

Discourse Analysis of Politicians' Social Media Posts

Analisis Wacana Postingan Politikus dalam Media Sosial

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Abstract

The use of social media, especially by political figures, can directly bridge communications between politicians and their constituents and other supportive or opposing parties. This study aims to analyze the posts of political figures' social media using discourse analysis to convey explicit or implicit messages that can not be separated from political intentions. Discourse analysis helps to understand the meaning of message or text of the media regarding the messenger's social environment and relationships. The study found that three political figures with most followers in three most popular social media platforms--Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter--Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono represent their nationalism and Islamic identity in their social media posts. They also convey their opinions about the general political issues in spite of divisive political condition among public that is also visible among politicians.

Keywords: *Discourse Analysis, Politicians' Social Media, Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.*

Abstrak

Penggunaan media sosial terutama oleh tokoh politik dapat menjembatani langsung komunikasi antara politikus dan konstituennya maupun pihak-pihak lain yang mendukung ataupun berseberangan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis media sosial tokoh politik dengan analisis wacana untuk menjelaskan makna eksplisit maupun implisit pesan yang tidak lepas dari tujuan politis. Analisis wacana membantu memahami makna pesan atau teks media tanpa terlepas dari lingkungan dan hubungan-hubungan sosial pembawa pesan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tiga tokoh politik dengan jumlah pengikut terbanyak pada tiga platform terpopuler--Facebook, Instagram, dan Twitter--yaitu Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, dan Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono merepresentasikan identitas nasionalisme dan keislaman mereka di kiriman media sosial. Mereka juga sering mengemukakan pendapat tentang isu-isu politik yang umum walaupun dalam kenyataannya mereka menghadapi perbedaan pandangan politik di tengah masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: *Analisis Wacana, Media Sosial Politikus, Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.*

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Introduction

The use of internet and digital media to convey political messages has increased significantly since the discovery of social media in the 2000s. In Indonesia, the use of social media by political figures found its momentum after President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) had started his Facebook and Twitter accounts during his office

term. As of September 2017, SBY has the largest number of social media followers among political figures (more than 9 million Twitter followers on September 2017). By the 2014 presidential election, social media accounts of Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo as presidential candidates gained many new followers during the campaign period. In addition to political figures, non-political celebrities and public figures also voiced their political views in their social media accounts, some even have millions of followers such as presenter Sarah Sechan and preacher Abdullah Gymnastiar or Aa Gym. The various political messages from various circles channeled through social media has changed the dynamics of political communication in the country. However, the 'celebrity politicians' phenomenon is not uniquely Indonesian and not entirely new, as John Street argued that the 'celebrityhood' of the politicians and the political opinions of pop stars are consistent with political representation (Street, 2004).

The increasing use of social media in politics can be attributed to the young Indonesian population. In Indonesia, the productive age of 15-64 years, who is the largest internet user, reaches 66.5% of the total population (Indonesia-investments, 2017). By 2017, Indonesian internet users reach 143.26 million people (54.68%) and are dominated by young people aged 19-34 years of 49.52%, followed by 35-54 years old (29.55%). When surfing in the web, users are most likely to access chat application and (89.35%) and social media (87.3%) (APJII, 2018). Therefore, it is understandable that in political competition, political leaders will continue to strive for youth support primarily through social media and the internet.

With the dominance of young people as internet or social media users, it is not surprising that the contents of politicians' social media are not necessarily serious political messages, but also involve popular culture that looks apolitical at first glance, but clearly aims to attract sympathy. Ridwan Kamil, the mayor of Bandung, continuously uses his Instagram account (6.2 million followers on September 2017) to deliver messages aimed at young people, such as suggestion to get married and avoid being '*jomblo*' (single) too long; President Jokowi broadcast a short video of lunch with Saudi's King Salman and about his birthing goat; ex Jakarta governor and vice governor Ahok and Djarot, during the Greater Jakarta election campaign, broadcast their video playing 'flip bottle challenge' which was viral among netizens. In the society, the word '*pencitraan*' (imagery) is popular to describe the ability of political figures to construct their image in social media to attract sympathy. Academia link this phenomenon to terms such as celebrity politicians (Street, 2004) as well as personalization of politics, where leaders, instead of political parties, are becoming more important (McAllister, 2007). Therefore, political leaders maximize their use of social media to interact more with their constituents without being filtered by the mainstream media. In doing so, they can construct their own intended identity aimed to attract public support. However, political messages in the social media can still be interpreted using constructivist views using discourse analysis as had been done to the mainstream media.

Critical discourse analysis is basically used to comprehend media text critically and always question media coverage because it stems from the belief that the text is not neutral nor value free. Critical discourse analysis always sees the text as a discourse that is inseparable from the action (the purpose of interaction), context, history, elements of power, and ideology (Eriyanto, 2001). According to the critical view underlying the analysis of critical discourse, the production and reproduction process of meaning of a discourse is strongly influenced by power relations, therefore the content of the media has a certain political purpose. Critical discourse analysis attempts to disassemble

messages in an implicit, hidden, or latent medium by giving more flexibility to the researcher's view. This article discusses manifest and latent messages in the politicians' social media posts as well as impression they try to convey in their social media posts.

Methodology

This research used Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis with three-dimensional model (text analysis), meso (interpretation or linking production and consumption of text), and macro (explanation through social analysis) (Haryatmoko, 2016). We analyzed not only written text but also other contents such as images (photos and cartoons) and moving images (video, animation). The research, which had been programmed for 2017, was conducted from August to September to obtain the politicians' newest posts at that time and to limit the number of posts to be analyzed more deeply. Politicians social media accounts were selected based on the greatest number of followers in three popular sites; Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Therefore, we analyzed Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Twitter (9.8 million followers), 2014 and 2019 presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto's Facebook fanpage (9.5 million followers), and Bandung Mayor Ridwan Kamil's Instagram (7 million followers) as of September 2017. Prabowo and Ridwan each has a Facebook fanpage, an Instagram account, and a Twitter account, while SBY has a Facebook fanpage and a Twitter account. However, the different characteristics of their constituents and follower representations make only in one of the social media accounts they gain more followers than in others; therefore Prabowo Subianto has most followers in Facebook, Ridwan Kamil has most followers in Instagram, and SBY has most followers in Twitter. The research was conducted in three stages: (a) tracking posts of political figures in August-September 2017, which amounts to 54 posts total; (b) describe posts by the use of vocabulary, terms and metaphors; and (c) the interpretation of posts' text regarding the politicians' background, environment, and the manner in which the messages or texts were delivered.

Previous works and research focus on Ridwan Kamil's social media activities, such as those by Firmansyah and Irwansyah which reveals that Ridwan Kamil's Twitter account celebrity messages are tweeted more and get more replies (Firmansyah & Irwansyah, 2017), and the pattern of informative messages of Ridwan Kamil's Twitter account (Novianti, Budiono, & Rusmana, 2016). Few research focus on Prabowo's social media use particularly in his bid to 2014 presidential election, such as the effectivity of Facebook for his campaign (Abdillah, 2014), while SBY's social media use was documented and reviewed by Putu Suasta (2017). This research aims to discuss comparatively the social media use by three most followed politicians in the most used platforms Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter using critical discourse analysis.

Result and Discussion

Prabowo Subianto's Facebook Post

There are eight posts of Prabowo Subianto's Facebook fanpage from August 24 to September 21, 2017. Prabowo's Facebook posts usually consist of a photo or collections of photos (called albums) with captions ranging from one short (two lines) to several long paragraphs. The text posts or captions use formal style language with good grammar with all sentences having a clear subject and predictions. They also follow writing rules almost perfectly such as capital letters, with minimal typographical errors. Sometimes the posts contain only short explanation of the events in the photo, such as

Prabowo's activities in M. Dawam Raharjo's book review about the thoughts of Soemitro Djojohadikusumo, his father, that was held at the University of Indonesia. In another post, the text is long enough, two paragraphs, in describing the picture of Prabowo speaking at a campaign to support Gerindra's (the party he leads) candidates TGH. Ayhar Abduh and H. Mory Hanafi in West Nusa Tenggara gubernatorial election. The caption starts with the phrase 'Good evening, comrades', where 'comrades' (*sahabat*) is the word he almost always used to greet his followers, Prabowo thanks the people of West Nusa Tenggara who attended the event. The sentence continues with an invitation to support the candidates and to guide a just and clean democratic process and not let the political competition divide the nation. On another post, he posted a text without picture stating Gerindra's deep concern for the violence against the Rohingyas. The statement is directed at the Myanmar government by emphasizing that he does not mean to interfere in Myanmar's internal affairs. There is also an emphasis that the concern is based on humanity, not in the name of religion as commonly found among Indonesians' opinion.

The photographs also display Prabowo's activities in various organizations for example as party chairman, member of the military, and chairman of the Association of Pencak Silat Indonesia. In many of these photos, he is seen talking in public, crowd, or shaking hands with one of the people surrounding him. In the photo of the Pencak Silat match opening at SEA GAMES 2017, Prabowo is seen holding a picture placard with someone in a red-and-white jacket, most likely the head of the Indonesian delegation or the coach. There is also a photo with the description 'Participating in Humanitarian Action to Stop Persecution of the Rohingyas' which shows a group of people gathered near two cars, probably on the roadside, but no Prabowo there.



Figure 1. Prabowo's September 17 post on His Presence in Book Review about His Father (Soemitro Djojohadikusumo)

Ridwan Kamil's Instagram Posts

Ridwan Kamil's Instagram posts are selected from September 23-27, 2017. The period is shorter than two other politicians' social media posts examined because Ridwan is quite active in posting that within the period of a few days there are already 27 photos and videos. Instagram is a social media for sending photos and videos, although not infrequently accompanied by caption written long enough to explain the photos or videos. Thus, the account owner cannot just send text without photos or videos like on Facebook or Twitter. Therefore, Ridwan Kamil can post 27 photos and videos within five days.

Instagram is essentially a visual-based social media, so it is dominantly filled with various photos and videos. Ridwan usually posts photos or collections of photographs or collections of photographs and videos with descriptions of mostly just one paragraph. Most of the descriptions of the posts are tagged or mention someone or some people associated with the photo like the photographer or the original owner of the photos/videos. The language used is a combination of standard languages with informal and sometimes oral style, because many contain humor popular among young people such as mentioning 'mantan' (ex-boyfriend/girlfriend). Sometimes local language Sundanese is used; there's even a special day to post in Sundanese namely 'rebonyunda' which is a post on some Wednesdays in Sundanese, although he does not post it regularly.

Ridwan Instagram's photos include photos with text, memes, drawings, graphics, cartoons, screenshots, and a combination of different shapes. Photos display Ridwan visiting the community, receiving guests, receiving awards, and personal subjects such as family members, most often are his wife, mother and children. He also posts photos of other people like the people who are enjoying public facilities, the people who gather around him even ask for photos selfie together, and photos of family members. Most of these photos were edited to embed some text on it, like memes. Meanwhile the videos usually show shot videos of Ridwan himself, videos of residents, or videos obtained from the internet. Some videos show Ridwan greeting his followers on national holidays or certain events, other show people enjoying public facilities in Bandung.

In general, the 27 Ridwan's Instagram posts are grouped into three themes:

1. Personal theme where he often posts about his family members, showing a happy family. Ridwan often post his picture with his wife Atalia Kamil, and occasionally with his mother or children. On other occasions, he posted a picture of his own mother or his own wife or his own children with affective or pride affirmations or or gratitude to them. Sometimes Ridwan post a picture of his wife alone or with him or with others with a humorous account of his wife or those around his wife.
2. Expertise theme where he posts pictures of his creation in architecture and urban design which is his expertise and professional background beside being politician. This is seen from the photo of the mini library for certain sub-district in the program '*1 Kelurahan 1 Perpustakaan*' (one sub-district one library) on September 26 and the photo of Asian African Garden model also on September 26, 2017.
3. Policy theme as he often posts about his policy as mayor and its influence on the people of Bandung. On September 25, Ridwan posted photos and videos themed the 20th anniversary of Bandung city. The photos and videos include show developments he had established such as Bandung Planning Gallery, Bandung Tour on Bus, children's play pool, Bandung city square, and happy faces of the people in the facilities captioned "*96% of residents who feel happy living in Bandung,*" and "*87% happy and very happy citizens of Bandung.*" On September 26, Ridwan posted photos about public installment 'Program Kredit Mesra' which is distributed through mosques. On September 26 Ridwan also posted an animated picture of Mobile Mental Health, a counseling service for the residents to talk about their life problems. The post was aimed to look for a Brand Ambassador for the program.

Beside the three main themes, there are several post style that stand out:

1. Greetings on special occasion such as National Farm Day on September 24.

2. In the National Farm Day, Ridwan quoted the first president Soekarno's words: *"Food Problem is a Matter of Life and Death of a Nation."* This quote, as well as September 25 post of a black and white picture of Ridwan in front of a crowd that resembles Bung Karno's historic photo in Ikada field, indicate that he is inspired by Sukarno.
3. Bandung City or Sundanese identity, which is the indigenous and majority ethnic group in West Java, especially in Bandung city. On September 24, Ridwan posted a photo of a band called Mocca that comes from Bandung who will perform at a music festival in South Korea. The post aimed to encourage his followers to support Bandung artists. On September 27, he post a photo with #rebonyunda tag, a post with Sundanese language, which is a regular post almost every Wednesday where he gives Sundanese captions for photographs or video.
4. Religious advice as indicated by September 23 photo of congregated prayer and captioned an invitation for the congregated dawn prayer every Sunday for the Muslims and attending Sunday service for Christians.

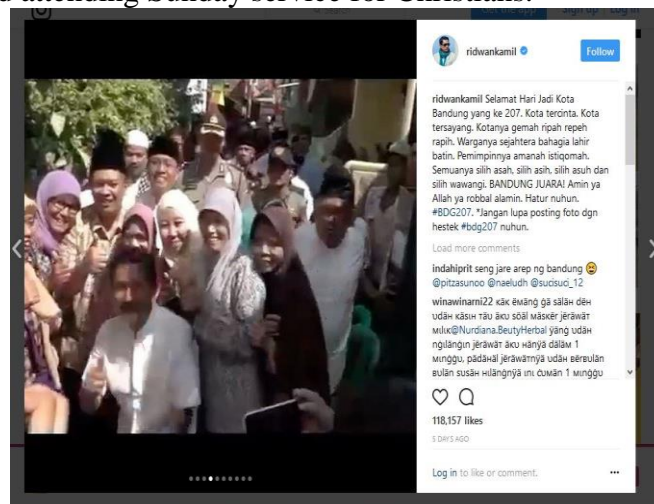


Figure 2. Ridwan's September 25 Post on Bandung Anniversary and Happy Residents Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Tweets

SBY tweets are selected from 7 August to 21 September 2017 amounting 19 tweets. Twitter posts are usually called tweets, which initially consist of only 140 letters, so users often send several tweets at once to discuss about something, including SBY who often sends some tweets to express his opinion on certain issues, including government policies. SBY's tweets mostly contain photos and a collection of photos with captions, as well as mere texts. SBY's photo tweets usually show SBY's activities as his position as former president and leader of Partai Demokrat party such as attending discussion forums and TV interviews. Some pictures also show personal activities such as cycling in the park. Two photos show SBY sitting as seen from the back right while writing with books on his desk. Both images have natural background, being located at the middle of lawn. In both photos some texts are embedded. In another post, there's a Youtube link with caption about a song created by SBY sung by two senior singers Harvey Malaiholo and Rafika Duri. On Indonesian independence greeting, SBY posted a photo of red and white flag with embedded text on the picture; *"Today's PATRIOTISM and NATIONALISM are the ones that make Indonesia DEVELOPED, PROSPEROUS, and MORE DIGNIFIED in the 21st century."* The capital letters show emphasis on those words. Some other texts also use capital letters as an emphasis such

as "One of the attitudes of GREAT SOUL is the willingness to refrain oneself for a BIGGER OBJECTIVE and a greater public interest."



Figure 3. SBY's August 23 Post on His Reading Habit and Advice on Hard Work
The Production of Text and Interpretation of Politicians' Social Media Posts

Interpretation of the social media posts by analyzing the production of text is expected to determine the impression reflected by the three political figures in their social media. From photographs posted by Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, and SBY, it appears that all three emphasize the nationalist identity, the populist and Islamic views in life.

Nationalist Identity in Politicians' Social Media

Defending the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/NKRI*) is more dominantly displayed by SBY than Prabowo Subianto and Ridwan Kamil. From SBY's tweets, there is a remark of Indonesia's independence (*Dirgahayu RI*) and 9th Constitution day on August 17 and 18. Capitalized letters of the words patriotism and nationalism appear several times in the picture of '*Dirgahayu RI*' shows SBY's strong emphasis on NKRI. In the picture of the Constitution day, the image of the state symbol Garuda Pancasila with a dominant black and slightly red background with light from the upper corner of the state symbol indicates the firmness of the image. SBY also shows the impression of wisdom using the word 'big heart', 'good reputation', and 'better' in the pictures. In two pictures of SBY writing on a desk with a natural background, he shows his personality of always learning and reading books in a peaceful and calm nature. In these two images there is a ray of light. This, along with his white shirt indicate enlightenment from learning and reading books.

Prabowo has a different style from SBY. Although Prabowo also shows a strong nationalist character but he seems more eager to show the greatness of his father, Soemitro Djojohadikoesoemo, and his role in the populist economy. As an economist, Soemitro had contributed in developing the populist economy of Indonesia in his time. Prabowo also shows populist perspective in certain issues but he often tries to appear different from other people. For example, in his picture in a paddy field, he used a cowboy-style hat, as one of his trademarks to distinguish himself from other people and as a complement to his appearance. It might be also because of his fondness in horse riding. In the picture of Pencak Silat match opening in SEA GAMES 2017, Prabowo as the chairman of Pencak Silat Indonesia wore a suit while other people around him wore something sportier such as the red and white jacket of the Indonesian delegates and

traditional Malay clothes of the host. Although his suit had the same color with those worn by others, the suit still shows that Prabowo looks different from others.

Ridwan Kamil shows more of contemporary and hip style in his various posts in the form of photos, videos, and captions. However, local aspects are as well maintained, such as the wearing of West Java traditional hat or the use of Sundanese language in the captions. This shows Ridwan represents himself more as a regional politician, not a national, since he once refused to be nominated to be the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial candidate, which attracts more attention in domestic politics, and some people even call him a future presidential candidate. Some posts are captioned with slang languages that are close to netizens like 'gaul' (slang), 'kudu' (must), and 'zaman now' (hip). The pictures and videos of Bandung are the parts that look tidy and clean with modern taste thanks to the Ridwan's professional background in architecture and urban planning. There are also pictures displaying his warm encounters with the people, such as the picture of him in the rice field, where his figure appears more dominant among other people in the picture because he was holding a stack of cut rice stems. In most pictures where he was photographed with the residents, the number of the residents is not high, but the people were laughing and looking cheerful. He also often puts photos of family members such as his wife, children, and mother, which are often captioned with the importance of family influence in his life and his successful careers, therefore he encourages people to also respect their families and parents.

The Political Domain of the Politicians

In the increasing use of social media, regional and national leaders are able to manage their social media accounts according to their style and the taste of their constituents or followers. In the social media posts, politicians display the sense of nationalism to the NKRI and Pancasila ideology differently by selecting different realities to post.

Prabowo uses some figures interdiscursively in his posts. The great name of his father, Soemitro about his political economic ideas was associated with the present economic condition particularly nationalism in the caption of Dawam Raharjo's Book Review at the Faculty of Economics and Business UI. He proposed that the economic values in the Banteng movement economic system that benefited the '*pribumi*' (the Majority Malay Indonesians) were suitable to be re-applied in today's global market. Here, Prabowo explained that the sense of nationalism does not necessarily be actualized in celebration every year, but in finding the right solution for the people to improve their life.

In the social practice, Prabowo considered agriculture as a form of '*ekonomi kerakyatan*' (populist economy), due to the view that the majority indigenous peoples dominantly work in the agricultural sector so that social and economic empowerment is needed to make the sector as competitive as other sectors. In this case, Prabowo supports the view that the public's interests are represented by farming economy in order to support the national economy. Therefore, Prabowo tried to eliminate the marginalized feelings of the farmers through the pictures of him raising harvested rice with the farmers. This is reminiscent of the success of his father-in-law, Soeharto, during his leadership in improving agriculture, particularly in making some areas the national rice granary. The picture also represents his activities as chairman of the agricultural organization '*Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia*' (HKTI).

Ridwan Kamil's Instagram account shows a completely different style of nationalism. Almost all of his photos intertextualize naming choice for positive image

of Bandung city and residents, such as 'Beloved City', 'Precious City', '*Gemah Ripah Rapeh Rapih*', 'happy and prosperous residents physically and mentally', '*Amanah Istiqomah*' (trusted leader), and '*Silih Asih, Silih Asuh, Silih Wawangi*.' Such identity puts the Bandung residents as masters in their own home city under civilized, hip, and modern administration that shows Ridwan's integrity in developing Bandung city. Residents' convenience in doing their activities in the public space can be seen from their happy face and laughter, particularly the youth and elderly during Bandung city anniversary celebration. The West Java traditional head band shows the local taste of Ridwan's nationalism.

In Ridwan Kamil's posts of photographs and videos, Bandung is almost always shown in full colors with captions of development made during his leadership, usually in pride tone. These colors appear in urban as well as in rural environment and other community empowerment. In a picture of him in the rice field at National Farm Day, Ridwan quoted Soekarno's words: "*Food Problem is a Matter of Life and Death of the Nation--Bung Karno.*" Ridwan Kamil's black and white photograph in the town square was designed in such a way that looks like Soekarno's iconic photos in the Ikada field addressing the crowd. This shows that Ridwan Kamil is inspired by the Indonesia's first president. It means that as Soekarno had emphasized the importance of Indonesian agriculture, Ridwan Kamil also wants to focus on food security since it is vital to the state's well-being, as if Ridwan Kamil is the present Soekarno. Ridwan embeds the Soekarno identity on himself as the project of the self, just as argued by Giddens about the self-identity as a reflexive project, and the concept has been used broadly to explain online identity (Gradinaru, 2014).

Meanwhile, SBY uses different photo intertextuality on his Twitter account. In the picture of Indonesia 72-year independence celebration, the Indonesian flag red and white colors are more highlighted than the words and pictures. The picture of the red and white flag and a group of parachutists jumping out of a plane with the blue-sky background displays Indonesian identity. The Developed, Prosperous and Courageous words in red capital letters shows identity that must be lived at present in order to improve Indonesia. The picture also shows SBY's military identity and the importance of defense for nationalism.

Therefore, the three figures have their own specialties in showing their political power. SBY identifies the spirit of nationalism in the form of heroic action, as the thing a soldier should do for his/her country. Meanwhile, Prabowo highlights the ideas of his father (Soemitro) in building the people's economy. Ridwan Kamil displays complex aspects in his social media including economy, religion, and art in colorful presentation to show strong social solidarity and its relationship with the leader.

Positive Image of Islam

Religious identity is one of the contested performances where politicians play in order to be accepted by the public, particularly voters. Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia is often displayed by public figures to attract public sympathy. The three figures in this study show their Islamic identity from different points of view.

SBY uses religious intertextuality using the text of the hadith of Prophet Muhammed on the picture of Islamic New Year 1 Muharam 1439 H greeting. The text "*With Full Awareness, Let's Work Harder to Pick Up the Prosperity Promised by Allah SWT and Prophesized by the Prophet*" shows the teaching of hard work in Islam and SBY suggests working to the fullest effort for a more prosperous life. The picture of

mosques and crescents dominated by dark green color and yellow and white text, reflects a balance between politics or worldly events and spiritual life.

Prabowo also uses the intertextuality of the Kaaba and the Muslims surrounding it in the picture of Eid al-Adha greeting. Kaaba is one of the sacred symbols for Muslim. The picture is dominantly white, including Prabowo's white koko shirt, although in the background the Kaaba is surrounded by pilgrims. His hands are clasped in front of his chest like the usual gestures of congratulations on the feast days of Islam. The words "*Please Convey My Greetings to Families and Relatives at Home*" in the text is almost similar to the greeting text by the Prosperous Justice Party PKS in the banners of the main street of Padang City (Nasrullah & Mardhiah, 2013). Therefore, an ideal leader is depicted in certain religious identity along with good relations with family members and relatives. On the other hand, the phrase "*please convey my greetings to ...*" shows the closeness of Indonesian society, so in this post Prabowo want to represent that he is close to the community.

Ridwan Kamil shows religious intertextuality in his posts of almost every Sunday of advice to attend '*Subuh Berjamaah*' (congregated dawn prayer). The Sunday posts are captioned "*Worldly interest we do, afterlife we prepare #SubuhBerjamaah*" on photos of Muslims praying in congregation. There is also address of the mosque he will attend on that particular Sunday, sometimes also the address of the mosque that will be visited by his deputy. Those are followed by advice to attend Sunday service for Christians, which shows that Ridwan Kamil is not only trying to reach the Muslim society but also other religions. The next phrase "*to be tough and strong both physically and spiritually*" reflects religiosity in various religious groups, not only the Muslim majority. However, other official religions in Indonesia, such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Chinese were not mentioned, possibly because they have no certain worship to do on Sunday morning, or these groups are smaller in number.

The three figures display an almost uniform view of Islam. The positive aspect of religion is clearly displayed. Religious differences are not a reason for citizens not to maintain tolerance as Ridwan implies from the above sentence. But for Prabowo, family relationships need to be clearly displayed because family is a reflection of a country.

The Socio-Cultural Aspects of Politicians' Social Media Discourse

Prabowo, Ridwan Kamil, and SBY--although do not hold ruling position in the current national regime--are important figures in Indonesia with the significant number of supporters. Prabowo lost the 2014 presidential election but his supporters remain loyal and expect him to be the next president, as seen in his followers' comments in most of his posts. Even in the 2018 political year--when presidential candidates are expected to register at the General Election Commission KPU--Prabowo is expected to run and get political support from other politicians such as SBY. SBY, who is forbidden to run for the third time by the constitution, is still politically active in Partai Demokrat party he founded and leads. In the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, Partai Demokrat appointed SBY's son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono as the gubernatorial candidates, which is seen by many as a stepping stone for the national political arena. The rookie AHY lost the election, however, his name doesn't disappear in public discussion and news, as he continued to appear publicly in meetings with other politicians and important figures such as President Jokowi's apolitically ambitious sons Gibran Rakabuming and Kaesang Pangarep. Meanwhile, Ridwan Kamil, in spite of being a local leader, is nationally recognized for his various awards in innovations and social media use in governance. Bandung, the city he ruled, was the capital of Indonesia's

most populous province West Java. He run as West Java gubernatorial candidate in 2018 simultaneous election and won by a tiny margin. Due to its size, West Java is considered one of the important provinces that represent Indonesian voters that winning the province might guarantee future national victory.

The August-September 2017 period of the research was the quiet moment after the divisive Jakarta gubernatorial election and before the 2018 simultaneous election as well as the registration of presidential candidates for the 2019 election. The 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election is seen as the continuation of the public division during the 2014 presidential election, where the nationalist secular group supports Joko Widodo and Islamic group supports Prabowo Subianto, as the 2017 gubernatorial election critically divided not only Jakarta inhabitants but also the whole nation. The 212 movement by some Muslim group demanded that the then governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama 'Ahok' from the minority Christian Chinese to step down. Ahok, who was appointed by Jokowi's party PDIP, lost to Gerindra's candidate Anies Baswedan, while SBY's son AHY gained insignificant number of voters in the first round of election.

None of these eventful political circuses is visible in the politicians' social media. The politicians convey positive messages and advices on general issues such as to do good and improve for the nation. After the gubernatorial election, some mainstream media and observers predicted that Prabowo will pair with AHY for the 2018 presidential elections, while others predict that AHY will be paired with President Jokowi (Nugraheny, 2017), however, no politicians post pictures or messages regarding their political rivals and opponents. Even when the presidential candidate registration approaches in 2018, when SBY openly support Prabowo to be a candidate (Ihsanuddin, 2018), none of their social media shows pictures of the meeting as the mainstream media do. Their social media, with pictures such as SBY being hospitalized and visited by several politicians including Prabowo, shows rather a peaceful interaction than competitive relation on political supports. Ridwan Kamil, who always insists that he is not any party's cadre, distance himself from the divisions and focus on his personal stories, good-deeds and promotional public policy messages to emphasize his positive identity. It can be concluded that the three politicians project themselves positively in their social media in spite of the mainstream media depiction of their political maneuvers.

The political competition and rivalries are indeed visible in some of the comments for the posts. Some comments resonate with the posts' messages and style; Prabowo and SBY get more formal and loyal comments on their leaderships, while Ridwan Kamil gets more comments on his personal stories and 'celebrity' messages. Prabowo gets comments of prayer for his health so he can lead the country in the future. The prayer for someone's health means formal and respectful greeting particularly for older person. Being one of senior politicians that rarely posts personalized messages, the comments are understandable coming from younger netizens. Comments on SBY's tweets are almost similar, where his constituent express gratitude for the prosperous condition during his tenure. It is not uncommon to find the loyal comments added with comparison to the present government's policies that are not satisfactory for them. Ridwan Kamil gets more informal comments for his celebrity political messages, some even in Sundanese language. Followers usually comment on his down-to-earth leadership and--depending on the pictures--comments on his appearance, jealousy of his affection with his wife, and even unrelated topics such as how to improve achievement at school and sales promotions. Although the three politicians get comments from

haters, who compare them with their rivals or mention about their rival's success, Ridwan Kamil relatively gets fewer negative comments, which is possibly because as much he is active in responding to comments--including fighting against negative comment--as the comments are mostly not of serious political discussion. Prabowo and SBY do not reply to comments as much as Ridwan Kamil does. This means that Ridwan Kamil uses personalization of politics and celebrity politics more intensely than other two politicians.

Conclusion

The three political figures Prabowo Subianto, Ridwan Kamil, and SBY convey messages and represent themselves differently from each other. The three figures demonstrate the spirit of nationalism, although in different ways and styles. SBY identifies nationalism in the form of heroic action, which is reasonable given his military background. Prabowo poured the ideas of his father Soemitro Djohadikoesoemo in building the people's economy. Ridwan Kamil presents economic, religious and artistic aspects to show the social solidarity and the society's harmonious relations with the leaders. The three figures also display Islamic identity, since it cannot be denied that religious identity is very crucial in the Indonesian society and become one of the public assessments of a leader. Thus, political figures at various levels keenly show the identity of their religions, particularly Islam, which is the majority religious group in Indonesia. Ridwan Kamil, Prabowo Subianto, and SBY show their concern for religion by greeting their followers on religious holidays followed with advices to do good. Future research can focus on audiences in social media particularly followers of politicians' social media since different reactions of audiences will show the absence of absolute truth as postmodernism--which underlies critical theory--reveals.

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