil Issues (price, fuel, oil, and migor). Theme 3: Politics and Government (party, state, Indonesia, position, regime, apdesi, law, panic, 2024, delay, extension, government, oligarchy, and regime).

In the 3-period discourse, the first theme highlighted the students' struggle in support of democracy and reform as well as the rejection of the amendment, the second theme discussed the issue of rejecting the increase in fuel and oil and gas prices that took center stage, and the third theme focused on politics and governance, including the rejection of the regime and oligarchy that was the source of people's discontent.

New Power is a new model of power that is different from conventional power. This is ushered in by mass participation, transparency, collaboration, and distribution of power. Digital activism creates new power that can grow and spread through people's active participation in online networks (Castells, 2009; Foucault & Sheridan, 2002). Discourse 3 of the presidential term extension period seems powerful with the character of its communicators, the scope of the central and village elites and the strength of the media used is actually very weak in the space of digital contestation. The use of social media allows people to contribute, share, and collaborate in ways not possible under the old power model. In reality, these changing power dynamics are not always black and white. Old power still wields influence, but digital activism has presented new alternatives that conventional power holders should consider.

E. CONCLUSION

Digital political communication requires big data-based social research with the support of contemporary theories. Identified elites who rolled out 3 non-contesting periods on social media twitter, a new area of contestation that allows anyone to not only contest but also build discourse. A new free and open political space that allows the emergence of new figures with different powers. Using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, it is found that: 1) Recognizing discourse as a corpus of various statements that have a regular and systematic organization, the statements brought by the elite are always narrated based on data (surveys or big data) of people's aspirations towards constitutional change; 2) Identify the rules of statement production, especially in determining the type and explanation: The dominant discourse is dominated by the argumentation of the rejection of 3 periods where President Joko Widodo's top Influencer tweets narrate muffled but less assertive, giving the impression that he still wants to continue 3 periods in a different way. Tweets that have not been able to stem the rejection of 3 periods that resulted in large demonstrations in various regions in Indonesia; 3). Identifying the limiting rules that may be said through the statements delivered: The constitution clearly limits 2 terms so that the argumentation is always away from the aspirations of the people; 4) Identifying rules that create a space where new statements can be made, rules that create a space where new statements can be made can be seen from the emergence of the 3-term issue on social media (Twitter). In this case, the use of social media creates a new space for conveying arguments and opinions regarding the 3-period issue, whether it is muffling or rejection; and 5) Identifying rules that ensure that practices are material and discursive at the same time, rules that ensure that practices are material and discursive at the same time can be seen from demonstrations carried out by students regarding this issue. The demonstrations show that opinions and statements conveyed in discourse can influence and motivate real actions on the ground.

The major themes obtained along with the development of the movement of issues and the actors who relate them provide insight into knowledge in digital activism to be able to win discourse contestation. The new power map with the relationships formed between actors, themes, and hashtags provides a good basis

for contestation. Powerful conventionally proved powerless in the new contestation arena. The position of the media in the cluster allows a new reading of the media's alignment on an issue.

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