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*(<sup>3</sup> Department of Oceanography, Faculty of Engineering and Marine Science, Universitas Hang Tuah, Surabaya, Indonesia)*

## Narrative Policy Framework: Analysis of Policy Discourse for the Three-Term Presidential Term

Ahmad Syukri<sup>1\*</sup>, Suswanta<sup>2</sup>, Ridho Al-Hamdi<sup>3</sup>, Danang Kurniawan<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> Master of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Indonesia

\*Email Correspondence: ahmadsyukri1297@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*The discourse on the policy of a three-term presidential term raises pros and cons in the political circles of the government and the people of Indonesia. The narrative can be seen through the opinions of policy actors, government, political parties, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the community. This study uses a method with a Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) approach. The data in the study were taken through four national online news media with a high level of credibility. This research will conduct a study using the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) which can explain the structure of the political narrative in the policy-making process of changing the President's term of office. This study aims to examine the role of the media in shaping public narratives in formulating policies for the Presidential General Election in Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that the votes in the group that is against the narrative of the presidential term policy are more dominant for three periods. President Joko Widodo's firm refusal was able to influence the intensity of the discussion on the policy to increase the President's term of office.*

**Keywords:** Narrative policy framework, policy discourse, three periods, democracy, election

### ABSTRAK

Wacana kebijakan masa jabatan presiden tiga periode menimbulkan pro dan kontra di kalangan politik pemerintah dan masyarakat Indonesia. Narasi tersebut dapat dilihat melalui pendapat dari aktor-aktor kebijakan, pemerintah, partai politik, Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM), dan masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode dengan pendekatan Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software). Data pada penelitian diambil melalui empat media berita online nasional dengan tingkat kredibilitas yang tinggi. Penelitian ini akan melakukan studi menggunakan Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) yang dapat menjelaskan bagaimana struktur narasi politik pada proses pembuatan kebijakan perubahan masa jabatan Presiden. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat peran media dalam membentuk narasi publik dalam penyusunan kebijakan Pemilihan Umum Presiden di Indonesia. Hasil pada penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa suara pada kelompok yang kontra terhadap narasi kebijakan masa jabatan presiden menjadi tiga periode lebih dominan. Penolakan secara tegas yang disampaikan oleh Presiden Joko Widodo mampu mempengaruhi intensitas pembahasan wacana kebijakan penambahan masa jabatan Presiden.

**Kata Kunci:** Narrative policy framework, wacana kebijakan, tiga periode, demokrasi, pemilu

## INTRODUCTION

The discourse on changes to the term of office of the President in Indonesia has recently become public attention because it has created several groups involved. This problem is an important part of looking at the dynamics of General Elections in Indonesia. Elections are an illustration of a democratic system that basically involves the community to participate in moving the wheels of government (Mulyono & Fatoni, 2019). As in the Presidential Election which is the election of a head of state as well as head of government. The 1945 Law explains that the presidential institution is given a very strong position. So, the state needs to provide limits to prevent abuse of power. One of them is limiting the terms of office of the President and Vice President (Pratiwi et al., 2021). There is a perception among the public that the routine replacement of one leader with another will create public trust in the stability of state institutions (Osei et al., 2020).

Initially, presidential term limits emerged through the Presidential Election system in the United States. George Washington as the first President of the United States made an unwritten policy stating that he refused a third term in office in 1796. George Washington served as President for only 2 terms in 1789-1797 (Yudhistira, 2020). After George Washington declined a third term, the United States continued to adopt limits on presidential terms. However, events in 1940 (when Roosevelt decided to seek a third term in office, campaign for president, and be re-elected) sparked, restarted, and gave rise to a major constitutional debate (Korzi, 2011). Until finally Franklin Delano Roosevelt as the incumbent President at that time succeeded in winning a third term in 1940 and a fourth in 1944. Believing that the broken norms would be violated again, the Republican-controlled eightieth Congress acted to restore them, passing a constitutional change in 1947 to formalize absolute limits on the term of office of the President. The ratification was made in 1951 called the Twenty-Second Amendment to the United States Constitution (Gold, 2019).

Meanwhile, in Indonesia during the reign of President Soeharto, there were deviations from the 1945 NRI Constitution. Soeharto took advantage of the weaknesses in the Constitution to perpetuate his throne as President. As a result, it has several implications, such as the creation of an authoritarian government which reduces the value of democracy, the creation of a President who abuses his power to serve for a long period, and the birth of state officials who do not have competence in state administration (Chafid & Erliyana, 2021). A constitutional order changed by such legal shortcuts should make people uncomfortable. Because it can threaten and create a damaged system, and will give rise to accusations of illegitimacy and confusion from the public (Peabody, 2016).

Presidential term limits are a common rule in democratic constitutions throughout the world. Most presidential and semi-presidential constitutions impose rules for the term of office of the President because they are seen as a form of preserving democracy in a

country (Dixon & Landau, 2020). As a democratic country, the Indonesian government is required to refer to constitutional foundations in carrying out its duties. The 1945 Constitution is the basis and source of law, one of which is article 7 of the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution which reads “The President and Vice President hold office for five years, and afterward can be re-elected in the same position, only for one term of office”. This means that it can be concluded that the terms of office of the President and Vice President are limited to only two terms or ten years (Sarira & Najicha, 2022). This amendment can also bring public confidence in the President that there is no longer great power and no term limit which has given rise to various problems such as corruption, collusion, nepotism, and violations of human rights that existed in the New Order era (Hardjanti, 2022).

The issue regarding the discourse on increasing the term of office of the President of Indonesia has re-emerged in 2021. Several political observers believe that this policy discourse will cause various problems. Director of the Center for Political and Social Studies at the University of Indonesia, Aditya Perdana, quoted via *kompas.com*, said that “leadership regeneration is one of the reasons for the implementation of the President’s term of office policy of only lasting two terms” (Nugraheny, 2021). Apart from violating the constitution and democratic values and closing the possibility of leadership regeneration, there are also concerns about the policy of extending the President’s term of office to three terms, and could create an absolute government. Limiting the number of terms a President can serve is generally seen as having a stabilizing and positive effect on democracy. However, there are cases where the desire to change the rules of the President’s term of office in democratic countries often occurs. Their interests can be said to be towards authoritarian government or a system of government hybrid regimes. Such a political system (no term limits) is a symptom of anti-democratic consolidation (Chaisty & Whitefield, 2019).

The policy discourse regarding the President’s term of office began when the General Chair of the Nasdem Party, Surya Paloh, met with Prabowo Subianto who agreed to amend the 1945 Constitution. Paloh himself highlighted several points in the amendment plan, such as reviving the GBHN (Outline of State Policy) and reorganizing regarding simultaneity in elections (Khatami, 2022). The issue re-emerged when the founder of the Ummat Party, Amien Rais, quoted via *kompas.com*, said that there was a scenario to change the provisions for the President’s term of office to three terms through amendments to the 1945 Constitution (Ramadhan, 2021). This discourse has continued since 2019 when the opposition thought that there was public opinion leading to the Jokowi government extending its term of office to three terms. News regarding changes to the President’s term of office has become a topic of discussion from various circles. Starting from students, public officials, and political observers, several people agree and some reject the policy discourse. Joko Widodo as President of Indonesia has indeed said that he

rejects the issue of 3 terms. However, if the amendment to the law allows it, of course, it will be an opportunity for him to continue his term as President (Panggabean & Rasji, 2022).

Reporting on the discourse on a three-term term of office contains news value in the form of prominence namely famous people. Someone famous will certainly become a topic of conversation and become material for the media to report on. So there is the term "name make news" or names make news (Hakam & Budiman, 2022). Joko Widodo as President of the Republic of Indonesia is certainly a figure in the news when it comes to the topic of discourse on increasing the President's term of office to three terms. The news media has the power to determine an issue that can later be discussed among the public. So several comments or opinions emerged that agreed and rejected the policy discourse. The narrative that emerges from various actors can be assumed to be a discourse text that aims to influence other people. Even the discourse texts that emerge cannot be separated from hidden ideological practices. This means that language in the form of narrative in a discourse is not only seen from the linguistic aspect. However, it can be viewed as a language phenomenon involving other aspects. As a result of the goals and content of a particular actor's ideology which results in the use of language in a discourse being symbolic and can be said to be not neutral (Subandi et al., 2022).

Through various narratives reported by national online news media, researchers use the Narrative Policy Framework by focusing on the actors who play a role in creating a public policy (Dunlop et al., 2021). Narrative Policy Framework estimates that public policy narratives can play a role in the process of creating a policy (Jungrav-Gieorgica, 2021). This process is seen through narratives or public opinions that emerge from the community and interest groups which ultimately influence policies that can be canceled or ratified by the government (Rasmussen et al., 2018). So the analysis process is carried out by looking at complex problems between public policy discourse, government policy actors, circulating opinions, and the results created (Shanahan et al., 2018).

Narrative Policy Framework has several elements consisting of Setting, in the form of place and time or the context of problems such as the emergence of the issue of increasing the President's term of office to three terms in Indonesia. Furthermore Characters, regarding who the actors involved are, for example, heroes or what is meant as problem solver, villain as the cause of the problem, and victim as a victim or injured party. Furthermore, the Plot which is an important part of seeing the relationship between several components such as characters and setting which can form a flow in public policy making. Lastly, namely moral of the story, is in the form of an action to solve a problem. This relates to how the narratives created by actors can influence a policy (Jones & McBeth, 2010). Besides that, the Narrative Policy Framework has three levels of analysis, namely: micro, meso, and macro (Shanahan et al., 2018). At the micro level, it explains how policy

narratives influence individual public opinion. Meanwhile, at the meso level, namely how a group influences the policy narrative (McBeth & Lybecker, 2018). Analysis Narrative Policy Framework The macro level focuses on how narratives at the institutional or societal scale shape policy outcomes and processes (Crow et al., 2017).

The main objective of this research is to see how the policy discourse of a three-term Presidential term of office can influence the policy-making process. This research also provides information from various points of view regarding the policy discourse on increasing the presidential term of office which involves various groups such as government actors, political parties, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and community groups. This research is important because it can describe how the relations of actors involved in the narratives that appear in national online news media can influence the process of making public policy.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The type of research used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research is a type of social science research that focuses on collecting and analyzing data in the form of oral and written data as well as human actions (Afrizal, 2016). This research uses a case study research approach. The reason for using this approach is because the case study approach is related to the problem in this research. A case study is a research approach in which the researcher explores a particular phenomenon (case) at a certain time and activity (program, event, process, institution, or social group) and collects detailed and in-depth information using various data collection procedures over a certain period (Creswell, 1998). The case studies in this research are from national online news media such as detik.com, kompas.com, mediaindonesia.com, and Tempo. co which discusses the research topic, namely the policy of a three-term presidential term using the time from January 2019 to December 2021.

This research uses secondary research data, which is data obtained indirectly in the form of documents or reports. Secondary data is taken from the results of studies, journals, theses, magazines, articles, and national online news media that are credible and in the form of research with a research focus according to the topic of the research. The data collection technique in this research uses documentation studies, which is a data collection process carried out by researchers through books, journals, and archives that are relevant to the research problem. Data sources that can also be used in documentation studies are online media, such as news portals, YouTube, social media (Instagram, Twitter, Facebook), and so on (Al-Hamdi et al., 2020). This research also uses data time series, that is, data that consists of one object but covers several periods, for example daily, weekly, monthly, and annual data, etc. (Sumartini et al., 2017). In this research, we used a time from January 2019 to December 2021 with a total of 50 national online news media that were



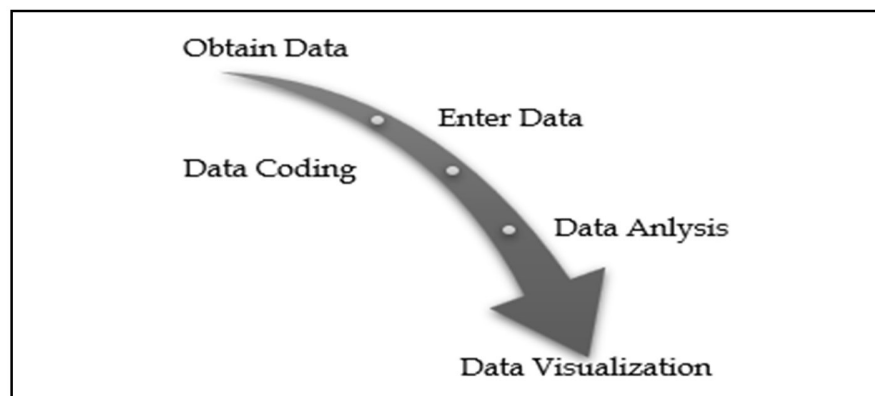
relevant to the research topic. The following online news media were used in this research:

**Table 1. Online News Media Source**

No	Media Name	Source Link	Total
1	Detik	<a href="https://www.detik.com">https://www.detik.com</a>	10
2	Kompas	<a href="https://www.kompas.com">https://www.kompas.com</a>	15
3	Media Indonesia	<a href="https://mediaindonesia.com">https://mediaindonesia.com</a>	15
4	Tempo	<a href="https://www.tempo.co">https://www.tempo.co</a>	10

**Source: Compiled by Author**

This research uses tools for data analysis using NVivo 12 Plus software. The use of NVivo 12 Plus software aims to facilitate qualitative research so that it is effective and efficient in the process of analyzing data. NVivo 12 Plus can help researchers to analyze data using technological facilities (Zamawe, 2015). The following is an explanation regarding the process of using NVivo 12 Plus software to analyze data.



**Figure 1. Process for Using NVivo 12 Plus Software**

**Source: Compiled by Author**

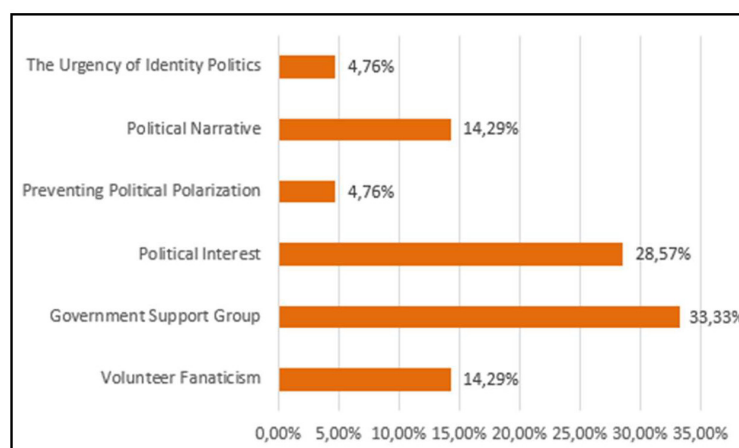
Technically, data analysis using NVivo 12 Plus software in this research is First, to create a new folder in the Nvivo 12 Plus software by obtaining data from national online news media portals taken via the NCapture feature in Google. Second, enter or import data via NCapture into the NVivo 12 Plus application. Third, coding the data by creating nodes and cases first. Nodes and cases are features that researchers use to group and classify data in the coding process. Nodes are created based on the variables of the research. Meanwhile, cases are created based on the research data analysis unit. Fourth, the process

of analyzing data and generating data visualization using features of a crosstab query to see the most influential indicators in the focus of research studies. This feature will display the percentage figures for each indicator. Next features world frequency which is used to display words or narratives that are often discussed and appear from data sources. Then features project maps that serve to illustrate the conclusion of the indicators that have been made.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Narrative of Pros and Cons of Actors related to Policy Discourse on the Three-Term Presidential Term

Policy discourse regarding the addition of the presidential term to three terms re-emerged in 2021, which gave rise to various narratives from various circles. There are pros and cons to the discourse, which can be seen through narratives ranging from political actors, NGOs, communities, government actors, and others. Based on data sources from four online news media that have been taken, several narratives agree (pro) regarding the policy discourse on the three-term presidential term.



**Figure 2. Indicators of Pro-narrative Discourse on the Three-term Presidential Term Policy**

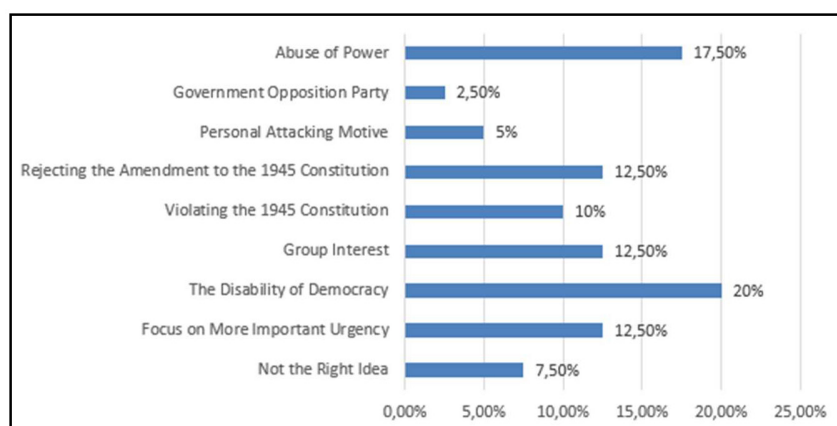
**Source: Compiled by the author using Crosstab Query NVivo 12 plus**

Based on the presentation of the data above, several indicators are the reasons for actors from parties who support the discourse on the policy of increasing the term of office of the President. The narratives that appear the most are in the Government Support Group indicator which reached 33.33% and the Political Interest indicator as much as 28.57%. The statement that agreed that the discourse on increasing the term of office of the President came mostly from the Joko Widodo government group. This makes the

narrative that is built seem to only prioritize political interests. In addition, some pros come from Volunteer Fanaticism and Political Narratives of 14.29%. The narratives that emerged from the fanaticism of President Joko Widodo's volunteers and the political narratives raised by the parties supporting the government were considered very subjective. Furthermore, there is a narrative regarding the Urgency of Identity Politics and Preventing Political Polarization with a percentage of 4.76%. The narration comes from political observer Muhammad Qodari who has the idea to unite the pair Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto who in the previous election were political opponents. Qodari said that the idea was to make the pair the sole candidate to close the possibility of identity politics problems occurring (Saputra, 2021). Furthermore, Qodari also believes that the opportunity for political polarization in the 2024 election is very strong. Because of this, by uniting the pair Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, it is hoped that it will prevent polarization in society (Adyatama, 2021).

Regarding the explanation above, it can be seen that the narrative that favors the discourse on the presidential term into three periods on average is based on political reasons and only for political purposes. The narrative emerged from several political parties within the ruling government group. Of course, this aims to perpetuate the power of various parties who want to take advantage both as individuals and groups. In addition, the narratives made by pro parties against the discourse are also considered not to be built with urgent urgency. The addition of the President's term of office to three terms will even cause new problems, such as a decrease in the level of public trust in the government, which should prioritize more important urgency.

Furthermore, several narratives disagree or contra with the policy discourse of adding the President's term of office to three terms.



**Figure 3. Indicators of Contra-narrative Discourse on the Three-term Presidential Term Policy**

Source: Compiled by the Author using Crosstab Query NVivo 12 plus

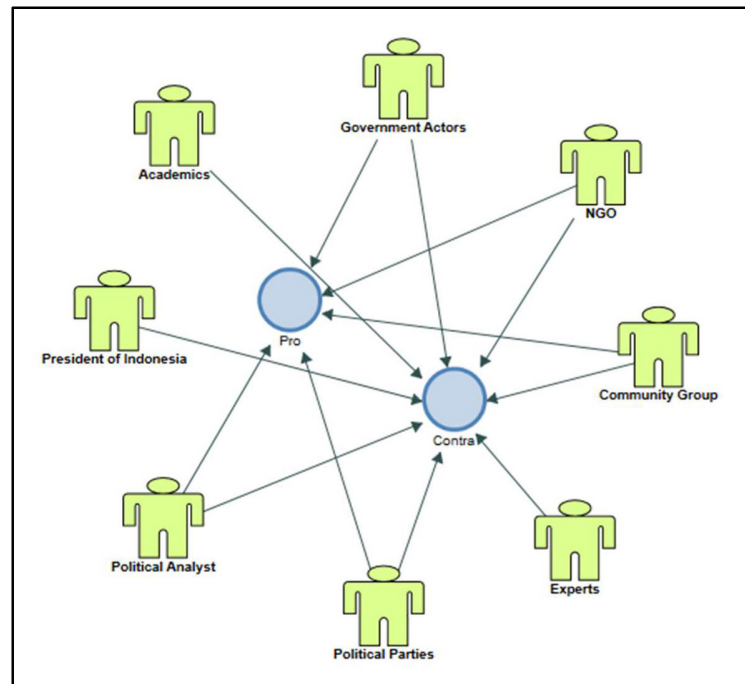
The data above shows that the narrative of those who disagree (con) is the highest, namely the Democracy Disability indicator at 20%. Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) Titi Anggraini said that the discourse on a three-term presidential term would create political chaos and create a crisis for democracy (Saputra, 2021). According to Fadli Ramadhanil who is a researcher from Perludem, he said that the three-term term of office is also contrary to efforts to improve democracy which has set limits on power so that a President does not hold power for too long (Astuti, 2021). Furthermore, there are indicators related to the Abuse of Power of 17.50%. Gadjah Mada University Government Political Expert, Abdul Gaffar Karim said that if the discourse on the presidential term of office was added to the truth, it would pose a huge risk. Abdul said that by getting more power, it was feared that absolute power would be created (Ihsan, 2021).

Other narratives that emerged among the contra such as the indicator of Rejecting the Amendment of the 1945 Constitution, the existence of certain group interests, and stating that it is better to focus on the more important urgency, each of which has a percentage of 12.50%. The narrative that emerged from the contra thought that behind the discourse on increasing the term of office of the President there were various kinds of certain interests. Furthermore, the counter-narrative indicators such as Violating the 1945 Constitution are 10% and Not the Right Idea 7.50%. If the policy is realized, of course, it is a violation of the constitution. In addition, the discourse is considered not the right idea because various kinds of urgency must be prioritized. Finally, there are indicators such as Personal Attacking Motives at 5% and the Government Opposition Party at 2.50%. Indonesian President Joko Widodo directly emphasized that he was on the contrary side of the discourse on increasing the term of office of the President. According to Jokowi, there was a motive for the attack on him which was intended to make him a public speaker. Apart from that, other narratives emerged based on the background as the government's opposition which was considered natural in criticizing a government.

Those who disagree (contra) stated that the policy discourse on the presidential term of office is divided into three periods is a violation of and injures democratic values. If the policy discourse becomes a reality, then what happens is an abuse of power. To maintain democratic values in Indonesia, the constituencies rejected the amendment to the 1945 Constitution. In addition, the idea of a three-term presidential term was deemed inappropriate. Because there are other more important urgencies such as handling health, as well as economic recovery and development during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### Relationship between Actors and Narrative Pros and Cons

The policy discourse on the presidential term of office is divided into three periods creates narratives of pros and cons from various actors. The various narratives were obtained through four online news media sources. The following is the relationship between the narrative on the pros and cons of the various actors involved.



**Figure 4. The Relationship between Actors and Narratives of Pros and Cons related to the Policy Discourse on the Three-term President's Term of Office**  
**Source: Compiled by the Author using Project Map NVivo 12 plus**

The dominance of the contra against this discourse can be seen in every actor including academics, experts, and President Joko Widodo. Meanwhile, on the pro side, such as actors from political parties, on average, they are government supporters who have political interests. In addition to the community group actors, there is a community/volunteer whose narrative is based on fanaticism towards power leaders. The narrative from the pros is also not based on an urgent urgency. However, regardless of the pros and cons of various actors, the discussion of the three-term presidential term cannot be dismissed simply. Government policy actors continue to provide space for the discourse under the pretext of upholding the right to freedom of expression.

The following is a breakdown of the actors from the pros and cons that have been classified based on their fields and professions.

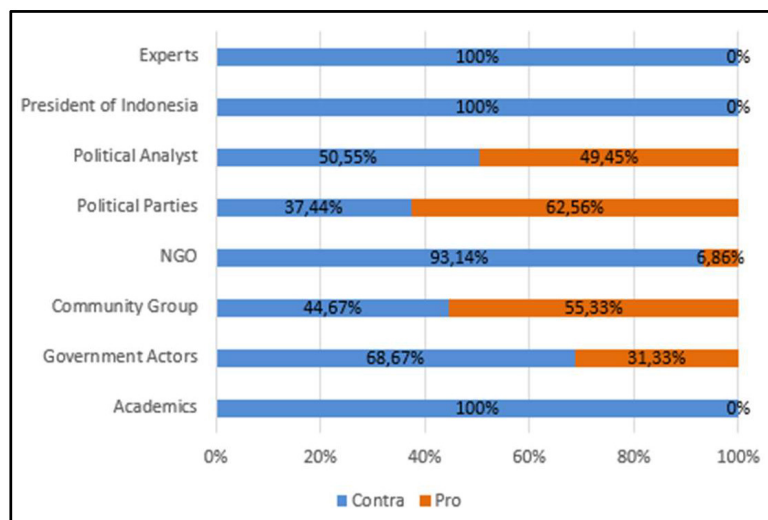
Table 2. Classification of Pros and Cons of Actors

No	Actor	Pro	Contra
<b>Academics</b>			
1	Government Political Expert	-	Abdul Gaffar Karim
2	Lecturer of the Faculty of Law, Airlangga University	-	Herlambang P. Wiratraman
<b>Government Actors</b>			
1	Central Sumba Regent	Paulus Limu	-
2	Member of DPD RI	-	Abdul Rachman Thaha
3	Member of DPR RI Democratic Faction	-	Benny K. Harman
4	Presidential Spokesman	-	Fadjroel Rachman
5	Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia	Bambang Soesatyo	-
6	Deputy Chairperson of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia	-	Ahmad Basarah Hidayat Nur Wahid Lestari Moerdijat Syarief Hasan
<b>Community Group</b>			
1	Community	Secretary General Jokowi-Prabowo 2024	Chairman of Jokowi Mania Chairman of Jokowi Mania Jakarta Timur
2	Civil Society	NTT residents	-
3	Islamic Organizations	Chairman of PBNU	Chairman of Muhammadiyah
<b>NGO</b>			
1	Amnesty International	-	Usman Hamid
2	KontraS Sumatera Utara	-	Amin Multazam Lubis
3	Survey Institute	Lembaga Survey Indostrategic	Akar Rumput Strategic Consulting (ASRC) Indopolling Network Lembaga Survey Indostrategic Saiful Mujani Research & Consulting
4	Perludem	-	Titi Anggraini Fadli Ramadhanil
5	Public Virtue Research Institute	-	Usman Hamid

Political Parties			
1	Demokrat	-	Herzaky Mahendra Putra Kamhar Lakumani
2	Gerindra	Arief Poyuono	-
3	Golkar	Leo Nababan	-
4	Nasdem	Zulfan Lindan Saan Mustopa	-
5	PKS	-	Hidayat Nur Wahid
Political Analyst			
1	Staff of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta	-	Adi Prayitno
2	Political Consultant	M. Qodari	-
3	Public Intellectuals	-	Rocky Gerung
President			
1	President of the Republic of Indonesia	-	Joko Widodo
Experts			
1	Constitutional Law Expert	-	Asep Warlan Yusuf
2	Constitutional Law Expert	-	Bivitri Susanti
3	Constitutional Law Expert	-	Juanda
4	Constitutional Law Expert	-	Yusril Ihza Mahendra
5	Constitutional Law Expert	-	Zainal Arifin Mochtar

Source: Compiled by Author

Next is a comparison of the pro and con narratives between the actors involved regarding the policy discourse on the three-term presidential term.



**Figure 5. A Comparison of the Pro and Con Narratives of the Actors**  
 Source: Compiled by the author using Matrix Coding Query NVivo 12 plus

The results above show that academics, expert staff (consisting of constitutional law experts), and the President of the Republic of Indonesia who disagree (contra) have a percentage of 100%. The rejection of the three-term discourse by President Joko Widodo considers the circulating narrative as a motive to attack him personally. Political party actors (on average, supporting parties and being in government) have a percentage of 62.56% who seem to tend to support (pro) the discourse. Meanwhile, the Community Group (dominated by the community supporting state leaders) has a percentage of 55.33% on the pro side. If you look at the overall percentage data above, it shows that the narratives of the contra actors are more dominant than the pros. The main reason for the contra’s refusal is that the narrative violates democratic values.





is considered inappropriate because it will hurt democratic values and violate the country's constitution. While the highest narrative on the pro side is the indicator of the Government Support Group. This means that the narrative that appears is on the actors who are on the government side. The narrative that is made is of course based on political interests.

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, also commented on the policy on the three-term presidential term. He asserted that he rejected the discourse and considered the narrative to appear as a motive to attack him personally. The President's alignment with those who disagree (con) is one of the factors that can influence policy discourse. If a head of state expressly rejects the discourse, it will also reduce the possibility of realizing a three-term policy.

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