Discourse on 'Islam' and '*Kafir*' in 2019 Indonesia Presidential Election: The Challenge of Democracy in the Digital Era

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Abstract

The development of digital technology disrupts all aspects of people's lives. Digital technology facilitates the development of social media, a platform on which everyone can produce content to promote the right to freedom of expression. At the beginning of its development, it is assumed that it will improve the quality of democracy. However, reality shows some paradox, such as the political discourse is strongly influenced by new actors, called the influencers and they influence the voters strongly. One of the popular topics developed by influencers in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election are Islam and *Kafir (*unbelievers).The aim of this study is to examines the discourse of Islam and *Kafir i*n Twitter and their impact on the development of democracy in Indonesia. The data was collected on 7 days Twitter dataset (3 days before election day, the election day, and 3 days after the election day). By using topic model and critical discourse analysis (CDA), it shows that the discourse of *Kafir* or the disbelief was used to mocking supporters of other candidates who were considered less Islamic. Interestingly, the so-called unbeliever supporters used re- signification" as a way to attack the opponent. The study shows that both of candidates use Islamic discourse to get voter support. As a result, discourses of Islam and *Kafir* contain a lot of verbal violence, that has the potential to reduce the quality of democracy in the digital era.

Keywords: Islam*, Kafir*, democracy, digital, CDA, topic model.

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Introduction

Development of digital media platforms disrupt social interactions. This is because the logic of digital media is different from previous communication media. Social media can be roughly referred to as a "group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of the Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan AM, Haenlein 2011 in Van Dijk 2013 p. 5). This is different from the mass culture era where only media institutions could convey messages to the mass. Now, individuals must adapt to this digital life. One of the tools for adapting is the adoption of smart phones.

This phenomenon results in changes to 3 things, namely: (1) transformation of communication from mass communication to mass-self communication. The nature of mass- self is due to the interactive nature of the Internet and 2-way. In addition, it is mass due to peer to peer networks; (2) the transformation of space and time. In the Information age there is a difference between the space of places and the space of flows; and (3) the emergence of a network society (Castells, 2010).

Digital technology has changed the communication landscape. It makes content distribution cheaper than before. The audience reached was also wider (EU, 2018). In the old media era, content distribution followed administrative areas, for example local media, national media and global media. Meanwhile, the distribution of digital media content does not recognize administrative areas. This change affects political communication messages. Through social media, political actors and constituents can communicate directly, as well as constituents with constituents. The ability to produce content gives political actors able to articulate their policies. Tedesco and Tech (in Kaid 2004: 510) referred it's as source control. On the one hand, source control raised quality of political communication to constituent, on the other hand, source control is used by political actors to attack political opponents.

The 2019 presidential election was an election that use a lot of social media. The election had 2 candidates, there are Jokowi - Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo - Sandiaga. According to Zuhto (2019: 22-23), this head-to-head election colored by polarization in the candidate-supporting community. The polarization was triggered by a lot of

disinformation content, hate speech and the politicization of identity politics. One of the causes of this polarization is the lack of understanding of the public about the logic of social media which is different from the mainstream media. The most popular measure of the successful criteria of messaging spread through social media is popularity. This makes the public try to create political communication content not based on the programs, but content for the purpose of popularity (trending topic). Some popular political communication content contains identity politics. There are many studies on social media and identity conducted by academics in social science and information technology, one of which is a study conducted by Tonberg and Tonberg (2016: 132-133) entitled : "Muslims in Social Media Discourse: Combining Topic Modeling and Critical Discourse Analysis. Many studies of this topic employ sentiment analysis. However, this study employed topic modeling and critical discourse analysis (CDA). The aim of the study is to compare discourses on Muslims and Islam whose represent through forums compared to representations presented by western mainstream media. The study use qualitative approach (critical discourse analysis) combine with topic quantitative (topic modelling). Quantitative data is used to view the content map of the corpus.

The combination of these 2 approaches helps accuracy in analyzing CDA. The results showed that the representation of Muslims and Islam in the forum as "the others" which has a character similar to the characteristics described by Muslims, namely being involved in conflict, violence and extremism. This representation is similar to that in the mainstream media.

Finding of the studies shows social media has its own logic, in some ways it has the same characteristics as mainstream media. Therefore, at the beginning of its development, it is assumed that it will improve the quality of democracy. However, reality shows some paradox, such as the political discourse is strongly influenced by new actors, called the influencers and they influence the voters strongly. One of the popular topics developed by influencers in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election are Islam and *Kafir (*unbelievers).The aim of this study is to examines the discourse of Islam and *Kafir i*n Twitter and their impact on the development of democracy in

Indonesia.

Literature Review

Social Media Logic

To understand the discourse on Islam and *Kafir* on social media, it is necessary to understand the social media logic. Van Dijk (2013, 5 - 11) explains that there are 4 elements of social media logic, namely:

1. Programability: the ability of a social media platform to trigger and steer users' creative or communicative contributions, while users, through their interaction with these coded environments, may in turn influence the flow of communication and information activated by such a platform (Van Dijk, 2013 : 5). This prograability in the mainstream media is editotorial. In social media this function is carried out through an algorithm.

2. Popularity. The shape is in accordance with the platform, namely Like, trending topic, view. Popularity is run by algorithms.

3. Connectivity. Hardware that connects the platform to users and advertisers. Through the platform the content can be distributed to users. This relationship is done through an algorithm. Through the logic of such popularity, users can recommend consuming contentthat they like.

4. Datafication. The ability of networked platforms to render into many data such as online survey data, metadata from mobile phones, music, videos, social media data.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The data that has been clustered with the topic model is then analyzed using critical discourse analysis (CDA). This study uses Sara Mills model. Mills emphasizes the representations presented by other groups that influence meaning making. The position of actors, ideas and events presented in the text is important because the representation is accepted by the public. Actors have the opportunity to become subjects for themselves, meaning that they represent actors themselves. actors who are unable to become the subject will become objects, thus their representation will be

presented by others. This subject-object analysis is expected to be able to reveal the ideology behind the text (Eriyanto, 2001 200-211).

The representation presented by the text can be read differently by the reader. The Mills model assumes that readers can present context in the text they read. Context can also exist through negotiations between the reader and the text writer. The relationship between the writer and the reader is done through the pronouns used in the text. Mills puts the reader in 2 positions. These positions are: (a) interpellation (b) individual acceptance of a position (dominant or subordinate). Mills thinking in this position was influenced by Althusser (Mills, 1997). MIlls was also influenced by Foucault who connected power with knowledge and power with truth. This relationship will generate politics of knowledge.

Research Methodology

- Topic Modelling

In line with the development of social media as a space for expression, research methodology had developed (Rifai, 2020). The development of research methodology facilitate data retrieval and analysis.. According to Rifai (2020), the concept of digital methodology is how the process can be seen from 3 sides: data sources, data collection and processing, and data visualization.

Subjects of this study were discourse on Twitter related to the 2019 presidential election. The reason for choosing the Twitter platform as a data source is the increasing number of users (Pratomo, 2019) and Twitter's Application Protocol Interface (API) which allows more data access. Smith. et. al., (2014), states that social networks map conversations that provide new insights because they combine analysis of people's opinion expressions on Twitter, the sources of information they cite in tweets, analysis of who is on the network and how big the network is.

The data was collected on 7 constitutive days Twitter dataset : 3 days before election day (April 14-16, 2019) , the election day (April 17, 2019), and 3 days after the election day (April 118-20, 2020). Data mining is carried out by entering seven keywords, namely Islam, Kafir, China, communism, human rights, capital,

foreign workers, foreign workers. These keywords are considered of representing democratic discourse in the 2019 presidential election. Data mining is carried out twice a day at the time busy tweeting. The number of tweet data collected for 7 days was 107,959 tweets. Data mining run by Node XL, This application could reach snapshot from current post in a certain period (Himelboim et.al, 2013).

The collected data have processed in several stages : clening, stop word filtering , and stemming filtering. The cleaning process takes a long time because the Indonesian corpus is not as strong as English, so it requires manual work, especially entry into the stop word and stemming tools. After cleaning the data, a dataset is formed that is ready to be processed to obtain a topic model. Through the topic model, various information or patterns related to democracy in the 2019 presidential election can be found.

Twitter is a network based on topic rather than user, such as on Facebook, Youtube, etc. and network sampling is determined by key search terms (Himelboim et al., 2013; Himelboim et al, 2017). To get a harmonious mean (mean) in various settings, the number of differenttopics (2-100, the optimal number of topics) uses the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) analysis technique, resulting in 51 topic models (from topic 0 to topic 50) . Then a label is made on the topic model so that it is easy to identify and what discourse is discussed by each topic model. The naming of the topic model labels can help to relate to what concepts are formed. Labels are determined by looking at the visualization of the topic model in the R Studio application (rstudio.com) based on the words that appear most frequently. In this research, 10 words that appear most often are selected from the 30 most frequently occurring words in Rstudio

Figure. RStudio Visualisation of Top-30 Most Terms
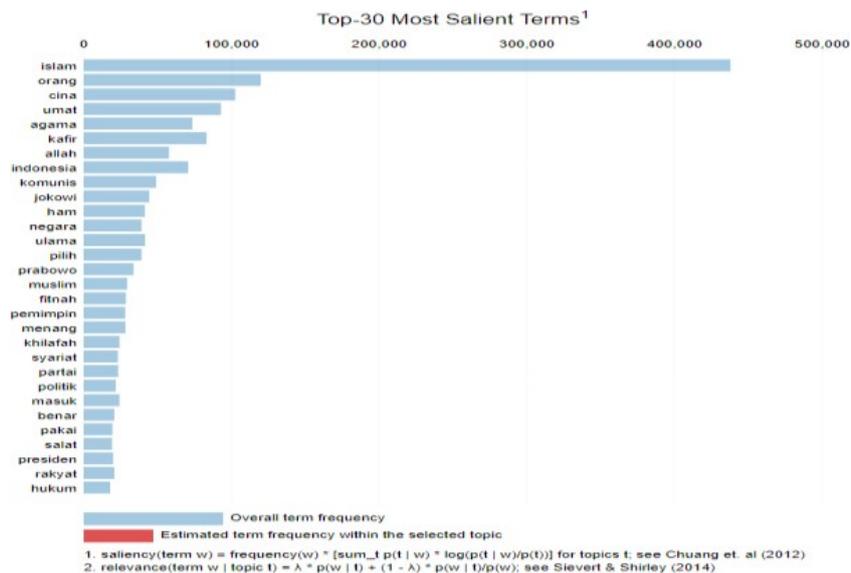
Furthermore, the data that has been divided into 51 model topics are grouped into topic clusters. Grouping into topic clusters is done with the RStudio application as well, by lookingat the closeness between the topic models in one group one quadrant. The RStudio image below provides an explanation of the topic grouping process. Judging from the topic clustering, it can be seen that each model topic in one cluster has tweet content that has the same or nearly the same theme and will have a close position placed in quadrant. Visually in R Studio, the topic positions of the models with similar themes have close positions or sometimes overlap. This can be seen in the following chart:

**Figure. RStudio Visualisation of 51 Topic**
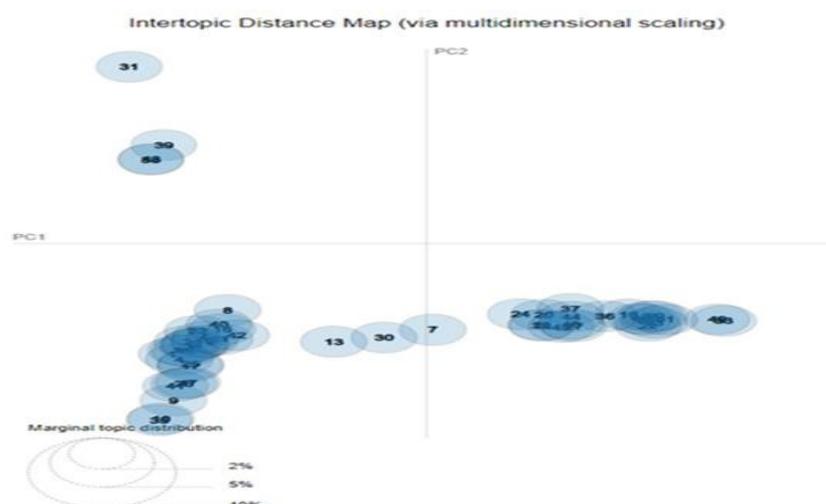
Findings

The number of tweets collected for 7 days (April 14-20 2019) was 107,959 tweets. Most Tweets occurred on April 15, 2019 (20,882 tweets) which were election day -2. There was a sharp increase of 5,138 tweets from the previous day (election day-3). Furthermore, the number of tweets continued to decline until the end of the dataset on April 20, 2019 (election day +3 elections). Although there was a slight increase (895 tweets) on April 19, 2019 which was h + 2 after the election, it declined again on April 20, 2019. The sharpest decline occurred on April 18, 2019 (election day + 2 elections), which amounted to 3,635 tweets.

The share of Tweets per day can be seen in the following graph:

Graphic. Tweet Frequency for Each Day During 7 Days (14-20 April 2019)
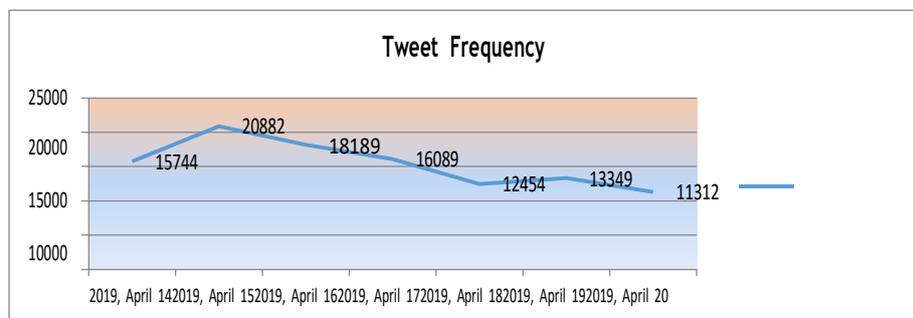
The data shows that Tweet war was mostly carried out before the election, especially the election day -2. This shows that Tweet war is used to attract voters. On the one hand content producer hopes that voters elect the president according to the one represented as a candidate by the supporters of one of the presidents, on the other hand content producer hopes that voters or do not elect a president who is represented differently.

In addition to tweet content, the cluster also confirms who are the actors who tweet (tweeters) on each modal topic in one cluster. The number of clusters formed from the dataset for seven days is shown in the graph bellow:

Graphic. Number of Cluster in Each Day (April, 14 – April, 20)
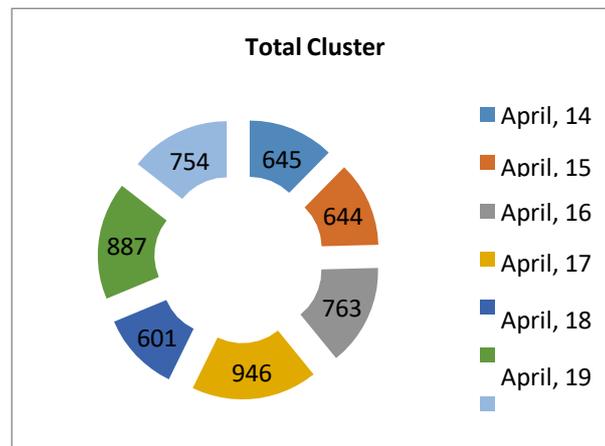
Actors or individuals involved in the Twitter network can be understood from the number of vertices / nodes that appear. The graphic below shows the ups and downs of the number of actors during 7 days of data collection (April, 14 - April, 20).

**Graphic. Number of Actor (vertice/node) in Each Day April, 14 – April, 20**
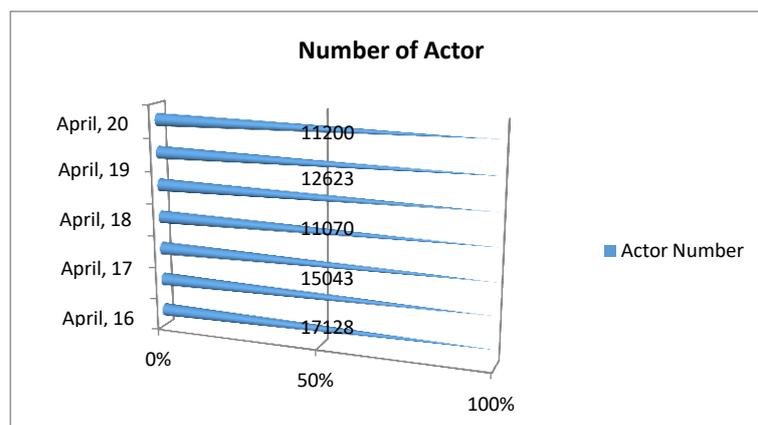
The highest number of actors occurred in April, 15 (two day before election) or 19% of the total number of actors in the network for 7 days. When compared with the highest number of tweets that occurred on the same day, it can be concluded that there are actors who tweet more than once, unique tweets. The actors in the cluster are also positioned as internal hubs as well as connecting other clusters.

The number of unique tweets or original tweets is useful for knowing how big the tweet is in the end selected to be the dataset. Only unique tweets that are processed into a dataset, retweets are discarded to maintain data accuracy or precision. The result

looks like this:

Graphic. Unique Tweet for Each Day
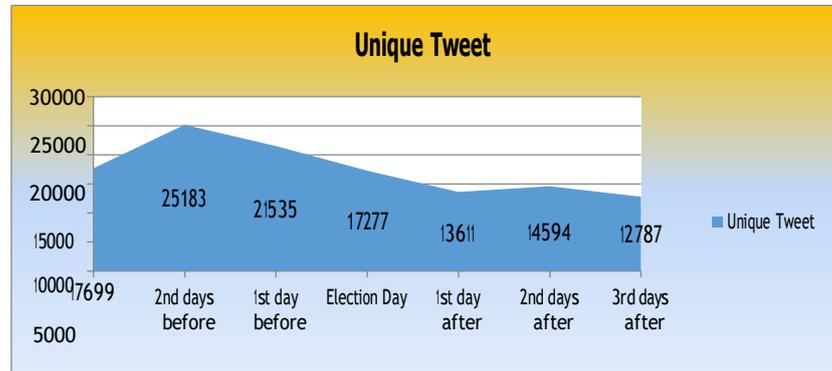
While the number of repetitive tweets (retweets), even though they are not used, can be used to prove that there are indeed retweets, how many and how many and maybe it is possible to see the relationship between actors as well. The highest frequency of retweets occurred at the same time as the highest number of tweets, namely on the second day before the election. The dataset results show the number of retweets, as follows:

Graphic. Tweet with Duplicate for Each Day (April, 14 – April, 20)
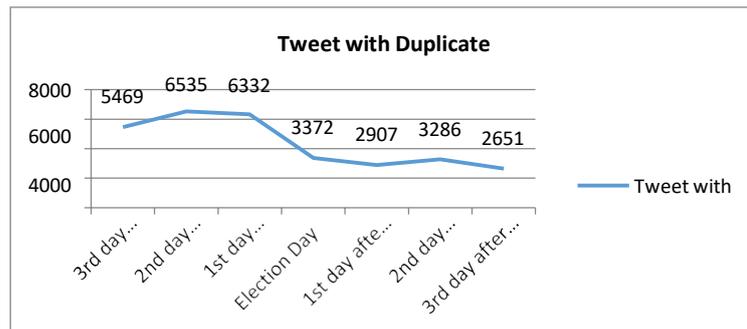
Representation of Islam and Kafir

The analysis of representations of Islam and Kafir is based on topic clusters represented in quadrant 1 and quadran 2.

No	Quadrants	Cluster Topic Model	Topic Model
1	Quadrant I Kafir	Cluster Topic : Disbelievers	TM.-31 : Kafir and common sense
		Kafir Behavior	TM-38 : TM-39 : TM-43 :
2.	Quadrant II	-	-
3	Quadrant III Islam	Cluster 3 - Islam & tolerance:	TM -33 : FPI High Priest TM -49: Islam teaches tolerance
		Cluster 4 - Islamic defense: 50, 51, 23, 46, 18, 22, 29, 34	TM-18: fighting in the way ofda'wah TM - 22: The war against theenemy of Islam TM -23: Action to defend Islam TM - 29: Indonesian leadership
			in the Islamic world TM -34: Muslims maintainunity TM-46: right and wrong inIslam (behavior) TM-50: Islamic mass organizations TM-51: Understanding Islamichistory.
		Cluster 5 - Islam and electoral politics: 27, 48, 44, 37, 45, 28, 24, 12, 20	TM-12: Prayers for the victoryof Islam TM-20: blasphemers of religionTM-24: Islamic Teachings TM-27: Islamic educationTM-28: Islamic politics TM-37: Islamic haters TM-44: Uphold the caliphate TM-45: Women and Science inIslam TM-48: Arab Islam vs Indonesian Islam

4.	Quadrant	Cluster 6 - application of Islamic law: 7	TM-7: application of Islamicsharia
		Cluster 7 - threats to ideology: 13, 30	TM-13: democracy versus other ideologies TM-30: Islamic radical groupissues
		Cluster 8 - perceptions of China: 35, 10	TM-10: Perceptions aboutChina TM-35: Chinese products
		Cluster 9 - majority & minority: 41, 47, 26, 9	TM-9: saving the Pancasila ideology TM-26: Chinese Migrant Workers TM-41: majority minority inIndonesia - bhinneka Tunggal Ika TM-47: presidential election
		Cluster 10 - public impressions of candidates: 25, 4, 1, 14, 15, 17	TM-1: Criminalization ofUlama TM-4: Support for the two
			presidential candidates TM-14: supporters of the two presidential candidates TM-15: communist ideologyTM-17: Election fraud TM-25: anti-Islamic regime
		Cluster 11 - presidential & Islamic elections: 2, 32, 19, 21, 3, 5, 6, 11	TM-2: Cases of Human Rights Violations TM-3: Political parties need anIslamic voice TM-5: Defend tauhidTM-6: Ijtima 'ulama TM-11: freedom of choice TM-19: the dawn prayer movement in congregation TM-21: caliphate & presidentialelection

		Cluster 12 – cebong (tadpoles) vs kampret (babymonkey): 40, 42, 16, 8	TM-8: Jokowi Umrah TM-12: Prayers for the victory of Islam TM-16: Perceptions of Islam TM-40: Issues about non-Muslims TM-42: tadpoles vs coppers

Representasi Kafir

- **Unbeliever** *(Orang Kafir)*

Discourse of *Kafir* is represented in 2 topic clusters, namely the Kafir (Unbeliever) and the Kafir behavior. The Unbelieve Topic cluster consists of 1 model topic, namely unbeliever and comon sense. Judging from the 10 words that appear the most number of words are positive.

Table. Top-10 most Term Frequency and Label of Each Topic Model

Topic	Top-10 most Term Frequency	Frasa/ Label
Topic 31	people, kafir, healthy, resourceful, murder, mad, sad, smart, stamped, sane	unbeliever (orang kafir) and commonsense

Represetation of kafir is presented as subject and object. As an object because the representation is presented by another party. Kafir refers to Rocky Gerung, a figure from the

Democratic Party. Netters said that Saat Rocky Gerung was an atheist and disbeliever because he was not a Muslim when the speech at the mosque was shouted "Allahu Akbar". Prabowo is also represented as an infidel because he is considered a convert to not praying and then turning back to be a kafir. The term Kafir to Rocky Gerung and Prabowo was presented by other parties, meaning that they are the object of this discourse. The greeting can be seen in the following tweet:

> @rockygerung si Atheis alias KAFIR belagak paling pintar, belagak berakal sehat, belagak hebat, belagak plg bersih.....pdhl aromanya busuk, penuh kebencian, kemunafikan, kebohongan, tipu daya & muslihat, licik picik, hny pintar pd bidangnya tp tolol pd bidang lain. Nama dia RAJA KAMPRET..!!!.

> @FPI_Petamburan kalo rocky gerung yang pidato di masjid & diteriaki ALLAHU AKBAR itu termasuk politik bukan ya?kan dia bukan orang islam (KAFIR).

Jokowi"s supporters presented the representation of Kafir as a subject. During this time they felt represented as kafir. A netters in his tweet said that: "The association of people is always labeled as kafir and also chooses Jokowi". This statement is used to counterattack the opponent's stronghold. Kafir as a subject is also presented to those who speak out so that they don't let the kafir rule Indonesia. The representation can be seen in the Tweet: "Don't be afraid. Law is no longer valuable in this country. Let's kill the Kafir (unbelievers) #GerakanSubuhAkbarIndonesia #

- Kafir Behavior

There are 3 topics that discuss about kafir behavior : assessing people's behavior and the sins of unbelievers. From the 10 words that are most widely used, the 10 words that appear on the topic of Muslims and kafir and the sins of unbelievers tend to be negative, while the 10 words that appear on the topic of assessing people's behavior tend to be neutral.

Table. Top-10 most Term Frequency and Label of Each Topic Model

Topic	Top-10 most Term Frequency	Frasa/Label
Topic 38	muslim, kafir, race, hypocrite, brother, nonislam, hate, convert, fasik (wicked), uighur	muslim vs kafir
Topic 39	person, ugly, faith, pious, judge, mukmin (believers), minang, guarantee, disgrace, traveling	Assessing people's behavior
Topic 43	kafir, dead, in, sin, heaven, hell, group, setan (devil), iblis (devil), expert	the sin of the unbelievers

In this topic cluster both Jokowi and Prabowo are represented as good people. For Jokowi, this representation is presented in an indirect greeting through the hashtag *PilihBajuPutih*. Prabowo is also represented as a good person and good moslem. These representations are presented by their respective constituents or as subjects.

JELAS ISLAM DAN BAIK ORANGNYA

#PilihOrangBaik #PilihJelasIslamnya #PilihBajuPutih

Orang baik pilih yang baik.

Baik mana Islam atau demokrasi?

Sekarang tentukan pilihan kalau
Anda orang baik!
#ReturnTheKhilafah

#IndonesiaTanpaPacaran

As an object, either Jokowi or Prabowo represented as Kafir

Kalau UYM kan idola kaum Kafir dan kaum Munafik,buktinya di GBK kemaren berkumpul dengan kaum LGBT.#BeraniPilih02 #HoaxJkwMenangTotalDebat

@helmifelis @PantunJ2P Gerombolan MUNAFIK ANTEK ASING.... PraBOHONG Turunan CINA KAFIR si MURTAD PENCULIK BIADAB itu memang asli PEMBOHONG

https://t.co/DvxxfQXpu8

@Dennysiregar7 @prabowo Itu mubhalah firr   kafir mana ngerti ??

Another discourse raised on this topic is the term kafir for Jokowi's supporters. This representation was presented by both Jokowi's supporters and Prabowo supporters. Jokowi supporters also call Prabowo's supporters Kafirs.

1 @P3nj3l4j4h @budimandjatmiko Sekarang kita mulai hitung.

Nonmuslim (yg mereka bilang kafir) 100% pasti pilih Jokowi umat muslim taruhlah terbelah dua, 50% pilih Jokowi dan 50% ke 02. Jokowi dapet 50% pemilih muslim + 100% nonmuslimGGG

Makanya bulan lalu aku pernah ngetwit semua pendukung 02 habis pilpres kalian semua pd sahadat ulang, kemaren kalian teriak2 cina kafir asing kafer takbir kafer keferrrrrrr rupanya prabowo muntahkan kalian ke comberan

Pendukung prabowo sebagai subyek

Para fans 01 para fasik munafik debat gw di fb Gw Dikatain sombong, tolol, kafir

Pas gw tanya:

Sebutkan 1 aja ayat Qur'an dan atau Hadist shohih bukhori muslim yg nyuruh milih president munafikEh mereka malah planga plongo

Kt nya lu pade islam di KTP

Representation of Islam

- Islam and Tolerance

The representation of Islam is presented in 3 topic clusters, namely Islam & tolerance, defense of Islam and Islam and electoral politics. Judging from the 10 words that mostly appear in the Islamic cluster and tolerance tends to be positive.

Table. Top-10 most Term Frequency and Label of Each Topic Model

Topic	Top-10 most Term Frequency	Frasa/Label
Topic 33	ummah, Islam, habibrizieq, imambesar, fpi, specifically, admit, Indonesia,angry, warning	FPI High Priest
Topic 49	Islam, teaching, tolerance, bad, point of view, attitude, encouragement, view,cooperation, angle	Islam teaches tolerance

Representations of Islam and tolerance are generally present as subjects. Netters supporting this idea say that it has become a spirit that the believers are tolerant. The developing discourse is Islam rahmatal lil alamin. Another representation is that of the great Imam of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). There are netters presenting Habib Rizieq as a subject praising him as a smart and opinionated person. There are netters which represent objects. Netters who questioned Habib Rizieq's character made a tweet which essentially questioned Habib Rizieq's position as the high priest of the Islamic ummah because he was never invited to the palace of the king of Saudi Arabia. Citizens who are in this group regard FPI as dividing the ummat.

- Defend of Islam

The Islamic defense topic cluster consists of 8 topics. Judging from the 10 words that mostoften appear on each topic, his words tend to be positive.

Topic	Top-10 most Term Frequency	Frasa/Label
Topic 18	Islam, fighting, da'wah, truth, patience, coming, sign, spirit, istiqomah,	fighting in the way ofda'wah
Topic 22	Islam, believe, enemy, opponent, war, great, peace, real, force, safe	the war against the enemyof Islam
Topic 23	Islam, defend, fear, silence, courage, action, social media, *duasatudua*, missing, defender	action to defend Islam
Topic 29	Islam, the world, life, the hereafter, able, leadership, responsibility, lift,stay, swear	leadership in the Islamicworld
Topic 34	ummah, Islam, guard, unite, break, rise, unite, split, unite, rise	Muslims maintain unity
Topic 46	Islam, right, wrong, blame, take, direction, behavior, direction,behavior, sorry	right and wrong in Islam
Topic 50	Islam, mass, nahdatulama, mass organizations, hti, figures, influence,calm, moderate	Islamic organizations
Topic 51	Islam, understanding, learning, history, stupid, easy, society, understanding, concept	Understanding Islamic history

Discussions that appear in this cluster topic are related to the presidential election and some are not. The course on Islamic da'wah is generally not associated with the presidential election, but rather discusses the da'wah struggle of Rasulullah SAW and other preachers' struggles in carrying out syiar. The da'wah struggle is not only aimed at upholding prayersand other pillars of Islam but also the application in government. In carrying out the syiar of Rasulullah SAW, he received many challenges from the infidels in the form of ridicule, but Rasulullah remained patient. The same thing is done by other da'wah fighters.

The discourse on the struggle of da'wah against kafir institutions' is more directed at the struggle of da'wah against injustice committed by kafir institutions. Facing this problem Muslims should not be silent. The solution developed in the discussion was to fight for the caliphate. Discussions in this sub-topic generally use tags containing the word khilafah, for example: #KhilafahAjaranIslam, # KhilafahJanjiAllah, # khilafahjalankebenaran.

There is a discourse on the struggle against the enemies of Islam, namely democracy and communism. Democracy is considered the greatest enemy of Islam because democracy is considered a kufr system because its source is not from the Koran. Democracy is also considered shirk and polytheism, namely actions that can be categorized as major sins. The second enemy is the communists or the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), which are considered to be a group deemed to slander the ulama. Other netizens share this opinion and say history has proven this. Other discourses related to electoral politics are those related to the topic of Islamic defense action. Pro netters suggest that netters use their voting rights to elect candidates who fight for Islam. Counter-netters call this movement just a case.

- Islam dan Politik Elektoral

Topic	Top-10 most Term Frequency	Frasa/Label
Topic 12	win, prayer, people, lose, islam, night, takbir, claims, nisfusyaban, governor	praying for the victory of Islam
Topic 20	religion, islam, carry, ahok, despicable, insultant, adherent, race, leader, saying, shame	blasphemers of religion
Topic 24	Islam, reading, Quran, faith, meaning, pillars, books, deeds, verses, hadith	Islamic teachings
Topic 27	Islam, name, child, born, small, parent, education, young, generation, program	pendidikan Islam
Topic 28	politics, islam, conscious, power, affairs, interests, part, play, care, less	Islamic politics
Topic 37	Islam, heart, hate, love, eyes, open, sick, full, angry, clean	Islamic haters
Topic 44	khilafa (caliphate), Islam, teachings, upright, earth, promises, obligatory, caliphate, civilization, establish	Khilafa
Topic 45	Islam, knowledge, women, seek, far, noble. Height, grades, male	Women and Science in Islam
Topic 48	Islam, arab, islam nusantara, shout, shame, culture, anti, misguided, admit	Arab Islam and Indonesian Islam

There are 3 themes in the discussion of Islam and electoral politics. The first is about the insulting religion, namely Ahok and the blasphemers of other religions. Talks about Ahok resurfaced after the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) trusted him to join. Another case of blasphemy against Melina is a Medan resident

who protested against the volume of the call to prayer. Meilina was considered guilty and sentenced to the blasphemy law.

The second theme is the topic of Islamic politics. This topic discusses 2 issues, namely groups that are pro-Islam associated with politics, and those who are contra-Islam are associated with politics. For pro groups, they think that Islam does not only regulate spiritual matters but also regulate political matters. The discussion on this topic distinguishes between political Islam and democracy. Democracy is considered dirty, therefore the political system that must be run is Islamic politics. Groups that are contra-Islam associated with politics say that religion is understood as a rule that only regulates spiritual matters and therefore does not fit into the realm of politics. Citizens do not agree that Islam is associated with politics because Islam is holy while politics is dirty.

The third theme is the pros and cons of the Khilafah. The pro groups say that the Khilafah is the best system because it is a system that comes from the Almighty creator, therefore it must be fought for. The contra group said that Pancasila has guaranteed the people to be free to worship so that they do not need a caliphate. There are also netters who think that the issue is a joke in the 2019 election.

Conclusion

1. Tweet war occurs in discourse related to kafir which is discussed in topics that are in quadrant1. Each candidate labels the opposing candidate as an infidel. In this way both Jokowi and Prabowo are represented as kafirs. These representations are usually presented when the candidate is positioned as an object.

2. Jokowi supporters and Prabowo supporters are also labeled as kafir, although this labelis mostly given to Jokowi supporters.

3. Both Jokowi and Prabowo are represented as good people who have good Islamic beliefs. Representations like this are generally the ones that represent the constituents.

4. Some discourses on Islam are related to electoral politics and some are not.

5. The issue of blasphemy is still being discussed by netters.

6. The issue of the caliphate is quite busy being discussed, some are pro and some are contra.

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