



LANGUAGE, SOCIAL MEDIA, AND REPRESENTATION OF RIDWAN KAMIL POLITICAL IDENTITY: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The use of language by a politician in social media is very interesting to study because it has a big effect on his electability. The language of a politician is heavily influenced by his identity and political interests. The purpose of this research is to find out how the forms of power language Ridwan Kamil; how Ridwan Kamil's identity influenced his language of power; how the language of power was used by Ridwan Kamil in building his power alliance; and how Ridwan Kamil's expertise influenced the language of his authority as regional head. The theory used is critical discourse analysis theory so that the texts produced by Ridwan Kamil are analyzed using a critical and constructive approach. The data were taken from the texts of Ridwan Kamil's Facebook and Twitter accounts. The method used was descriptive analytical. The results showed that 1) the Sundanese text delivered by Ridwan Kamil appeared in two forms, namely (a) the text which was mainly in the form of Sundanese sentences and (b) the text in the form of certain words in Sundanese that were present together. with words in Indonesian (mixed code); 2) texts in Ridwan Kamil's status and tweets can be grouped into several types, namely the distribution of power, imperative forms, power verbs, forms of prohibition, use of aspects and modalities, intellectual authority, and symbolic violence; 3) what Ridwan Kamil did with the language of power and representations of his political identity, was actually his efforts to form an alliance with members of the public, with his prospective voters in the regional head elections. The development of Ridwan Kamil's political alliance was carried out in several ways, namely inviting, paying attention, providing assistance, opening space for dialogue, sympathizing, showing politeness, and feeling one thought. The various forms of alliance-building can be identified by the choice of words.

INTRODUCTION

The discussion discourse in the realm of language studies today is increasingly developing. This can be seen from the presence of lingual symptoms and phenomena in various social, cultural and political practices. This discourse is expanding with the existence of research and study of discourse by making lingual aspects as its main object. The lingual aspects that are used practically become interesting study materials in the scope of critical discourse studies.

The existence of language in socio-cultural life has a very vital place for the continuous transfer of information and knowledge among the language-speaking community itself (Nickels et al., 2019; Shimp & Craig, 2013). Language is a systematic tool for conveying a speaker's ideas or feelings by using signs, sounds, and gestures that are associated with mimics or signs that are

agreed upon and contain meaning. Language should have an important role in every speech act of language speakers. Language which is also entitled as a sign of a productive nature often develops the existing language system and its use is productive. That is, language has the character of continuously developing from one language subsystem, namely words, into other language subsystems, which can be in the form of phrases, clauses, sentences, or even discourse. The use of language that is productive in nature is very unlimited. Because after all, the speakers of the language will continue to try to develop one language into several variants of the language itself. In accordance with this theory, it will be easy for us to find the development of a language among the speakers of the language so fast and unavoidable.

In the communication process, apart from linguistic factors, there are also nonlinguistic factors that determine the use of language as a communication medium in a particular speech community. The nonlinguistic factors referred to are social and situational factors (Sari & Medaswari, 2014). Social, cultural, and situations and conditions of speech are factors causing the emergence of a phenomenon of language variation. This is due to the existence of situations and conditions that make a language inseparable from the social and cultural factors of the speaking community.

The development of Science and Technology (Science and Technology), at least, has influenced the development of life in other dimensions such as social, cultural, communication, information, politics, etc. In the context of communication media, these developments are increasingly evident from the development of the means of communication used in human interaction. One of the new forms of communication media in the era of information and communication technology is social media. Social media is one of the communication media that is widely used in human interaction, especially in today's digital society. The era of digital society in question is an era where information circulates in cyberspace infinitely and unstoppably (Afiffudin, 2019). Social media seems to have become the belle of communication media in the current era, because through social media humans can communicate freely with anyone, anywhere, anytime, without being limited by space and time.

In the last two decades in Indonesia, new national figures have emerged as a result of the advent of the reform era. The new figures had more to do with politics and power. In various regions, many public officials appeared, including governors, regents and mayors. The officials were present from politicians, businessmen, professionals, academics, as well as artists. This was made possible after the birth of Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, especially Article 24 paragraph (5) which states that regional heads and deputy regional heads are directly elected by the people in the region concerned. In such conditions, anyone who is widely known and considered capable can be elected by the people in the area concerned to become the regional head.

One of the new national figures who emerged as a result of the arrival of the information age in Indonesia is Ridwan Kamil. Ridwan Kamil was elected mayor of Bandung through direct regional head elections. Ridwan Kamil, who has a professional background and not from the party circle, was elected mayor of Bandung in the regional head election on June 23, 2013. In the Plenary Meeting of the General Election Commission of Bandung City on June 28, 2013, this pair was superior to the other pairs by winning 45.24% of the votes so that the pair Ridwan Kamil and Oded Muhammad Danial were determined to be the winners in the 2013 Bandung Mayor General Election. "Leader reformer" by the voters, who are expected to bring progress for the City of Bandung. Ridwan Kamil's political career continued after on 5 September 2018 he was appointed as Governor of West Java.

The leader is a person who has influence. The ability to move the bureaucracy and society is a manifestation of this influence. In principle, influence is the essence of politics. However, leaders who represent political power alone are considered irrelevant at this time. From that point of view, leaders like Ridwan Kamil try to get out of the old-fashioned (distant) framework model by applying the concept of "driving leadership" or often referred to as "leader reformers".

In the process of becoming a "leader of reformers", various strategies can be carried out, including the use of language in discourse battles in order to mobilize every element (bureaucrats and society) to be jointly involved in development and solving existing problems.

This is where Ridwan Kamil offers the discourse “Bandung *Juara*” which is actually a reproduction of “Bandung *Bermartabat*”, which was the discourse of the previous Bandung City leader.

Ridwan Kamil, who has a Sundanese cultural background and leads the city of Bandung (a city with a Sundanese background) is interesting to study because at the same time Bandung (which is also his hometown) has moved into a metropolitan city. As a metropolitan city, Bandung has become a center of activity and a residential center for millions of people who come from various ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. How Ridwan Kamil's Sundanese background colored or dominated his policies in leading the city of Bandung is an interesting thing to study.

The era of Ridwan Kamil's leadership as Mayor of Bandung coincided with the widespread use of gadgets equipped with various social media applications. Ridwan Kamil used Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as social media which were popular and massively used by Ridwan Kamil to deliver his work programs and achievements.

Facebook and Twitter are also used by Ridwan Kamil to have a two-way dialogue with the people of Bandung (even with people outside Bandung), to listen to complaints, reports, comments, criticisms, and of course praise and gratitude from the community. Thus, the language used by Ridwan Kamil as Mayor of Bandung in communicating with its citizens can be called Ridwan Kamil's language of power.

When viewed from the political power point of view, language is a means of obtaining or maintaining power (Haryatmoko, 2017). In this regard, what is interesting to examine is how Ridwan Kamil used the two media to “perpetuate” his power. How the two media were used by Ridwan Kamil to “dominate” and at the same time build an alliance of power and maintain the stability of society.

Starting from this, this study will examine Ridwan Kamil's language, social media, and political identity representation with a review of Critical Discourse Analysis with three focus issues, namely: 1) how the language and representation of Ridwan Kamil's political identity in cultural and religious aspects; 2) building political alliances and the language of power; and 3) Ridwan Kamil's ideology of politeness and modernization.

METHODS

The method used in this research was descriptive analytical method, which according to Djajasudarma (2010) and Sudaryanto (2015) aims to describe something that really exists as it is and is then analyzed based on the existing text and context. This means that there is a clear, systematic and accurate picture that is in accordance with the facts in the field. In this case, a picture or description is obtained from all collected data, its characteristics, and also its relationship with all the phenomena under study. Thus, in this method, an accurate interpretation was made of the existing data. Therefore, this research also included qualitative research, especially in finding data and analyzing the data scientifically (Heigham & Croker, 2009; Nugrahani, 2014; Sugiono, 2011; Yusuf, 2014).

The data that used in this research were Ridwan Kamil's language usage data on social media Facebook and Twitter. The method used in data collection was the observation method, which is data collection carried out by reviewing and observing data objects, with basic note taking techniques (Sudaryanto, 2015). By utilizing this observation method, data on the use of social media language is selected and sorted based on certain criteria, then recorded for further analysis.

Methods and data analysis techniques used in this study were divided into two methods: (a) structural analysis methods and techniques and (b) content analysis methods and techniques.

In analyzing the language structure of social media, the *agih* method is used, which is a method that uses the determining tool part of the language itself (Sudaryanto, 2015). In analyzing the content of social media, the author uses the pentad analysis introduced by Kenneth Burke (Rountree & Rountree, 2015). Pentad analysis has the elements of act (symbol), scene (background), agent (user), agency (tools, media), and purpose (goal).

Analysis with the *pentad* model of social media depicts: act (as the words used); scene (the background why the author uses certain words); agents (writers and status readers or social

media tweets); agency (the media used, namely Facebook and Twitter), and purpose (as the purpose of using certain words). Thus, the use of certain words (or symbols) by social media writers always has a background and always has a purpose or motive. On the other hand, the reader will read certain words (symbols) and try to grasp the messages and motives conveyed and interpret them.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Case Findings

Ridwan Kamil's figure can be seen in three ways: biological identity, mental identity (character), and social identity (his association). Biological identity is an identity related to parents, gender, year of birth, place of birth, intelligence, and all identities that have been given (given); mental identity (character) is an identity that shapes a person's character from birth (religion, basic education, ethnicity, home environment); and social identity (association) is an identity or character due to wider association, higher education, political views, and certain interests/ideologies. In my opinion, biological identity and mental identity (character) are more permanent, not easily changed. On the other hand, social identity (association) can change depending on the social and political situation in the community concerned.

The three identities are united and can be owned by every individual, including Ridwan Kamil. The three of them are united in Ridwan Kamil and of course will have a lot of influence on his policies during his tenure as mayor and governor.

As mayor and governor directly elected, Ridwan Kamil has at least two types of power according to Thomas (Simpson et al., 2018), namely legitimate power, namely power caused by status, role, or age and power. expertise (expert power), namely power due to expertise. Ridwan Kamil has the legal power because he is the mayor of Bandung and the governor of West Java. Ridwan Kamil also has power of expertise as he is an expert in architecture, planning and design. These two powers were of course very influential in managing Bandung City and West Java Province. In addition, through the language of his power, Ridwan Kamil seeks to obtain a third type of power, referent power, namely power that causes him to become an idol or admired. Through Facebook status and tweets on Twitter, Ridwan Kamil is trying to gain this power.

Ridwan Kamil is described, in his bio we can find it easily in various sources, as a "perfect" and ideal figure as a leader. He is Ridwan Kamil in the real world. Meanwhile, the figure of Ridwan Kamil whom we capture through his status on Facebook and tweets on Twitter is another Ridwan Kamil figure, a figure formed from the reader's imagination of his writings on social media. How close or similar is the figure of Ridwan Kamil in the real world and Ridwan Kamil's figure in the world of the reader's imagination is strongly influenced by (1) how much writing describes his character and (2) how much knowledge the reader has so that he can properly capture the writing he is conveying.

However, such views are not justified according to critical discourse analysis because after all the writings delivered by Ridwan Kamil on his social media cannot be considered as writings that purely convey the true facts. In critical discourse analysis, all of Ridwan Kamil's writings on his social media have been framed according to their ideology or interests. Thus, Ridwan Kamil's figure in this paper is Ridwan Kamil who is in the imagination of every reader, which is formed from Ridwan Kamil's image appearing through his writings on his social media. However, whatever Ridwan Kamil writes on his social media is certainly very much influenced by his biological identity, mental identity/character, and social identity. Under such conditions, critical discourse analysis of Ridwan Kamil's figure can produce two things at once: (1) Ridwan Kamil's image that is closer to his true identity (biology, mental/character, and his relationships) and (2) another image of Ridwan Kamil, which is very influenced by the background of the reader (ideology, interests, identity, etc.). The results of the analysis of the two views, in my opinion, are fine as long as the initial data is based on the text presented on Ridwan Kamil's social media.

Language and Representation of Ridwan Kamil's Political Identity in Cultural and Religious Aspects

Sundanese culture is one of the founders of Indonesian culture. Various products of Sundanese culture are very famous, even at the world level. One of the Sundanese cultural products is the angklung, which since 2010 has been recorded as a world heritage by UNESCO. Sundanese language as part of Sundanese culture has also survived until now and is recorded as the regional language with the second largest speaker after Javanese. The West Java Provincial Government has also issued Local Regulation No. 14 of 2014 concerning Amendments to the Regional Regulation of West Java Province Number 5 of 2003 concerning Maintenance of Regional Languages, Literature and Script.

From several facts, it is clear that in general the greatness and maintenance of Sundanese culture is still maintained by Ridwan Kamil. Ridwan Kamil as a native Sundanese son certainly feels proud of his tribal culture, including his Sundanese language. For Ridwan Kamil, Sundanese is the mother tongue. Because since he was born he lived in Sundanese culture and spoke Sundanese, Ridwan Kamil has become a part of the original Sundanese tribe/nation (pituitary). Of course, it is not surprising that in his daily life Sundanese language colors the communication or the texts he delivers, including communication through his social media accounts: Facebook and Twitter.

The Sundanese text delivered by Ridwan Kamil appears in two forms, namely (a) the text which is mainly in the form of Sundanese sentences and (b) the text in the form of certain words in Sundanese that are present together with the words in the language. Indonesia (mixed code). This can be seen in the following data.

(1)

Alhamdulillah, naratas jalan Kapatihan dipapaés ku kaéndahan anu wedel parantos resmi disarengan ku medalna beus wisata Bandros.

Wilujeng warsa anyar 2014. Mugia sagala pamaksadan tinekanan, sareng Kota Bandung langkung punjul ti mangsa sateuacanna. Ulah hilap ngamumulé Budaya Sunda. Anu pamegét nganggo iket, anu istri mangga dianggo karembongna. #ReboNyunda (F, 1-1-2014)

Alhamdulillah, the road to Kapatihan is decorated with beauty with the official operation of the Bandros tour bus. Happy New Year 2014. May all intentions be emphasized even more, and the City of Bandung will be greater than the previous time. Don't forget to preserve the Sundanese culture. The men use the *iket*, the women use *karembongan*. *ReboNyunda* (F, 1-1-2014)

(2)

Wilujeng enjing wargi Bandung anu dipikanyaah. Ulah hilap ayeuna#ReboNyunda, urang sadinten ngamumulé budaya Sunda. Hayu sakantenan ngiring #GerakanPungutSampah, supados Bandung resik tur merenah. .(F, 5 March 2014)

Good morning beloved Bandung people. Don't forget today is #ReboNyunda, for the whole day we will preserving Sundanese culture. Let's join #GerakanPungutSampah, so Bandung will be clean and neat. (F, 5 March 2014)

(3)

Mengundang warga Bandung tercinta, untuk melaksanakan akan salat Istisqa, berdoa memohon hujan. Besok Minggu 25 Oktober 2015 jam 7.00 pagi di lapangan Alun-alun Bandung. Semoga hujan turun di wilayah-wilayah bencana asap khususnya di Sumatera/Kalimantan. Diantos. Siangnya baru parade Persib di mulai jam 14.00. Hatur nuhun. (F, 24-10-2015)

Inviting beloved Bandung residents, to carry out the *Istisqa'* prayers, to pray for rain. Tomorrow, Sunday, October 25, 2015 at 7.00 am at the Bandung Square field. Hopefully it will rain in the haze disaster areas, especially in Sumatra/Kalimantan. Waiting for your participation. In the afternoon, the Persib parade starts at 14.00. Thank you. (F, 24-10-2015)

(4)

Selamat pagi warga Bandung yang ramah, jangan lupa tersenyum dan saling menyapa. Hari ini latihan #SelasaTanpaRokok, tahan sehari untuk tidak merokok. Kita sama-sama saling mengingatkan. Hatur nuhun. (F, 8-9-2015)

Good morning, friendly Bandung residents, don't forget to smile and greet each other. Today #SelasaTanpaRokok, hold a day not to smoke. Let's remind each other. Thank you. (F, 8-9-2015)

This shows how strong the influence of Sundanese language in Ridwan Kamil. Overall Ridwan Kamil tries to use various "subtle" words in communicating with the public. However, sometimes words that enter the "loma" variety are also used.

Ridwan Kamil must have been fully aware of the use of this code mix with the consideration that his status or tweets on social media are read by a pluralistic society, even including people outside Bandung. However, at the same time Ridwan Kamil realizes that certain expressions feel more united or closer when spoken in Sundanese, such as the words *hatur nuhun*, *diantos*, *hayu*, *mangga*, *mah*, *heureuy*, *mangprang*. Even though he tries to be close to the community, in certain situations Ridwan Kamil cannot avoid using the language of his power.

Ridwan Kamil was born and raised from a devout Muslim environment. In his status and tweets Ridwan Kamil shows he was born into a devout Muslim family. In fact, his grandfather was a large *kiai* (muslim religious leader) who owned a boarding school. He had also been a student, as well as a devout person of worship. Ridwan Kamil also did not forget to invite others to worship, both Muslim and non-Muslim. He also attended several Islamic holiday celebrations. As mayor of the city, Ridwan Kamil also frequently meets religious figures. As mayor, Ridwan Kamil also makes programs that are directly related to religion. With his expertise as an architect, Ridwan Kamil has also created designs for several famous mosques.

At the same time, Ridwan Kamil continued to show his tolerant attitude towards other religions. This tolerant attitude is certainly inseparable from his extensive education and associations both at the national and international levels. Their high level of education affects the perspective of their religion and of other religions. In addition, his extensive associations certainly brought him many followers of other religions so that his tolerant attitude was fostered.

Following are some of Ridwan Kamil's status and tweets that are identical to the religious aspect, which contains his tolerant attitude, his Islamic background, his attitude and defense of his religion, invitations to worship, some of his religious practices, his government programs related to religion, day celebration activities. large, his meetings with religious leaders, and his work is in the form of buildings for places of worship.

(5)

Warga Bdg, jika sedang merencanakan atau sedang melangsungkan kegiatan beribadah dirasa ada potensi gangguan, silakan tunjukkan surat ini. (T, 20-12-2016)

Bandung residents, if you are planning or carrying out worship activities you feel the potential for interference, please show this letter. (T, 20-12-2016)

(6)

Karya Almarhum Kakek saya, Ulama NU & Ketua Hisbullah di Subang yang bisa membuat 'infografis' jadul untuk Hukum Waris. Smg bs dimanfaatkan (T, 3-10-2016)

The work of my late grandfather, *Ulama NU & Head of Hizbullah* in Subang that could make old school 'infographics' for Inheritance Law. Hopefully can be used (T, 3-10-2016)

(7)

Hari ini mendapat penghargaan dari BKPRMI Jawa Barat di Sumedang, diserahkan Wakil Gubernur Bpk Deddy Mizwar. Penghargaan Khidmat Utama ini terkait program-program Bela Islam dan Dakwah Islam di Kota Bandung yang masif, terstruktur dan berkelanjutan, yang

mendekatkan generasi muda pada Masjid dan Qurani. Semoga Kota Bandung menjadi Kota yang Baldatun Thayibatun Warabbun Ghafur. Hatur Nuhn. (F, 28-7-2017)

Today received an award from BKPRMI West Java in Sumedang, handed over by Deputy Governor Bpk. Deddy Mizwar. The *Khidmat Utama* Award is related to the massive, structured and sustainable programs of Islamic Defense and *Da'wah* in Bandung, which bring the younger generation closer to the mosque and the Quran. Hopefully the city of Bandung becomes a city that is *Baldatun Thayibatun Warabbun Ghafur. Hatur Nuhn. (F, 28-7-2017)*

(8)

Mari bersegera salat sebelum kita disalatkan. Waktu subuh sudah tiba. (T, 24-5-2013)

Let's pray immediately before the death comes. The time of *Subuh* has arrived. (T, 24-5-2013)

Discourse practice analysis (meso) includes (successively) text production, distribution, and consumption, while macro analysis looks at text from its social practice aspects. The order in the meso analysis only applies to Facebook, starting from the order in which RK produces status, then uploads it to his Facebook account, then is consumed by his followers. Conversely, on Twitter the order can also be reversed. RK's followers tweet @ridwankamil, then RK consumes them, then RK replies (retweet).

Ridwan Kamil responded to his followers who tweeted in Indonesian with Sundanese. The use of Sundanese vocabulary shows the intimacy between text producers and text consumers. This also cannot be separated from his ethnic background. However, if we look closely, even though it seems familiar, the use of the *hayang neke* vocabulary, for example, shows the language of its power. The proof that this is a form of Ridwan Kamil's language of power is that it cannot be reversed.

(9)

ridwan kamil @ridwankamil Oct 7

ridwan kamil Retweeted V Pameungpeuk BDG

mun keur kieu teh sok hayang neke. tapi karunya.

ridwan kamil added,

V Pameungpeuk BDG @VikingPMPK_BDG

@ridwankamil *hati saya tumbang, bagaimana pak? Harus lapor siapaaa? :(((*

ridwan kamil @ridwankamil Oct 7

ridwan kamil Retweeted V Pameungpeuk BDG

In this time like this, feels like I want to flick your head, but you're such a pity.

ridwan kamil added,

V Pameungpeuk BDG @VikingPMPK_BDG

@ridwankamil *My heart falls apart, what should I do, Sir? With whom I should make a report?*

:(((

In the following example, we can also see how Ridwan Kamil is very good at answering very sensitive questions about religion. GINTING @ loviga_ginting's retweet question about Santa's hat for Muslims was answered by many employees who complained to me because they felt forced. before being ridden with things that are not supposed to, we anticipate. *nuhun*. RK's answer has a religious and social dimension. The statements of many employees who complained to me because they felt forced to have a religious dimension because in Islam it is prohibited to use attributes related to other religious beliefs. On the other hand, RK's statement before being ridden with inappropriate things, we anticipate showing the language of his power in a social dimension, that with his power RK can regulate relations between religious adherents so that unwanted things do not occur.

Based on the data and description above, it appears that Sundanese culture is very characteristic of Ridwan Kamil's policy as Mayor of Bandung. His Sundanese character influenced several of his policies. In fact, his attitude in establishing relationships with his followers on social

media is also colored by his Sundanese nature. The following are some of his policies and attitudes that stand out and appear on his Facebook and Twitter accounts.

- a) Every Wednesday, always reminds us of the use of Sundanese language and Sundanese traditional clothing.
- b) Ridwan Kamil continued his previous policy, namely the Bandung City Regional Regulation on the Use, Maintenance and Development, Maintenance and Development of Sundanese Language, Literature and Script by popularizing the very well-known term *Rabunyunda*.
- c) Ridwan Kamil strongly supports Sundanese in the school curriculum.
- d) In the Ridwan Kamil era, a Sundanese Cultural Center will be built in which there is a traditional village, a residence for artists (artist in residence), a village-style corridor for selling traditional products, a craft-making window, a multipurpose room for performances, and a space for martial arts training. self and dance/music.
- e) As a producer and respondent of texts, RK shows his character as a Sundanese in establishing social relations with his followers, marked by typical Sundanese expressions, such as *hatur nuhun*, *diantos*, *hayu*, *mangga*, *mah*, *heureuy*, *mangprang*. At the same time, RK also showed that the language of his power was typical of the Sundanese people, for example by saying don't be noisy, *hayang neke*.
- f) As a producer and respondent of texts, RK, who is a devout Muslim, produces texts with religious nuances, namely on invitations, prohibitions, participation, tolerance, meeting with figures, building places of worship, and so on. However, at the same time RK also shows the language of his power, for example by conveying the expression we anticipate, we build, speak well or be silent.

Ridwan Kamil's Power Language

Ridwan Kamil's power language is the language used when he was Mayor of Bandung. In this study, the observations are the status texts and Ridwan Kamil's tweets which show how the language of power is displayed on Facebook and Twitter.

Texts in Ridwan Kamil's status and tweets can be grouped into several types, namely the distribution of power, imperative forms, power verbs, prohibitions, use of aspects and modalities, intellectual authority, and symbolic violence.

a) Power Distribution

In examples (10) and (11) below, it can be seen how Ridwan Kamil shares his power with his representatives and other stakeholders.

(10)

Semua keberhasilan di kota Bandung, adalah hasil kerja bersama. Buah dari saling mendukung dan menghormati peran masing2 antara walikota dan wakil walikota. Sesuai komitmen pembagian tugas, Wakil Walikota, mang Oded Danial adalah sosok pekerja keras yang berperan banyak dalam mereformasi ke dalam dan saya fokus mereformasi ke luar dan infrastruktur. Jika pelayanan publik membaik, itu buah kerja keras dari wakil walikota ini. (F, 16-3-2017)

All successes in the city of Bandung are the result of collective works. The results of supporting and respecting each other's roles between the mayor and deputy mayor. In accordance with the commitment of division of tasks, the Deputy Mayor, *mang Oded Danial* is a hard worker who plays a lot in internal reform and I am focused on reforming the outside and infrastructure. If public services improve, it will be the result of the deputy mayor's hard work. (F, 16-3-2017)

(11)

Pak Walikota Bandung one man show? olanganisme?

jawabannya: justru saya mempreteli satu satu kewenangan pengambilan keputusan yang terlalu walikota-sentris, dengan hadirnya berbagai forum penasehat walikota dari berbagai bidang dan pemangku kepentingan. Agar check and balance tersistematisasi. Bahkan urusan diskresi dan bantuan CSR pun, harus dibahas melalui lembaga khusus. Agar siapapun walikota

nanti, punya akuntabilitas dan proses yang baik dalam pengambilan keputusan terkait kebijakan publik. Ini alur pikirnya. Hatur Nuhun. (F, 14-2-2017)

Mayor of Bandung is a one-man show? Work-alone-ism?

the answer: in fact, I dismantle one decision-making authority that is too mayor-centric, with the presence of various mayor advisory forums from various fields and stakeholders. So that the check and balance is systematized. Even discretionary matters and CSR assistance, must be discussed through special institutions. So that whoever the mayor will have accountability and a good process in making decisions related to public policies. This is the line of thought. Thank you. (F, 14-2-2017)

b) **Imperative Form**

Imperative verbs are the language of power in the form of orders or invitations that bind other parties. The shapes in bold below indicate the imperative.

(12)

Tadi siang masihan arahan perkawis PPDB ka Kepsek SMP, SMA sareng SMK sakota Bandung di Balaikota. Danget ieu taun disiplin, hayu urang ngiringan kana aturan nu parantos ditangtoskeun. Kanggo info PPDB atanapi bilih aya patarosan, mangga ditingal di web PPDB: <http://ppdbkotabandung.web.id/>. (F, 2-7-2014)

Earlier in the day, he gave instructions on PPDB to the Headmaster of SMP, SMA and SMK in Bandung City Hall. For this year discipline, let's follow the rules that have been properly. For PPDB info or any questions, please see the PPDB website: <http://ppdbkotabandung.web.id/>. (F, 2-7-2014)

(13)

Warga Bandung, jika ijasah ditahan sekolah karena belum menyelesaikan administrasi dan jika butuh beasiswa sekolah SL, silakan kontak Dinas Pendidikan di Jl Jend Ahmad Yani no 239. Insya Allah ada bantuan. (F, 10-3-2014)

Bandung residents, if your diploma certificate is being held at school because you have not completed administration and if you need an undergraduate school scholarship, please contact the Education Office on Jl. Jend Ahmad Yani no 239. God willing, there is help. (F, 10-3-2014)

c) **Verbs of Power**

Verbs of power are verbs that show that Ridwan Kamil has power over something. The power verb appears in the following bold form.

(14)

“Terstruktur, Masif dan Berkelanjutan”.
Selama 3 tahun, kami membangun dakwah islam di kota tercinta ini. Ini 9 BELA ISLAM kami di Bandung sambil tetap selalu melindungi dan mengayomi minoritas karena dasar Negara kita Pancasila. Hatur Nuhun. #MenjawabDengankERJA #TidakMendadakSantri (F, 15-5-2017)

“Structured, Massive and Sustainable”.

For 3 years, we built Islamic preaching in this beloved city. This is our 9 *BELA ISLAM* in Bandung while always protecting and nurturing minorities because the basis of our country is Pancasila. Thank you. #MenjawabDengankERJA #TidakMendadakSantri (F, 15-5-2017)

d) **Prohibition Form**

The form of prohibition is certain words that show the power to prohibit another party. The form of the prohibition appears in the words in bold below.

(15)

*Di Bandung, fakir cas hape sudah ada solusinya. Semoga Bermanfaat. Titip ibu-ibu jangan nyetrika atau nyangu bawa magicom untuk dicolok disana. Terima Kasih XL. *Tinggal fakir asmara belum ada solusinya. mohon maaf. (F, 29 July 2017)*

In Bandung, the need for cellphone casings already have a solution. May be useful. Tell the mothers not to iron or not to cook by bringing your magicom to plug it in there. Thank you XL.
*People drought of love, there is no solution. Sorry. (F, 29 July 2017)

(16)

"Jangan memuja manusia, karena pasti akan kecewa. Jangan menghina manusia, karena mungkin malah dia yang masuk surga" (F, 3-10-2017)

"Do not worship humans, because you will definitely be disappointed. Do not insult humans, because they may even go to heaven." (F, 3-10-2017)

e) **The Use of Aspects and Modality**

The use of aspects and modalities followed by verbs shows power from the speaker's point of view. The aspects and modalities appear in the following bold words.

(17)

Utk mengatur air Citepus & kurangi banjir, pemkot akan membangun 5 danau retensi/parkir air. Dimulai di area jalan Bima. Smg lancar. Nuhun (T, 16-11-2016)

To regulate Citepus water & reduce flooding, the city government will build 5 water retention lakes. Starting in the Bima street area. Hope it will be smooth. *Nuhun*. (T, 16-11-2016)

(18)

Warga Bandung, bulan September kemarin tercatat 449 pelanggaran yang ditindak oleh Dishub. Mohon kesadaran dan kerjasamanya untuk tertib. Pemkot akan konsisten tidak akan berhenti menindak siapapun yang melanggar peraturan. Hatur nuhun. (F, 6-10-2015)

Bandung residents, last September recorded 449 violations that were prosecuted by the Transportation Agency. Please awareness and cooperation to order. The municipal government will consistently not stop taking action against anyone who violates the rules. Thank you. (F, 6-10-2015)

f) **Intellectual Authority**

Intellectual authority shows that a person feels that his knowledge and intellectuality are higher than that of others. Ridwan Kamil's intellectual power is shown in the following statement.

(19)

demokrasi bisa berbahaya pd masy yg tidak siap. Krn itu Pemimpin hrs berani lawan arus jika nalar/hukum/etika sdh benar tp masih jg diprotes (T, 7-10-2016)

democracy can be dangerous for an unprepared society. Therefore, leaders must dare to go against the flow if reason/law/ethics are correct but they are still being protested (T, 7-10-2016)

(20)

premis yg menyimpulkan jika aktif medsos berarti tidak aktif kerja adalah logika premis jadul sekali. pernah mendengar 'multitasking'? (T, 15-10-2016)

The premise that concludes that active social media means not working actively is the logic of the old premise. never heard of 'multitasking'? (T, 15-10-2016)

g) **Symbolic Violence**

Symbolic violence is violence that is very subtle so that it is not realized because it has gained legitimacy, including when the government implements certain regulations (Bourdieu, 2009: xxi - xxii). On behalf of the Mayor of Bandung or the City Government of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil has committed symbolic violence against the community through his social media. In

the following examples, Ridwan Kamil appears to use the language of his power towards society in the form of symbolic violence.

(21)

Warga Bandung, bulan September kemarin tercatat 449 pelanggaran yang ditindak oleh Dishub. Mohon kesadaran dan kerjasamanya untuk tertib. Pemkot akan konsisten tidak akan berhenti menindak siapapun yang melanggar peraturan. Hatur nuhun. (F, 6-10-2015)

Bandung residents, last September recorded 449 violations that were prosecuted by the Transportation Agency. Please awareness and cooperation to order. The municipal government will consistently not stop taking action against anyone who violates the rules. Thank you. (F, 6-10-2015)

(22)

Rapat penyelidikan pemalsuan SKTM bersama kepolisian, kepada para lurah dan kepala sekolah SMP/SMA/K. Kepolisian minggu ini sudah bergerak menyelidki. Jika terbukti orang tuanya mapan mengaku miskin, pasti akan dituntut hukum dan anaknya dicabut dari sekolah yg diminati. Para RT/RW/Lurah dan guru/Kepsek yang terlibat dalam persengkongkolan juga akan ditindak. Pemkot akan bertindak tegas agar pelanggar aturan ini tidak menjadi budaya. (F, 2-7-2015)

SKTM fraud investigation meeting with the police, to village heads and principals of SMP/SMA/K. The police this week has moved to investigate. If it is proven that the parents are well-established claiming to be poor, they will definitely be prosecuted and their children will be removed from the school they are interested in. The RT/ RW/*Lurah* and teachers/Principals involved in the conspiracy will also be prosecuted. The municipal government will act decisively so that violators of this rule do not become a culture. (F, 2-7-2015)

DISCUSSION

Development of Political Alliances and the Language of Power Ridwan Kamil

The figure of Ridwan Kamil as a Sundanese, who was born into a devout Muslim family, highly educated, and sociable internationally, actually already has very high social capital, cultural capital, and expertise. However, Ridwan Kamil realized that with these three assets it was not enough to enter the political stage. He also must have high political capital so that as a candidate for office he has a high level of electability.

Political capital can be obtained through two channels, namely through approaches to political parties and approaches to society. Approaches to political parties can be made through approaches to party elites who have a compatible fighting platform. On this side, Ridwan Kamil must build political alliances so that the platform that is fought for together gets support so that the party's political machine helps fully. On the other hand, the approach to society must be carried out directly in a variety of ways: to individuals, groups or professions.

Approach to individuals or community members directly can be done through direct interaction or communication one by one. This method is used by Ridwan Kamil through his social media accounts. Through his Facebook and Twitter social media accounts, Ridwan Kamil strives to present his profile to the public so that people can get to know him well. Social capital, cultural capital, and expertise capital that have been owned so far also need to be conveyed to the public. The texts in the form of status, tweets and comments were produced by Ridwan Kamil on both social media almost every hour and every day without breaking since October 2009 (Twitter) and March 2, 2013 (Facebook). These collections of texts together become biographical items so that they are able to form a complete profile or figure of Ridwan Kamil. In the eyes of the public, this new figure as a result of the reconstruction of thousands of texts—to a certain extent—is considered perfect and considered ideal to be their leader. Thus, the two social media accounts have contributed political capital to Ridwan Kamil of 11 million friends or followers (regardless of the possibility of one person being friends on both accounts). This does not mean, of course, that these 11 million people have the same political platform that Ridwan Kamil offers.

What Ridwan Kamil did was actually his efforts to form an alliance with members of the public, with his prospective voters in regional head elections. An alliance is a group of people, organizations, or countries built on the basis of common interests or goals. The term alliance in a political sense is more generally associated with two or more countries that have interests or take advantage of each other. In relation to Ridwan Kamil as a candidate for public official, the alliance that Ridwan Kamil built before the Bandung regional election can be interpreted as a covert campaign to gain political capital.

The alliance that Ridwan Kamil built did not stop, even though he was elected mayor of Bandung. By presenting various program plans, program implementation, and achievements, Ridwan Kamil was able to maintain an alliance with his community and continue to build it to expand his territory. In the view of critical discourse analysis, what he does can be interpreted as an attempt to perpetuate power or to maintain political stability. In addition, this ever-expanding alliance is also Ridwan Kamil's political capital ahead of the West Java regional head election. In fact, maybe also in the 2024 Presidential Election if Ridwan Kamil continues to want to move up in politics in Indonesia.

Alliance building can be done in several ways, namely engaging, paying attention, providing assistance, opening space for dialogue, sympathizing, showing politeness, and feeling one thought. The various forms of alliance-building can be identified by the choice of words.

Image and Millennial Generation as Political Alliance Builders Ridwan Kamil

Imaging is a process or way of forming a person's image so that other people get a good, perfect, or ideal image for a particular purpose. Several ways can be done by a person to build his own image. The media used also varies, depending on what media is considered more effective in describing the image to be formed.

In Ridwan Kamil's case, the issue of imaging was not taboo for him. At least this can be seen from some of his tweets on social media. Like the following example.

(23)

Di era demokrasi massa seperti skg kelihatannya popularitas seringkali mengalahkan intelektualitas ya? (T, 19-12-2012)

In the era of mass democracy like now, it seems that popularity often trumps intellectuality, right? (T, 19-12-2012)

(24)

Suka heran jika netizen non-Bandung bilang pencitraan. Di Bandung wonderful mah yeuh akang teteh, sudah biasa pisan jika lihat warga, relawan dan pejabat (walikota, camat, lurah dll) bersih2 trotoar atau pungut sampah.

Karena kami punya kultur rutinitas Gerakan Pungut Sampah tiap senin, rabu dan Jumat.

GPS ini salah satu yang membuat kota ini meraih Adipura lagi. #thisisbandung (F, 2-7-2017)

I don't get it if non-Bandung netizens say imaging. In Bandung, wonderful *mah yeuh akang teteh*, it's common to see residents, volunteers and officials (mayor, sub-district, village head, etc.) cleaning the sidewalks or collecting garbage.

Because we have a routine culture of the Garbage Collection Movement every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

This GPS is one of the things that makes this city reach Adipura again. #thisisbandung (F, 2-7-2017)

In example (23) Ridwan Kamil realizes that popularity is very important because it can beat someone's intellect. Ridwan Kamil, who intellectually has high capital, feels he must be supported by popularity. Ridwan Kamil has also been well aware of the risk of his activity being considered as imaging, as in example (24).

Ridwan Kamil does imaging through several things, namely a) showing his work achievements through various awards and b) presenting his family who is in harmony with his intimacy.

Ridwan Kamil is well aware that the millennial generation, namely the generation born between 80 and 2000, is a strategic group to become his alliance. This generation is a generation that politically has the right to vote. This generation also constitutes 48% of the total voters in the regional head elections. Thus, this generation needs to be approached with their “language”. What is their daily concern must also be considered, so that they can become part of their alliances?

What is their everyday “language”? In general, this generation is still interested in matters of romance, status, single, match, miss and ex, and games. In fact, Ridwan Kamil also cares about trivial matters such as Wi-Fi and credit matters. Because of his concern for this millennial group, Ridwan Kamil had to create *Jomblo* Park, Music Park, Skateboard Park, Film Park, and Dilan Park.

CONCLUSION

Ridwan Kamil’s figure can be seen in three ways: biological identity, mental identity (character), and social identity (his association). The three identities are united and can be owned by every individual, including Ridwan Kamil. The three of them are united in Ridwan Kamil and of course will have a lot of influence on his policies during his tenure as mayor and governor.

From several facts, it is clear that in general the greatness and maintenance of Sundanese culture is still maintained by Ridwan Kamil. Ridwan Kamil as a native Sundanese son certainly feels proud of his tribal culture, including his Sundanese language. For Ridwan Kamil, Sundanese is the mother tongue (mother tongue). Because since he was born, he lived in Sundanese culture and spoke Sundanese, Ridwan Kamil has become a part of the original Sundanese tribe/nation (pituatory). Of course, it is not surprising that in his daily life Sundanese language colors the communication or the texts he delivers, including communication through his social media accounts: Facebook and Twitter. The Sundanese text delivered by Ridwan Kamil appears in two forms, namely (a) the text which is mainly in the form of Sundanese sentences and (b) the text in the form of certain words in Sundanese that are present together with the words in the language. Indonesia (mixed code)

Ridwan Kamil’s power language is the language used when he was Mayor of Bandung. Texts in Ridwan Kamil’s status and tweets can be grouped into several types, namely the division of power, imperative forms, power verbs, prohibitions, use of aspects and modalities, intellectual authority, and symbolic violence.

What Ridwan Kamil did with the language of power and representations of his political identity, was actually his efforts to form an alliance with members of the public, with his prospective voters in the regional head elections. The development of Ridwan Kamil’s political alliance was carried out in several ways, namely inviting, paying attention, providing assistance, opening space for dialogue, sympathizing, showing politeness, and feeling one thought. The various forms of alliance-building can be identified by the choice of words.

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