

REPRESENTATION OF ISLAM IN THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract

This study aims to see how religious discourse in the presidential election is represented in social media. The study concludes as follows: First: Presidential Election 2109 represents three discourses namely: Discourse on Religion and Candidacy of Candidates, Discourse on Politics and Badar War and Discourse on Ulama and Power. Second: Factors that influence representation are: political factors, religious interpretations and digital culture. On political factors, it appears that religion is politicized in the 2019 Presidential Election because religion alone provides political benefits. So for political purposes the power of religious politicization in the 2019 Presidential Election becomes a necessity. Meanwhile, on the factor of religious interpretation, it was concluded that religious interpretation influenced the representation of the 2019 Presidential Election discourse. Religious interpretation was used as a legitimate tool to support or reject certain candidates. Likewise with the digital world, the representation of religious discourse can be so massive, precisely because it is influenced by digital culture that has touched all aspects of human life, including religion. Through the digital world of marketing and the 2019 Presidential Election campaign can be faster, cheaper and more effective even though it has raised concerns over the future and integration of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The open nature of the digital world makes open conflict so that it has the potential to trigger national divisions.

Keywords: *Media, Representation, Discourse and Ideology*

A. INTRODUCTION

The latest Presidential Election in Indonesia was held in 2019. However, the process has begun long before the election was held, starting from building coalitions among parties that will nominate a presidential candidate, looking for vice presidential candidates, announcing candidate pairs, to registering pairs of candidates in the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum). All processes had been carried out and the result was that the 2019 Presidential Election was followed by two pairs of candidates for president and vice president namely Ir. H. Joko

Widodo (Jokowi) and Prof. KH. Dr. Ma'ruf Amin and the Retired General H. Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Shalahuddin Uno. In the end, the incumbent president Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin came out as the winners defeating their rival Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Shalahuddin Uno through the Constitutional Court's final decision. The Constitutional Court rejected the lawsuit of Parabowo and Saindiaga's claim that the Central Election Commission (KPU) announcement of Jomowi and Ma'ruf' victoty was invalid as the elections contained a number of frauds.

In the long process of this presidential election, there are indications that religion is used as a tool of legitimacy to gain or maintain power.¹ This can be seen for example from the emergence of discourse to form national leadership by combining nationalist and santri or politician and scholar elements.² In the incumbent camp, before Prof. Dr. KH. Ma'ruf Amin was officially chosen by Jokowi, several names were circulating that represented the santri community such as the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Tuan Guru Bajang (TGB), former Muhammadiyah General Chairman Prof. Dr. Din Syamsuddin, former Chief of the Constitutional Court Prof. Dr. Mahfud MD and so forth. Meanwhile, from Prabowo's camp, names of Ustadz Abdul Shomad (UAS) and Habib Salim Segaf al-Jufri had been suggested by the Ulama *ijtima* forum before Sandiaga Shalahuddin Uno was chosen by Prabowo Subianto's camp as their vice-presidential candidate.

Jokowi's choice of Ma'ruf Amin seemed to want to dispel the image that the incumbent was far from the Muslims or hostile to the ulama.³ The nomination

¹ Nader Hashemi (2014). Rethinking religion and political legitimacy across the Islam - West divide. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 40 (4-5), 439-447. See also J Markoff, & D. Regan (1987). Religious Morality and Political Legitimacy in the World's Constitutions, *Church-State Relations: Tensions and Transitions*, 161-182; and M. Ayooob. 2008, *The Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World*, University of Michigan Press.

² According to historian Ricklefs, this tendency has emerged since 1930. See MC Ricklefs. 2012, *Islamization and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present*, Singapore: NUS Press.

³ Executive Director of the Indonesia Public Institute (IPI) Karyono Wibowo argues that Jokowi's choice to KH. Ma'ruf Amin became the running mate is a choice based on a

of Ma'ruf Amin as a vice-presidential candidate from the Jokowi camp is a kind of signal that is expected to reduce the negative impression of some Muslims who have assumed that this regime is an anti-*ulama*, or anti-Islamic regime.⁴ Meanwhile, even though Prabowo did not choose representatives from the *ulama* circles as recommended by the *ijtima* *ulama* forum, they blew up the religious side of Sandiaga Saladin Uno: portraying him as a devout Muslim businessman, a person who always fasts every Monday and Thursday and conducts *dhuha* prayer since his adolescence.⁵

Thus, symbolic representation⁶ occurs in the current political practice in Indonesia. Religious symbols are not only used as a supplementary “spice” but have

number of considerations and agreements from the coalition parties. "Firstly because Jokowi wants to prove its commitment to respect the role of the clergy and the people of Islam," said Karyono to *JawaPos.com*, Thursday (9/8). See <https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/politik/10/08/2018/select-maruf-amen-jokowi-drop-stigma-musuhi-ulama> accessed on August 26, 2018.

⁴ Initially, the issue of anti-*ulama* and anti-Islam government emerged after the government issued PERPPU No. 2 of 2017 concerning mass organizations. One of the core points of this PERPPU is the strengthening of the government's authority to disperse anti-Pancasila, anti-UUD 1945 mass organizations that threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. The result, based on the PERPPU, the government had dissolved the Indonesian Hizb ut-Tahrir party because it was considered anti-Pancasila. The issue of the anti-*ulama* government was increasingly apparent when the leader of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) organization Rizieq Sihab was declared a suspect by the West Java Regional Police for violating article 154 A of the Criminal Code and article 320 concerning defamation of the state symbol and defamation of the proclaimer. In addition, Rizieq was also declared a suspect by the Jakarta Police on pornography. Rizieq is considered to have violated Article 4 paragraph 1 in conjunction with Article 29 and or Article 6 in conjunction with Article 32 and / or Article 9 in conjunction with Article 35 of Law Number 44 Year 2008 concerning Pornography. See, <https://islami.co/kata-siapa-jokowi-anti-islam-dan-anti-ulama/>, accessed August 26, 2018.

⁵ Sandiaga Salahudin Uno's personal driver, Gunawan Setiyoko, claimed to have had many unforgettable experiences. Many memories of joy and sorrow experienced by the father of three children. According to Gunawan, Sandi was a religious figure and was kind to all his employees or subordinates. In fact, on the sidelines of busyness always took time to perform the *dhuha* prayer even though it had to be in the car. See <http://poskotanews.com/> accessed August 26, 2018.

⁶ Antonym of symbolic representation is substantive representation. In symbolic representation, something is only taken symbolically while sometimes it is neglected. See H. Bielefeldt. 2003, *Symbolic Representation in Kant's Practical Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press; and Abdur Rozaki et al, *From Symbolic Representation to Substantive Representation*, Jogjakarta: IRE, 2014, p.18.

even become the “main raw material” of this grand political event called the 2019 Presidential Election. In fact, this happened long before the 2019 Presidential Election was held. This is what is called the politicization of religion,⁷ namely the making of religion as a political tool to win electoral contestation.⁸ In a political perspective it is considered as normal. Politicians will take whatever will be able to bring political benefits to them. Even more so in Machiavellian politics⁹ which justifies any means of achieving power: nothing is taboo, nothing is unlawful, everything can be done as long as it will provide political benefits.

In the end, this is the dilemma that makes the religious position in relation to power politics. On the one hand religion should be a moral compass¹⁰ that becomes torch lights for the ummah.¹¹ The closeness of religion to politics is expected to color our political world so that it becomes whiter, cleaner, more religious and civilized. However, on the other hand, when religion enters the world of politics, religion is vulnerable to being co-opted by politics, rendering it just a panning machine, a vote getter.¹² In fact, it is not uncommon when power is achieved, religion is abandoned, its moral teachings are violated, and its rules of law are violated. Facts show how many authorities, officials, politicians with religious parties’ background

⁷A. Altinordu. 2010, “The Policization of Religion: Political Catholicism and Political Islam in Comparative Perspective”. *Politics & Society*, 38 (4), 517-551; A. Suaedy and Rumadi (2007), *Politicization of Religion and Communal Conflict: Some Important Issues in Indonesia*, Jakarta:Wahid Institute.

⁸ See DL. Horowitz. 2013, *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*, Cambridge University Press, p 133.

⁹ Machiavelli was associated with a bad thing to justify the means to achieve goals. People who carry out actions like this are called Machiavellian. *The Prince* (1932) is a book written by Machiavelli. The main issue in this book is that all goals can be strived to build and preserve power as the final goal that can be justified. See S.Wolin. (1960). Machiavelli: Politics and the Economy of Violence. *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, 195-238.

¹⁰ M.J Perry. 1993. “Religious Morality and Political Choice: Further Thoughts - And Second Thoughts - on Love and Power”, *San Diego L. Rev.*, 30, 703.

¹¹ N. Madjid. 2001. *Plurality of Religious Harmony in Religion*. Jakarta: Kompas, p. 253

¹² D. Tyak. (1999). Monuments Between Covers: The Politics of Textbooks. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42 (6), 922-932.

eventually entangled in corruption and become a prisoner of Corruption Eradication Commission.¹³

Religion should be a sacred entity where the final orientation of whatever one does is to seek God's pleasure.¹⁴ In fact, practical politics has reduced religion to be very instrumental, calculative-oriented, short-term, and therefore very profane. In practical politics, the function of religion as a uniting force¹⁵ has changed into a disuniting one. Moreover, religious teachings are interpreted to just legitimize and win the claims of their groups and on the other hand to ridicule and reject the truth, even mislead, or disbelieve their political opponents. In this case, religion has been coopted, manipulated, hijacked, reduced, and put under political siege.¹⁶

¹³ It seems that strong religious knowledge seems unable to prevent religious leaders from committing corruption. Religion that is expected to be the last stronghold against corruption turned out to be ineffective with a lot of religious leaders trapped in the vortex of corruption. Among religious leaders who are entangled in the vortex of corruption cases: 1. Said Agil Husin Al-Munawar, Former Minister of Religion (Menag) in the era of President Megawati Soekarnoputri involved in corruption, graduates of the University of Ummu Al Quro Saudi Arabia involved in the corruption of the hajj endowment for the period 2002-2005. 2. Lutfi Hasan Ishaq, Lutfi is the President of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) for the period 2009-2014. He was named a suspect by the KPK in the case of bribery in importing beef. 3. Suryadharma Ali Suryadharma Ali was the Minister of Religion (Menag) in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). He was a graduate of the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic Institute in Jakarta, in 1984. He was the general chair of the United Development Party (PPP). Then his name, was named as a suspect by the KPK in the case of hajj funds corruption and is still undergoing the trial process in the Jakarta Corruption Court. 4. Ahmad Fathanah, Ahmad Fathanah never studied at Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, in 1985. He became famous since being appointed by the KPK as a suspect in a beef import quota bribery case in 2013. 5. KH Fuad Amin Imron is the Chairperson of Bangkalan Regional Legislative Body. Madura religious figure who previously served as Bangkalan Regent was allegedly involved in bribery of gas supply and payment to Regional Government Enterprises (BUMD) etc. See <https://news.okezone.com/read/2015/12/08/337/1263082/para-tokoh-agama-terjerat-corruption>, accessed on August 26, 2018.

¹⁴ Vincent J. Cornell. 2007. *Voices of Islam: Voices of Life: Family, Home, and Society*, London, Greenwood Publishing Group, p. 81. In the Qur'an: *ان صلاتي ونسكي ومحياي ومماتي لله رب العالمين*, means: Verily, my prayer, my worship, my life, and my death are only for (seeking pleasure) of Allah. (Surat al-An'am: 162)

¹⁵ N. Majid. (1995). *Islam Religion Humanity: Building Traditions and New Vision of Indonesian Islam*, Jakarta: Paramadina.

¹⁶ See N. Hasan. (2015). Religion and State Political Power. *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 22 (2), 260-271

In the world of social media, social separation/conflict is already visible.¹⁷ Opposing camps each insinuate, ridicule, and attack each other. And, ironically, they carry the symbols of religion to attack each other and defame groups who oppose them. The commotion in cyberspace seems to provoke a number of real actions on the ground such as mass mobilization and persecution. And, again, religion was carried around. As a result, religion that should enlighten in practice makes people think narrowly. Religion that should reconcile makes people hostile.

Therefore, a study is needed to deconstruct and dismantle the discourse of Islam especially in relation to Presidential Election issues. We need to examine what are the real interests and ideologies behind Islamic discourse in relation to the Presidential Election. We need to know, what we want to target, for example, is from religious studies that are viral on social media. What are the political benefits? And what exactly is being represented? Thus, it is hoped that we will become intelligent publics who will not be consumed by provocation and political violence in the name of religion.

B. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This study found some discourse associated with Islam in relation to the 2019 presidential election issues as follows:

1. *Religion and the Piety of Candidates*

No.	Discourse	Source	Title	Representation
1	Piety of Jokowi and Prabowo	Reposting from FB. KataKita who uploaded Abu Maryam's writings	The Tragic Story of Political Islam	Including both candidates concretely, only Jokowi was positively represented, while Prabowo was negative. This can be seen in the following quote: "Jokowi wants to conduct prayers, Prabowo does not ..."

¹⁷ See CR. Sustain. 2018. *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media*, Princeton University Press.

				<p>"Praying when you hear the call to prayer, then pray at the beginning of time has become Jokowi's habit. Jokowi's Islam has been strong. Although not a graduate of pesantren, Jokowi's religious rituals are not inferior to pesantren's students. Remembering God (<i>niridan</i>) and fasting Monday-Thursday are routinely done, not because the camera is highlighted. He did it long ago".</p> <p>... "While Prabowo was forced to convert to Islam because of marriage. Islam understood by Prabowo is Islam from outside the frame. He saw people pray, take <i>nudlu</i> and greet, but he cannot read prayer alone, even he cannot read a short letter (<i>surab</i>) of the Quran. Prabowo is an accurate description of Islam by card (Islam KTP)".</p>
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2. Politics and the War of Badr

No.	Discourse	Source	Title	Representation
1	Presidential Election as War of Badr	Reposting from FB. Agus Sutonfo by FB. Jokowi's best friend	War of Badr Version of Neno Warisman	Containing subjects related to Neno Warisman and Prabowo negatively, and vice versa subjects related to Jokowi were excluded from the text. This can be seen in the following quote: "The public certainly

				<p>still remembers war of Badr that is often echoed by Neno Warisman in each of her speeches”</p> <p>"Now the Neno Warisman version of the war of Badar has ended, hundreds of the Neno Warisman version of the Jihad warlord have finally been caught for causing chaos and riots with black flags, sharp weapons, bows, Molotov and firecrackers".</p> <p>" That is the behavior of the Holy Hordes of the auto heaven adherents who often associate the 5-year-old democratic party as an arena for the battle of Badr".</p> <p>" Religion is only used as trading material for the political interests of rotten landowners and their servants"</p> <p>“War of Badar war as a holy war at the time of the Prophet Muhammad ... was actually harassed by rotten people who wanted to make Prabowo the President of Indonesia? The irony is that the Presidential candidate that they support cannot even recite the Quran, rarely do Friday</p>
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				Prayers, cannot pray and do not even know the procedures for ablution (<i>wudlu</i>)”
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3. Ulama and Power

No.	Discourse	Source	Title	Representation
1	Ulama and Power	Reposting from FB. Marzuki Wahid by FB. Nahdlatul Ulama Arus Bawah	PILPRES, RELIGION, AND POWER	Representing that for the people of the Presidential Election is a momentum of hope for a change in a better life. Meanwhile, for the elites of the presidential election to be a political event solely aimed at power. For elites, religions, scholars and the people are only tools to achieve power that will be abandoned when power has been achieved.

The issue of religion and piety in the perspective of social science is actually placed in private matters.¹⁸ That is, the matter of religion and the question of piety were up to each individual, not a matter that must be brought to the public domain. For example, in the context of the Presidential Election, people should see their achievements and track records that can be empirically tracked, and do not rely solely on the matter of religion and piety that is transcendental. In this perspective, elaboration on concrete matters makes more sense than studying things that are still abstract and metaphysical. Therefore, in this perspective religious issues and piety should not be brought under the context of political contestation.¹⁹

¹⁸ Clarke E. Cochran. (2014). *Religion in Public and Private Life*, New York: Routledge, p. 149

¹⁹ Ivan Strenski. (2010). *Why Politics Can't Be Freed from Religion*, Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, p. 34.

Moreover, religion is a very sensitive area. The use of religion in a political context risks causing social disparity. This is because everyone has their own faith and religion. So, when religion is mentioned soon emerges what German sociologist Georg Simmel calls “associations and disassociations”.²⁰ On the one hand, people associate themselves with certain religions and at the same time they have actually been disassociated with other religions. In the end, this leads to what Simmel called conflict and integration. This phenomenon then arises in the context of the Presidential Election which has divided our society between two poles which conflict with one another and integrate on the other side.

Actually, it is common in any contestation. The problem is that when religion is used as a political tool, the social risk is enormous in the context of a multicultural and pluralistic country such as Indonesia. The threat of disintegration can at times become a serious problem. Moreover, globally there is a phenomenon of religious-based conflict in several regions of the world today such as what happened in the Middle East, where the conflict is still burning. In fact, there were concerns that Indonesia would become the next "Syria" which was torn apart by sectarian wars.

The problem becomes even more complex when spaces for expressing differences and hostility receive technological support. Through the internet, through social media, for example, open hostility can very quickly spread. In social media, people openly express their opinions, disagreements, hostility and even hate speech which in turn invites a reaction back from others (netizen).²¹ In the real world, people should consider every word he has to say in order not to hurt others, in the virtual world, it is magnified to be otherwise: missing a politeness that our society used to be called with tolerance (*tepaselira*), manner (*unggah-ungguh*), etc. Cyber communication has removed the context from a public discourse. In real face-to face communication, people can see, look and read gestures, and the body

²⁰ David Frisby (ed). (1994). *Georg Simmel: Critical Assessments, Volume 3*, New York: Routledge, p. 237.

²¹ Karen Lumsden, Emily Harmer. (2019). *Online Othering: Exploring Digital Violence and Discrimination on the Web*, Liverpool: Palgrave, p. 240

language and expressions of the other person, while in cyberspace the context is lost. This makes communication incomplete, prone to miscommunication, which in turn leads to conflict and division in society.²² This is what happens in virtual communication.

Likewise in the matter of religion and piety, topics which are usually private in social media are in vain discussed.²³ Even more so in the political context of the Presidential Election, the issue of religion and piety are now becoming mandatory topics that are discussed extensively in the virtual world. The matter of religion and piety of the Candidates has even become the choice of campaign strategies in cyberspace. Supporters and sympathizers from each side are competing to positively portray their chosen candidates on one side while trying to form a negative image of their rival candidates. As a result, political contestation turned into godly contestation.²⁴ It was at this point that the religious discourse and piety of the presidential candidates changed into “show off” (riya), gossips (ghibah) and slander. It becomes ironic because those three things are precisely what is prohibited in religious teachings.

Likewise, the political discourse of the war of Badr is very risky and dangerous if used as a political idiom. This can turn political contestation into a ‘holy’ field of religious war. This makes the boundaries of religion and politics blurred.²⁵ Profane politics, full of gossip, intrigue and interest-oriented and worldly desires can be very dangerous because they can manipulate people when politics wear religious robes. As a result, political relativity will be replaced by religious absolutism. Political programs are seen as religious fatwas. The struggle for power is seen as a religious

²² Z. Papacharissi. (2019). *The Virtual Sphere. The Internet as a Public Sphere*, in *Praktiken den Ü berwachten*, (p.46-60). Springer VS, Wiesbaden.

²³ F. Hsein and M. Slama. (2018). Online Piety and Its Discontent: revisiting Islamic Anxieties on Social Media, *Indonesia and Malay World*, 46 (134): 80-93, January 2018

²⁴ D. Darmawan, C. Kustandi & R. Syah. (2019). Web-based Information Openness to Increasing Political Participation in Indonesia. *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 6 (3), 642-651.

²⁵ A. Wanto & LC. Sebastian. (2019). Indonesia's Presidential Election 2019-Sarungan vs Cingkrangan: Elections and Contestations Within Indonesian Islam.

struggle. Political intrigue is seen as religious strategies (*siyasa*). Political ups and downs are seen as upright and ruined religion. If you have this, political martyrs will be seen as martyrs (*shahadah*) who are willing to "martyrdom" because they feel they will get heaven. In fact, in fact Islam still exists even though whoever wins becomes president in Indonesia.

The same thing can also be seen from the discourse of scholars and power. In religious terminology, it is distinguished between *ulama* and *umara*. *Ulama*'s duty is to provide enlightenment and guidance while *umara* is in charge of running the government. That means ideally the two institutions must be separated. Putting the two together under one roof will create a role dysfunction. The role of enlightenment and guiding the people, including criticizing the authorities, will face obstacles when the attention of the *ulama* is sucked by the political interests of power. Meanwhile, in carrying out the role of government, *umara* has the potential to carry out political absolutism, which could have used a religious "sword" to "cut down" their political opponents. This is because it can no longer be distinguished between religious institutions and political institutions. Besides that, politicization of *ulama* is also very prone to cause divisions. This is considering that the state of Indonesia is a pluralistic country consisting of various religions and beliefs. This will have the potential for discrimination and political jealousy.

Of course, the most disadvantaged are the *ummah* because the politicization of the *ulama* will open up opportunities for the co-optation of religious teachings. Religion becomes the stamp of the legitimacy of the authorities. At the very least, the politicization of the *ulema* will make the energy and attention of the *ulama* who should focus on developing religious teachings and fostering the *ummah* interrupted by political interests, affairs and matters and power. This will leave *pesantren* and the affairs of the *ummah* neglected because their central figure, the *ulama*, is sucked in by the politics of power. Their concentration moves: no longer on how to guide the *ummah* but how to manage, maintain and seize power.

C. CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

There are at least three factors causing the emergence of the three discourses above: religion and candidacy, politics and the war of Badar, ulama and power. These factors are political factor, religious interpretation factor and digital cultural factor. These three factors will be explained one by one below.

Politics

In Machiavellian politics, which justifies any means, anything that can legitimize and support the political claims of a particular party or political power must be taken and utilized. In presidential election politics, for example, everything that is considered to have an impact on candidates will be used, both those that have a positive impact on their candidates on one side and have a negative impact on their opponents on the other side. This can also be seen from the use of religion for the sake of political contestation. Religious issues are considered as strategic issues because of the nature of religion that is able to mobilize many people. Especially in the context of Indonesian society which tends to be religious, the issue of religion is considered to be an important issue.

The religion of a candidate, for example, can be a temporary concern for people in determining their political preferences. Even though our country is not a religious state, but our basic law and Pancasila put the Godhead even into the first precept. This has an impact on the presidential election. Although the presidential election is a political contestation event, issues related to the religion of the presidential candidate are also considered important by netizens in Indonesia. Therefore, politics then capitalizes this religious problem, even make it one of the campaign strategies. Ironically, the political world should participate in educating, carrying out political education for the community by providing rational choices in politics, instead of being trapped in the commodification of religion.

This happens because religious issues are a sexy issue: religion can unite and scatter people. The politicization of religion is seen as an easy way to win support for the candidate on one side and rejection of the political opponent on the other

side. So, it is not surprising that the issue of religion continues to be politicized in the contest of this Presidential Election to achieve political goals. For the sake of political ends, our politicians and political world justify all means to win political contestation even if they have to politicize religion. As a result, a religion that should be sacred becomes a political commodity.

Religious Interpretation

Religion is seen from the origin of the word which comes from Sangsekerta language from the words *a* and *gamma*. *A* means no, *Gama* means chaotic. *Religion* thus means not chaotic.²⁶ That is, religion makes life not chaotic because religion is reconciling and enlightening. However, at the empirical level, the opposite reality occurs: precisely in the name of religion people create chaos and destruction, for example, what happened to terrorism in the name of religion.²⁷ They killed and made chaos precisely because of religion. Religion that is supposed to bring peace is actually a disaster for humans. Religion that should make people forgive each other in reality makes people attack each other. This is because religion is hijacked and interpreted according to their interests.²⁸

Likewise, as seen in the 2019 Presidential Election contestation, religious interpretations make the Presidential Election event an arena for religious interpretation. There is a contestation of religious interpretation, especially in Islam. This can be seen for example in the discourse of the Presidential Election Contestation and the war of Badr. Some try to interpret that the 2019 Presidential Election is not just a political arena but also a place for betting on the future of

²⁶ IM. Ridwan. (2020). Harmony, Disharmony, and Integration Between Science and Religion. *Indonesian Philosophy Journal*, 3 (1), 8-13; I. Ismah. (2020). ISLAMIC STUDY WITH A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH (Shari'ati's Thought). *Al-Munqidz: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 8 (1), 139-156.

²⁷ B. Jongman. (2020). Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 14 (1), 155-190.

²⁸ MC. Huda, Y. Yusriyadi & M. Thohir. (2020). "Perspectives and Movement of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Counter-Terrorism". *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, 24 (2).

religion, the future of Islam. In fact, it is constructed that presidential election, like the Badr War, will determine the life and death of Muslims. The wrong choice, it is argued, will affect the fate of the ummah and Islam in Indonesia. It was even constructed that if one chooses particular president candidate, then be prepared for Islam to disappear from Indonesia.

This religious factor is one of the causes of the uproar of netizens in cyberspace.²⁹ By using religious interpretations that fit their interests the issue of religion is "fried". Religion is used as a tool to hit opponents. Religious interpretation becomes a tool to discredit the opposing party and vice versa becomes a means to gain support for the candidate. As a result, what happened next was the same of Islam, but each interpretation was very different. One interpretation supports one candidate, while another one supports another candidate.

As a result, a neutral public will become confused as to which is the most correct interpretation and which interpretation must be followed. Each camp has its own verses and interpretations. In fact, ordinary lay people know that Islam has only one source, namely the Qur'an and the Hadith but the interpretation can be different and even very conflicting with one another. Even the same verse can be interpreted differently and in conflict with each other's interests. If the interpreter supports a particular candidate, the interpretation is adjusted to support this candidate. On the contrary, in order to weaken the opponent, the interpretation of the holy verses is made in such a way that it can strike and discredit their political opponents. This is the danger if a sacred religion plays a provocative political event in the world.

Digital Cultural Factor

The fast-paced digital culture and institutions involved are one of the factors that play a part in the representation of the 2019 Presidential Election issue. In fact, digital political contestation is now considered as the spearhead in the imaging of a

²⁹ D. Solahudin & M. Fakhruroji. (2020). Internet and Islamic Learning Practices in Indonesia: Social Media, Religious Populism, and Religious Authority. *Religions*, 11 (1), 19.

particular candidate or political party. Old fashioned boring political campaigns are undergoing massive disruption along with the rise of the internet which is opening up digital spaces such as online media and social media. In Indonesia alone, with 170 million internet users becoming the third largest country in the world that is starting to feel the impact of the presence of this *cyber* culture. From disruption in the conventional transportation sector to online-based, retail and physical store outlets to online shops and conventional media that are in a deadly condition because of the presence of online media. This digital culture is carrying out massive penetration in all sectors of human life, from objects to religion. In politics, digital culture imposes the emergence of new players and actors in the political world such as the emergence of buzzers, online media-based and social media transmitters.

The real speed of time offered by digital culture is rolling up conventional ways and models in political campaigns. With the internet that offers access democratization, everyone can do contestation in cyberspace. In contrast to conventional world campaigns and promotions which take a lot of time and funds, marketing and promotion methods in cyberspace are faster, more efficient, and cheaper. Therefore, many experts predict that this digital culture will disrupt the old established cultures, the incumbents who have enjoyed establishment. This includes political marketing. Like it or not, digital campaigns have become the spearhead of the political marketing of a certain figure or party now and in the future.

In the 2019 Presidential Election contestation, digital culture also became one of the factors that contributed to the image contestation of the candidates. In the matter of media, for example, hot fierce and long-lasting contestation is even more striking in cyberspace than in the real world. In the real world, contestation ends when the final events and decisions regarding the 2019 Election winners are final. However, in cyberspace the contestation, which divides the netizens in each camp, is still durable and still ongoing. If ordinary citizens want to move on, they have accepted the results of the 2019 Presidential Election, then on the contrary in social media: there are still many netizens who have not received, not yet relieved of the 2019 Presidential Election results.

On social media we see how divided our netizens are. In fact, looking at the world of social media at the time of the General Election, we have felt that this country is under threat of national disintegration. This country is in danger of breaking up considering how fierce differences, animosity and conflict are seen in social media. They show this openly without any respect for the opinions and views of others. In the candidates' piety discourse, for example, each party praises and berates one another. Likewise, in the matter of scholars (ulama), there are those who are liked and those who are disliked. This is also the case with the war of Badr discourse, where support and insult mingled subtly, harshly, and vulgarly in social media discourse.

Inevitably, the digital world is an important factor in the emergence of extraordinary dynamics of the public and netizens on issues related to politics and the 2019 presidential election contestation. Without the digital world, the political world will not be at the same level today. Without social media, political contestation will be cold and tasteless. The digital world has played a major role in making the 2019 Election and presidential election contestation lively and attracting the attention of many people. Although, it must be admitted that his presence could make people worry about the future of this nation. The nation's continuity is felt in the threat of division. The digital world is a test of Indonesia's political maturity.

D. CONCLUSION

Based on this study, the following conclusions can be drawn.

First, Presidential Election 2109 represents three discourse, namely: Discourse on Religion and Candidacy of Candidates, Discourse on Politics and Badar War and Discourse on Ulama and Power. In religious discourse and piety, the candidates are dominated by two trends, namely the netizen group who portrayed piety in their chosen presidential candidates and on the other hand imaged piety and even imaged the infidels of their opposing presidential candidates. This applies to two camps: both Jokowi's camp and Prabowo's camp. Meanwhile, those who think neutral are the minority. In general, their discourse in the 2019 Presidential Election problem

was to represent pious (sholeh) candidates or vice versa between their camps and opponents.

Likewise, the political discourse of the war of Badr representation seems to be dominated by supporters and opponents. Supporting parties are supporters of Prabowo's faction, while opposing parties are supporters of Jokowi. While minority neutral parties. Similarly, the ulama discourse and power was dominated by opposing and supporting representations. Those who support are from party 01 while those who are against are from party 01. Likewise, those who are neutral are minority. In general, netizens represent support or rejection in their choice and opponents.

Second, factors that influence representation include political factor, religious interpretations and digital culture. On political factors, it appears that religion is politicized in the 2019 Presidential Election because religion alone provides political benefits. So, for political purposes the power of religious politicization in the 2019 Presidential Election becomes a necessity. Meanwhile, on the factor of religious interpretation, it was concluded that religious interpretation influenced the representation of the 2019 Presidential Election discourse. Religious interpretation was used as a legitimate tool to support or reject certain candidates. Likewise, in the digital world, the representation of religious discourse can be so massive, precisely because it is influenced by digital culture that has touched all aspects of human life, including religion. Through the digital world of marketing and the 2019 presidential election campaign can be faster, cheaper, and more effective even though it has raised concerns over the future and integration of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The open nature of the digital world makes open conflict so that it has the potential to trigger national divisions.

Third, there is misrepresentation of religion while religious representation is represented in the 2019 Presidential Election discourse. Representations that are supposed to produce meaning in order to influence the public fail to achieve their goals because the language of communication that is delivered tends to be vulgar, rude and offensive. Instead of people being affected, religious discourse in the Presidential Election actually received fierce resistance from the opposing party. In

contrast to the mass media achievements that are conveyed to gently lead public opinion so that people do not feel being influenced, the social media representation of the opposing supporters directly counter because the language used is too to the point, direct, vulgar and even tends to be rude. Therefore, in social media what happens is misrepresentation, where content creators on social media, such as buzzers and supporters of prospective presidential candidates actually fail to represent the desired messages to change the opinion of the audience in this case the opposing party.

Fourth, this study shows the failure of flow politics in the political constellation in Indonesia. Not only can political flow not dominate Indonesia, this is evidenced by the fact that from the beginning leaders and parties who controlled Indonesian politics came from nationalists, not leaders or religious parties. The politicization of religion (Islam) in the 2019 Presidential Election discourse on social media not only failed to influence public opinion but instead caused political polarization and fragmentation to become even more hardened and heated.

Fifth, religious issues are still used in the 2019 Presidential Election campaign even though religious issues do not significantly affect the public. From the trending topics that emerged during the presidential election campaign the issue of religion did not enter at all in the top 10 trending topics during the 2019 presidential election. That means, all resources that were used by political parties or supporters of each candidate's partner in using social media became unuseful for failing to influence and accompany the opinion of supporters of the opposing party. Instead it invites resistance and resistance.

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