Digital Trace and Critical Discourse Networking under Jokowi Government (2014-2018)

Rachmad Gustomy, Laode Machdani Afala

Digital media is one of the pillars of democracy. The media serves various expressions that support the government or criticize the government. Both are present along with the development of democracy and the rapid progress of digital media. This paper intends to explain the digital trace of Joko Widodo government over his period of power. By using DNA (discourse network analysis) and discourse analysis, this study observes how the criticism of the Jokowi government in 2014-2018 through digital media was then responded to and how discursive networks were formed in it. The presence of various criticisms is one of the consequences of the development of democracy. Indonesia's transformation towards democracy has had a major impact on the changes and dynamics of Indonesian politics. One of the impacts is marked by political liberalization where civil liberties and civil rights, and media freedom are guaranteed by the state. Based on the corpus of politics, economics, law, security, and personality in digital media, the criticism toward Jokowi government show that most of the criticism are not substantive, and only a few are substantive issues such as human right issues. Those critics, mostly, are derived from his opponents that affiliate with one of the presidential candidates who compete with Jokowi in the next presidential election in 2019.

Keywords: digital trace, analytical network, actor-network, digital democracy.

Politics in the present, not only is contested in the real world, but also through digital media. Since the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government came to power in 2013, the media has become one of the important pillars that directly or indirectly strengthen government power as well as an effective channel for the aspirations of the people who are outside the government. Communities in the development of digital media have the ability to create and distribute information through what Manuel Castelll (2009) calls "mass self-communication", which is the use of digital media to create personal messages that have the potential to reach the masses. The media transforms every aspect of individual action and becomes the most extensive space in which humans can be involved. Therefore, digital media in this study is a public space where everyone can be involved in the political process, especially in responding to the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government from 2013 to 2018.

Digital media has dramatically influenced the political life of a country. This happened after the life of modern society was transformed from the phase of the Industrial Revolution into the phase of the digital revolution. This phase has had a significant impact on political life, especially towards countries that are in the third wave of democracy. These advances, in particular, have given rise to various myths such as democracy, political harmony, the peaceful world, and the latest is free digital information myths. In the context of the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration, digital media is a medium that bridges how citizens participate in political life at both the local and national levels.

In the democracy, digital media has transformed the way in which humans communicate, interact and consume a lot of information including presenting political information. Gilardi (2016) and Farrell (2012) explain that the digital revolution has influenced the process of democratic change, which influences political mobilisation, opinion polarisation, and campaign strategies and as a tool to help create good governance. However, there are not a few negative effects caused by the massive progress of digital media especially in triggering the turmoil of a country's divisions. Indonesia, in this context, has become an epicenter where digital media has a significant role in the changes and political processes, especially in the era of President Jokowi's administration.

Literature Review

In several studies, digital media is considered to have a big role in the process of changing a country's politics. As explained by Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain (2011) when observing the wave of democracy that occurred in Middle Eastern countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen and Saudi Arabia, known as the Arab Spring, which saw the media as an actor or institution that is important in the political process of a country. Digital media such as Facebook and Twitter have played a significant role in mobilising civil society and demanding political change. The collapse of dictatorial regimes such as Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt as well as Muammar Qadhafi in Libya are examples of the success of the role of digital media as actors of democracy - "digital democracy". In line with Jan A.G.M. Van Dijk Efek (2013) that digital democracy is a means of democratic revolution in politics and public governance regarding the basic problems of political activity and the beliefs of citizens in government.

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Conversely, in a negative tone as explained by Joshua A. Tucker, et al (2017), digital media played a role in moving a number of protests and triggering political polarisation in the United States elections in 2016. The digital media encouraged the emergence of turmoil and political instability of a country. A number of autocratic regimes are rapidly adapting to limit the impact of digital media development, one of which is to carry out censorship strategies to silence opposition. Digital media ultimately negatively correlates with the development of democracy itself.

In Indonesia, the development of digital media as one of the actors of democracy occurred especially after the collapse of the New Order regime. According to Cornelis Lay (2010), the reformation era has marked the occurrence of several democratic changes, namely, the massive installation of democratic institutions, political liberalization, and dispersion of power. These changes have implications for the political life of Indonesian society; especially on the level of people's participation in public affairs (see Samadhi & Warouw, 2009). The guarantee of civil liberties and political rights as well as freedom of the press that is guaranteed by the country in the Indonesian reform era has transformed the way the people articulate their public interests.

In the era of Jokowi's 2014-2018 presidential administration, the presence of digital media provided convenience to the people of Indo-

nesia both personally and in groups in voicing opinions, giving criticism and suggestions to the government. However, the dense amount of information and the increasing number of digital media users have had an impact on the distribution of asymmetric and biased information. Some parties use digital media only as a means of personal or group interests. Complaint data on the use of digital media during 2017 increased by 900% from 6,357 to 60,135 complaints (Kompas, 2/1/2018). At present, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Youtube are the most widely used digital media by the people of Indonesia. Negative content such as hoax and utterances of hate-related to SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, Inter group) became news content that was very wary in Jokowi's era.

In the electoral context, criticism of the Jokowi government experienced a significant increase. This happened because of the political momentum both in the simultaneous regional elections in 2014, 2017 and 2018 as well as the presidential election in 2019. In addition, this is also caused by the increasing use of social media users, both ordinary people, and politicians who are active as digital media users. Digital media provides a broad space of interaction for various political actors to smooth out their political attractions, build political communication, political campaigns and political mobilisation. According to Wisnu (2013), in the electoral contexts, the digital media plays an important role in determining voter behavior. Milling information about the news wildly, on the one hand, has led to excessive democracy. But on the other hand, the presence of such criticism has become important to safeguard and prevent the emergence of a new form of authoritarianism in the form of democracy.

In the context of the development of digital media, a number of discursive criticisms of the Jokowi government were born that followed the characteristics of the digital world. In this case, the media, on the one hand, became a space for the production of negative news and produced positive images that differed from reality. Castells (2011) explains that in the world of internet (digital media), power is asymmetrical because everyone has different power and influence. In the internet era, people are gathered in horizontal networks that are interrelated and affect each other, which Castell called a network society. But on the other hand, digital media is also an actor of democracy that bridges public interests.

Thus, digital transformation has created new challenges and opportunities for politicians, political institutions and the media to engage

deeply with citizens. Julia Schwanholz and Todd Graham (2018.p, 1-3) and Manuel Castells (2010) state that human life is currently mediated by the internet and new media. However, the fundamental aspect of this development is whether the progress of the internet and new media (digital media) provides alternative public spaces for the development of democracy? The Castells' question became relevant in the study to see how the digital traces and constructive structure of netizen criticism in the Jokowi government 2014-2018.

Theoretical Approaches

1. Actor-Network Theory

Actor-network theory is a theory that is more focused on the shape or structure of networks composed of various actors that are interconnected. According to Susanti et al. (2014), Actor-network Theory explicitly seeks to connect different elements together towards the network, thus forming a seemingly coherent whole. In the perspective of this theory, it is considered important to know and understand the initial formation of a network by actors. Because the beginning of the network that was formed became a trigger for making a reality. Bruno Lator explained that each actor has a relationship with others because every actor has a social life. This is what becomes an intermediary for the spread of an understanding of something to others. For example, an actor has an idea or understanding of a problem that he conveyed to the public. This understanding or idea has the potential to become a trigger for the public to agree with their ideas or understanding. Therefore, the search for actors becomes important in the perspective of this theory to find out the network structure that is formed. In research on network theory, actors are used as a tool to dissect the networks formed in post-reform Pancasila discourse. This is done in order to explore the actors involved in the problem.

2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis in this study is intended to interpret or interpret the text that is in digital media. Along with the use of discourse as a study in various sciences, many scientists define the concept of discourse. Susan Straus and Paraston Feiz (2014) say that;

> Discourse is the social and cognitive process of putting the world into words, transforming our perceptions, experiences,

emotions, understanding, and desires into a common medium for expression and communication, through language and other semiotic resources.

In another sense from Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (1983), discourse includes three senses, namely: Communication of thoughts with words, expression of ideas or ideas, conversations, communication in general, especially as a subject of study or subject study, and treatise such as formal dissertations, lectures, lectures, and sermons. According to Sunderland and Lossetii, discourse is broader than what is called the text "... discourse is a text in a context". In other words, discourse is something that is interrelated with the text, and context.

Research Methods

The subjects in this study were variations of the keywords from "Criticism to the Jokowi government" which were recorded in the object of the Digital Trail from October 2014 - April 2018, where it was calculated from when Jokowi was appointed until the beginning of this study. The assumption is that at that time the Jokowi government would have produced many criticisms which received pro and contra responses. Object limits will only be taken from data mining on the google.com server, where all news, responses, comments that have the validity of actor references will be used as sources of analysis. After the data mining, the researchers need to filter the data that has been obtained. The next process after the data filtering is the data coding using the DNA application (Discourse Network Analysis). Therefore, researchers must be able to operationalize the DNA applications correctly. After that, the coding was performed based on the categories of person, organisation, category, and agreement.

The final stage is done after the data has been coded using the DNA application. The DNA data files that have been exported are then opened in the Visone or Gephi application. When the data is entered it will visualize it in the form of a network. This form of network is called the political discourse network which in this study is about the critical discourse of the Jokowi Government. After the data is visualized in the form of a network image, the researcher will identify the actors and read the relationships that appear.

Discussion

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The location of the actor and issue shows how central his position is in the developing discourse. Each level of the circle has a difference of 20 digits from the outside to the inner side. The following are the results of the visualization of six corpus statements.

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1. Economic Corpus

From the process of codifying the discourse and its actors and networks, a map of the discourse network is obtained as a map in the picture. From the mapping of the economic body, some analytical conclusions can be drawn that illustrate the centrality of the issues in the economic body.

First, the discourse on subsidy revocation is the most widely criticized and responded to in the Jokowi government. This discourse is the most central issue that occurred at the beginning of Jokowi's administration. Through the revocation of fuel subsidies, the Jokowi government was finally able to save Rp. 600 trillion in money which is usually used for fuel subsidies. Most of the funds for fuel subsidies are diverted to infrastructure development, education budgets, and social assistance. Based on the results of data codification, more parties agreed with the revocation of subsidies. There are only a few parties who disagree and are neutral. A number of parties who agreed with the discourse included BPH Migas, Pertamina, IMF, Andalas University, LSI and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, while those who did not agree were Nasdem, Organda, and Energy Watch.

Second, when the rupiah was weakened, a lot of criticism was directed in Jokowi's policies. This discourse gained much opposition from many circles, but many also agreed with the policy. Based on the results of the codification of discourse, a number of parties agreed, such as OJK, Andalas University, and many other parties. While those who disagreed among them were students who criticized Jokowi, Center of Economic Reform, Governor of Bank Indonesia and many other parties. This discourse was triggered by the Rupiah exchange rate which tended to depreciate against the dollar. Many responses flowed profusely which was addressed to Jokowi, regarding causality towards the weakening of the Rupiah exchange rate. Pieter Abdullah Redjalam (Center of Economics Reform) gives the view that the weakening expe-

Figure 1
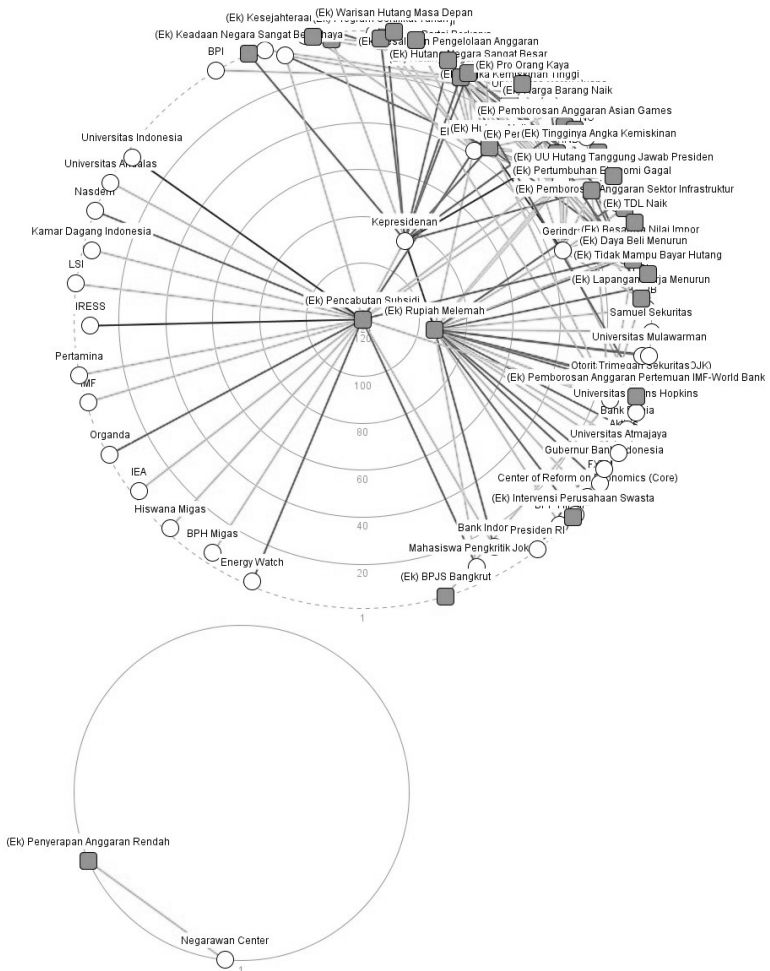
rienced by the rupiah at this time is actually the same pressure in recent months taking into consideration global economic turmoil ranging from trade wars, crises in Turkey and Argentina, to the upward trend in the Fed's interest rates. The government through Sri Mulyani (the Economic Minister) also gave her own views, looking at the current account trend and also the domestic trade balance that had a deficit.

Third, the issue of the presidency in the Jokowi government showed more agreement. Various discourses of criticism that arise related to this include the issue that the country is in a dangerous state, pro-rich people policy, very large national debt and other issues.

Fourth, the peripheral discourse includes decreasing employment, decreasing purchasing power, inability to pay profits, the magnitude of import values and other discourses. The discourse of weakening the rupiah is directly related to peripheral discourses which indirectly influence and at the same time serve as a means for the birth of the discourse of weakening the rupiah.

2. Political Corpus

From the process of codifying the discourse and its actors and networks, a map of the discourse network is obtained as a map in the picture. Some analytical conclusions can be drawn from the mapping of the political corpus that describes the centrality of the issues that exist within the political corpus. From the mapping of the political corpus some analytical conclusions can be drawn as follows;

Figure 2
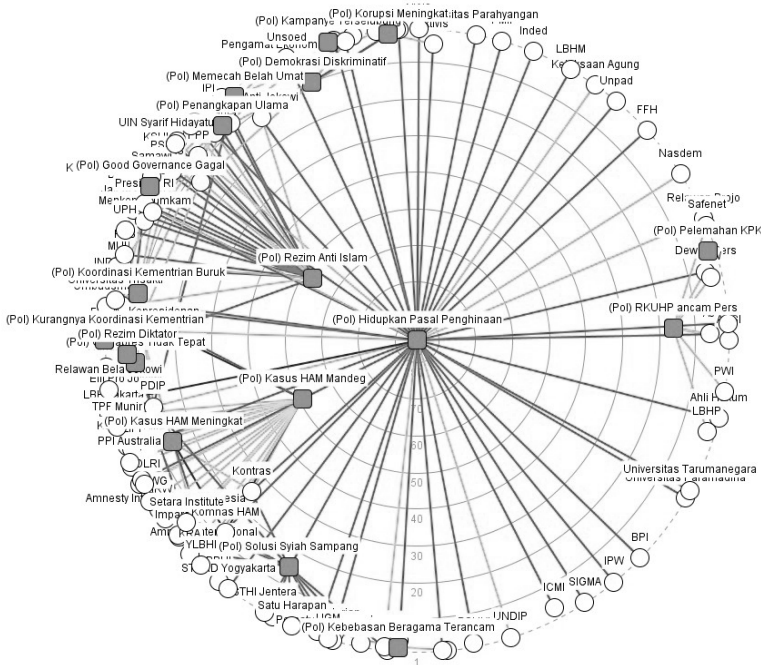
First, based on the results of the codification, the issue of activating the insulting article is the most central issue in the political field. There are 80 statements that Emphasise this. In general, most do not agree with Jokowi's policy. A number of actors who rejected the dis-

course were activists, LHBM, Attorney General's Office, FFH, ICMI, Sigma, IPW, BPI, the press council, legal experts and several other parties. The RKUHP proposed by the Joko Widodo government received strong criticism from various circles. This RKUHP has several articles which are considered to be a threat to press freedom, the public and the weakening of KPK's authority. Jokowi's government was labeled as a repressive government with efforts to revive the article of President's humiliation that had been rejected by the Constitutional Court in the SBY era.

Second is the issue of an anti-Islamic regime. The Jokowi government regime is considered a regime that is anti-Islamic. This is related to the strengthening of intolerant and radical actions in various regions so that it shows the implementation of weak governmental power. In addition, the issuance of Perpu No. 2 of 2017 concerning community organisations has resulted in the dissolution of the Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organisation, which is one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia. Since the issuance of the Perpu, HTI has been considered a banned organisation in Indonesia. A number of followers in various regions were convicted and forced to leave HTI. This dissolution is considered by some to be repressive measures by the state, contrary to the values of democracy and the government is known as an anti-Islamic regime. On the contrary, the state argues, this is done as an effort to prevent the spread of the ideology that is contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In connection with this discourse, there are many parties who disagree and criticize compared to those who agree. Some of the parties who disagreed included UPH, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, while those who agreed were Menko-polhukam, MUI, and a number of other parties.

Third, the issue of human rights cases is stagnant. The government of Joko Widodo is considered not fulfilling the NawaCita's promise because it is unable to resolve cases of human rights violations committed by the State. Political elites, human rights activists, students and some victims of human rights violations strongly criticized Jokowi's performance, which since being installed as President until the end of his term of office did not show the political will to resolve cases of human rights violations.

Fourth, peripheral issues are failing of good governance, increasing human rights cases, threatened religious freedom, lack of coordination of ministries, threatening press RKUHP, increased corruption,

and other peripheral issues. These issues directly contribute to the formation of central issues in the political corpus. In other words, these bullying issues are issues that build a network of discourses that are connected with central issues in the political corpus.

3. Development Corpus

Critics of development in the Jokowi era are the least criticized compared to the other criticisms. Some of the main criticisms are:First, Waste of Infrastructure Sector Budget, development failure. The infrastructure development in Jokowi's government era received criticism from a number of parties, mainly from the axis of opposition because the budget spent was very large. One of the criticisms was delivered by SBY who stated that the Jokowi government should not drain the infrastructure sector budget. Other criticisms were also conveyed by PKS politician Tifatul Sembiring. According to him, the government emphasised infrastructure development but ruled out the basic needs of the people. On the contrary, PKB Politicians actually assess that the infrastructure development carried out by the government is very much needed to improve the domestic economy.

Secondly, the peripheral issue is the Maritime Axis and the misfortune that is considered to be a failure. Maritime development has received sharp criticism because its development has not been seen. Even though this program is one of the important agendas that became Jokowi's promise to strengthen the nation's identity as an archipelago. According to SBY, the maritime axis program is considered to be only rhetoric. This statement is inseparable from the government's focus on massive development on the mainland. According to him, the government should also carry out development at sea. Jokowi's priority program, better known as NawaCita, was criticized for being problematic. One criticism came from Democratic politician Ferdinand Hutahaean. According to him the difficulty of synchronizing the Nawa program with the National RPJM was due to mistakes made by the Jokowi government itself.

4. Legal Corpus

From the legal corpus, the indisputable criticism is that during the Jokowi's administration, human rights cases stalled and there was no continuation. Cases like Munir, Tri Sakti, and other human rights cases have not made significant progress. Likewise in Jokowi's era, human rights violations still occurred and the hope that Jokowi would uphold

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Figure 3
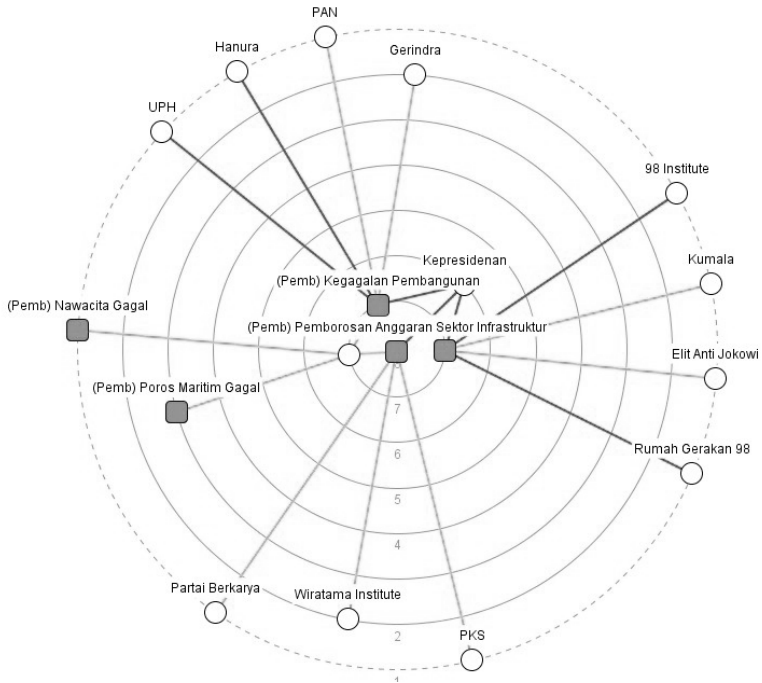
the human rights eventually escaped. This criticism of the absence of human rights actions brought a huge amount of discussion, exceeding 300 statements from each elite.

Another legal case that has become the focus of criticism is discriminatory Law Enforcement. The law enforcement in the Jokowi era received criticism from a number of parties because it was considered discriminatory. One of the parties was Mardani Ali Sera, who said that the law enforcement often discriminatory and accused the government of actually building up the success of pseudo-law. Whereas according to Amien Rais legal discrimination can be seen in the pursuit of small legal cases while abandon the large cases. He pointed out that the corruption cases handled by the KPK only focused on the average level and billions of rupiah while cases that reached the trillions were abandoned. Other cases that received response were quite significant, but not too prominent. For more details, see the following picture.

Figure 4
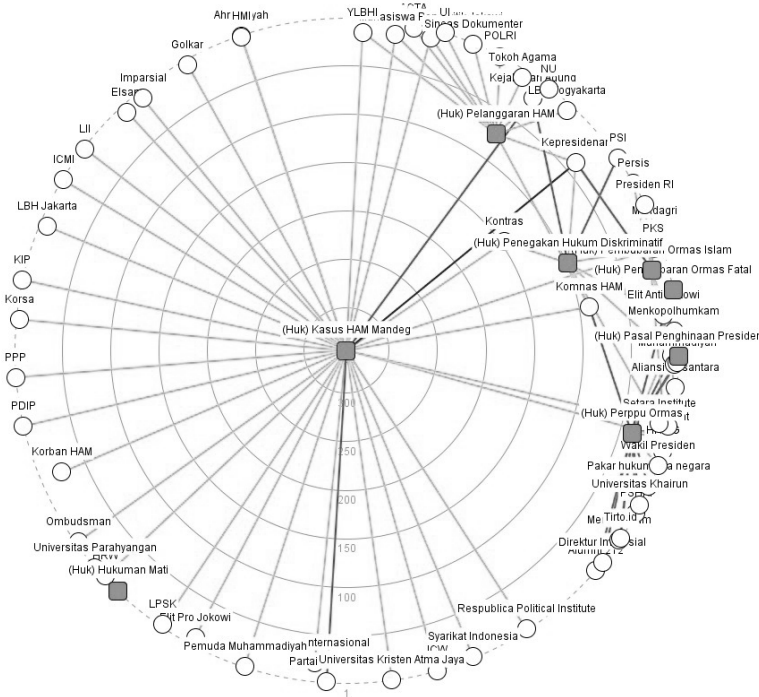
5. Defense Corpus

In the context of creating Resilience as a nation, Jokowi has 2 main criticisms, although not too dominant and broad. These criticisms are summurised in Figure 5.

First, the issue of invasion of foreign workers (TKA) in Indonesia is associated with the labors from China. The issue was widely discussed following the issuance of Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 20 of 2018 concerning the Use of Foreign Workers. The regulation is considered by Fadli Zon to be not in favor for local workforce. The facts in the field found that many foreign workers from China worked illegally. This was reinforced by the minister of Labor; Hanif Dhakiri who found foreign workers in West Kalimantan did not have official documents to work in Indonesia. On the other hand, the government always rejects this accusation. A lot of data is wrong where the invasion of Chinese tourists is considered an invasion of foreign workers. Clarification is also carried out by Indef, the government and the like.
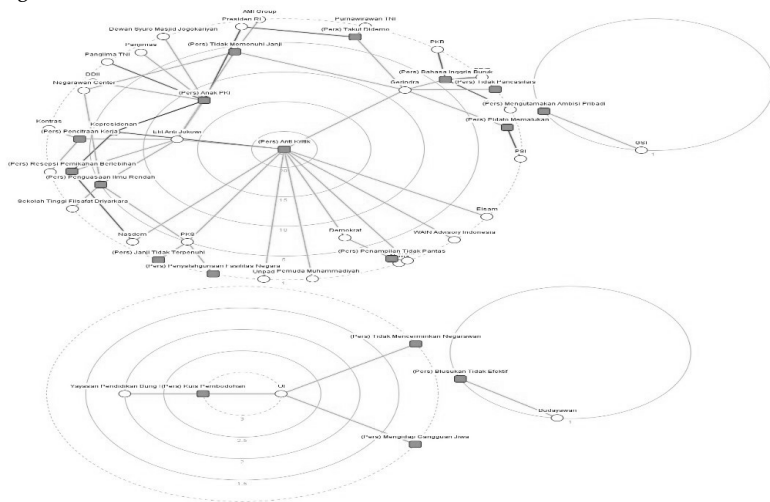
Figure 5
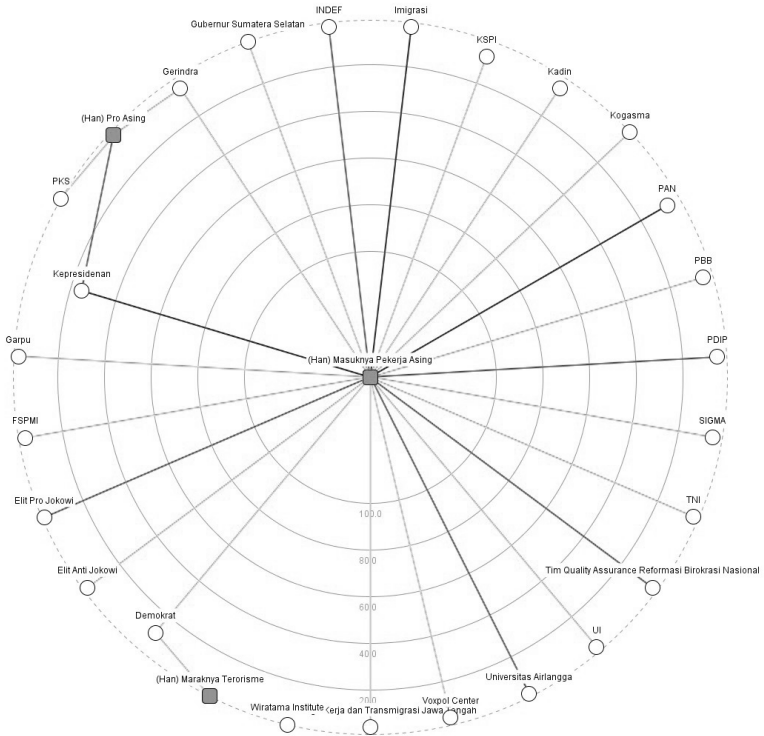
Secondly, another issue that emerged but did not bring up the main issue was the accusation of pro-foreign Jokowi and the rise of terrorism. But this issue only appeared briefly from a few people and did not get a response from other critics.

6. Personality Corpus

Criticism to Jokowi also leads to the personality that according to his critics is not feasible as President. How the picture of the criticism from the level of discourse can be seen from Figure 4.6.1, while from the person who criticizes it can be seen in Figure 4.6.2. The results are mapped in Figure 6.

First, the most criticisms that led to Jokowi were the assessment that he was an anti-critic president. One of the cases was when he did not meet with demonstrators who wanted to convey criticism. This was stated by retired TNI Suryo Prabowo. He criticized that Jokowi should not be afraid of being demonstrated. In fact, he suggested that

Figure 6

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Jokowi should follow the example of North Sumatra Governor Edy Rahmayadi who the face of demonstrators. This criticism has become the centrality of criticism of more than 20 elite figures.

Secondly, the next criticism that continued to be made was the accusation that Jokowi was a child of PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) member. This accusation appears almost every year, but it does not clearly depart from a valid source. The groups that often accuse Jokowi, or spread the issue are from the hardline Islamic groups such as Panjimas and the like. From the character of this criticism, it is clearly related to other critics such as Jokowi as anti-Islamic, being hostile to Islamic scholars and the like.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The government led by Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla has left a variety of digital tracks, both describing the successes and weaknesses of his government. The media, in this case, is a medium that shows how the dynamics of government in the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla era. Through the analysis of digital media discourse, this paper concludes that in Jokowi's government.

First, the most dominant criticism is related to law and economy. The lowest criticism is about development. But it turns out that there are many personality criticisms that actually depart from concise matters, but to affirm Jokowi's policy identity. For example, the accusation of Jokowi as a child of PKI member is an accusation made against him

due to his seemingly unsupportive attitude towards particular group of Islamic scholars.

Second, in the mapping of figures who criticize and from what institutions, it appears that the map is very diverse. Opposition groups prefer to highlight economic and development issues, sometimes they attack personality. Whereas from activist groups more often questioned about the law. The Jokowi's supporters also don't always consistently support Jokowi's policies in all fields. For example, PDI elites also criticized Jokowi regarding the choice of the vice president.

Third, the discourse network formed shows that opposition groups will try to connect many things to justify their criticism. For example, anti-Islamic criticism is always treated in such a way by this group to show their accusations to be true, starting with PKI children issue, mental illness, the entry of foreign workers and the like.

There are some suggestions that can be considered: First, the most substantive types of criticism are about human rights and the economy. While the matter of development and personality is the weakest criticism. So if the critics want to provide quality criticism, it must be based on true reflection. Secondly, a serious response to improve the nation is that the response to criticism without facts will turn everyone against each other. So the criticism should be given in the substance of his criticism. It is precisely not pushing up critical criticisms from unclear sources. Third, the network of Jokowi substantive critics is apparently not related to a network of criticisms that are weak and improper. Though substantive criticism will be very useful for the progress of the nation.

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