



The Politicization of Religion and Polarization of Hate in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election Indonesia

Walid Musthafa Sembiring

Postgraduate Program of Development Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
Universitas Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4419-5626>
walidmusthafa@usu.ac.id

Subhilhar

Postgraduate Program of Development Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
Universitas Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
subhilhar@usu.ac.id

Heri Kusmanto*

Postgraduate Program of Development Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
Universitas Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1370-7876>

*Corresponding author: herikusmanto@usu.ac.id

Hatta Ridho

Postgraduate Program of Development Studies, Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
Universitas Sumatera Utara, Indonesia
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8681-5723>
hattaridho@usu.ac.id

Doi: <https://doi.org/10.46222/pharosjot.104.328>

Abstract

The election of leadership in Islam is synonymous with choosing a leader of the faith. This condition gave rise to the practice of politicizing religion to gain popular support. The narrative of electing leaders of the same faith is a mounting issue. As a result, it creates a polarization of hatred based on differences in support, was the case in the Regional Head Election in North Sumatra Province, Indonesia. Consolidation of democracy at the local level led to polarization of hatred based on religious issues among voters when elections were held. This polarization of hatred based on religious issues can cause segregation and provoke social conflict. The study was conducted through a qualitative approach, a relevant literature search, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The research findings show the amplification of religious issues in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election, primarily through the intermediary role of religious leaders and elite political 'shops' who are closely synonymous with Islam. The background beliefs of different actors, and the strengthening the politicization of religion is one of the advantages of one of the actors. Moreover, religious leaders can mobilize support through religious activities that may cause serious polarization. Hate polarization may occur among supporters of each candidate due to the growing issue of religion, especially the issue of "religious blasphemy", which is associated with one of the candidate pairs. The role of Islamic community organizations and the movement of actors' closeness to Muslims, strengthen the polarization. It is vital to strengthen and embrace all by using religious figures to reduce the impact of conflict on regional head elections towards a happy and diverse community where respect and tolerance abound.

Keywords: Religion, Islam, politics, polarization, Indonesia.

Introduction

In the debate about leadership in Islam, especially regarding the election process in Islam, leaders need to have strong faith and do good deeds. On the other hand, leaders need to prioritize "*uswatun hasanah*", starting from actions, words, and policies. This makes regional head elections always require a religious approach to attract the sympathy of their supporters. Moreover, according to Surah An-Nisa Verse 144, it is emphasized that Muslims are prohibited from making non-Muslims become leaders. This led to the belief in the movement to elect leaders based on trust and faith. Often this is used as a basis for political actors to attract support by portraying themselves and their closeness to Islam as been a given.

Elections for regional heads in Indonesia have been held since 2005 and have encouraged the democratization of political constellations at the national and regional levels (Chalik, 2017). The contestation of Regional Head Elections is one of the crucial moments in realizing a consolidated democracy in Indonesia, especially at the local level (Nasution et al., 2023). In addition to the emergence of massive democratization at the local level, in recent years, regional head elections have also often become a scourge for the Indonesian people because they are often coloured by the emergence of polarization based on a range of religious issues. This also happened in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election. The politicization of religion in North Sumatra is inseparable from the politicization of identity in the Regional Head Election. The politicization of religion is a negative phenomenon that mixes religion with politics and can lead to divisions and social conflicts. The emergence of polarization is inseparable from the religion that the candidate for Governor has, and the candidate's closeness to the Muslim majority in North Sumatra. In the North Sumatra Regional Head Election, there was a prohibition against electing leaders who did not share their faith by conveying several essential collections of verses in the Qur'an containing the election of leaders who did not share more sins (Brin.go.id, 2021).

Several studies conducted by (Syofian, 2021; Wanasari, 2019; Miraza, 2019) during the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election show the strengthening of identity politics and the occurrence of social polarization based on issues of religious and ethnic identity. This phenomenon provides an interesting conclusion that the main factor in the victory of the pair Edy Rahmayadi and Musa Rajekshah was the strength of the issue of religion as a determinant of people's political preferences. Polarization based on the issue of religious identity in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election, of course, has the potential to undermine the development of local democracy, which has been initiated through direct Regional Head Elections since 2005.

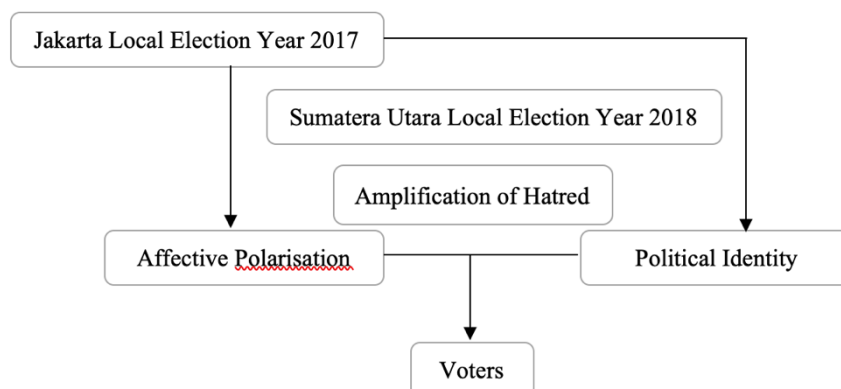


Figure1. Visualization of the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election

The 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election at least showed two crucial phenomena: the strengthening of identity politics and the thickening of the 'butterfly effect' or fractal politics, where there is self-similarity – and recursion or the repetition of a structure with continual



reference, at each stage, to the structure itself (Prior, n.d.), especially from the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Regional Head Election. These two phenomena were the effects of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election, which were very divisive religious issues with the narrative of "*blasphemy of religion*", resulting in sharp social divisions in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election (see figure 1). The amplification of this issue has massively spread to society through social media networks and religious leaders who are directly or indirectly involved as campaign teams for winning candidate pairs. This dynamic has the potential to encourage segregation and social conflict in society. The religious narrative in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election was an essential factor at the time of the election. Thus, this study looks at how a religious perspective understands the confusing issue of hate polarization.

Literature Review

The politics of religion and polarization of hatred in the Indonesian election (*Pilkada*) has been increasingly problematic in recent years. According to studies, political polarization is becoming more prevalent in Indonesia, with a mass base of hatred and polarization rising among voters (Soderborg & Muhtadi, 2021). The emergence of exclusive and divisive political campaigns has also harmed Indonesian democracy and the country's social order (Warburton, 2020). Hate speech in political campaigns adds to societal divisiveness and erodes the country's weak democratic institutions (Barlian & Wijayanto, 2021). The repercussions of this polarized electoral fight have generated a more fragmented political landscape, altering public opinion and generating new divisions amongst diverse groups of people. It is critical to continue studying and comprehending political consciousness in Indonesia to understand better its impact on democracy and the country's social order (Amin & Ritonga, 2022).

The politicization of religion is becoming increasingly linked with partisan politics, resulting in the polarization of hatred in elections. According to one study, the rising prevalence of religious disaffiliation is a reaction to religious rights. Many Americans abandon religion because they regard it as an extension of politics with which they disagree (Campbell, 2020). Religion is politicized in the political arena by framing certain religions (typically the majority) as the most authentic religion and minority religions as threats (Zainuddin et al., 2023). This highlights polarization difficulties, where religion has a role in polarizing topics, but the mechanism underlying the hypothesized relationship is still underdeveloped (Castle & Stepp, 2021). The politicization of religion is a phrase that refers to the religious effect of combining material from the Koran, Hadith, and *fatwa al-'ulam'* (agreement of Muslim Scholars) with politics (Sharif, 2017). To address this challenge, there is a need to revive worldwide religious and interfaith networks.

Religious leaders can preserve their influence without becoming too politically active by avoiding the politicization of religion. The politicization of religion not only adds to increasing political polarization but also limits religious leaders' ability to speak prophetically on vital public concerns (Campbell, 2020). Religious leaders might concentrate on their religious teachings and principles rather than endorsing specific political candidates or parties. Furthermore, religious leaders might encourage their followers to engage in political activity without endorsing specific candidates or parties (Driskell et al., 2008). Separating religion and politics does not make it weak or susceptible.

Religion's strength is faith in truthfulness, not official patronage and protection (Mubarak, 2009). Religious devotion does not provide political objectivity, but it does assist people in making sense of a vast and perplexing world that is continuously demanding (Aghazadeh & Mahmoudoghli, 2017). Religious leaders can maintain their power by focusing on their religious teachings and values, supporting political participation, and avoiding the politicization of religion.



Methodology

This research employed a qualitative methodology with a descriptive approach. The purpose of this study was to use qualitative data and explain it descriptively to characterize and describe actual social phenomena or circumstances (Creswell & Poth, 2016). All study data were gathered through in-depth interviews with selected informants based on an in-depth understanding of the concerns presented, with the trustworthiness of the informants taken into account. In addition, focus groups were held to cross-check and deepen the data that had been gathered. All data obtained about the polarization of hatred in the 2018 North Sumatra regional elections were then examined using data analysis methodologies devised by Miles and Huberman, including data collecting, data presentation, data reduction, and conclusion drafting, before coming to any conclusions (Miles et al., 2014).

Results and Discussion

Description of Islamic Leadership, as the Basis for the Emergence of the Polarization Movement

The discourse on Islamic populism and political debates is an issue that continues to be rolled out by political actors in influencing voting decisions (Amin & Ritonga, 2023). The impact of this politicization of religion will create social and political inequalities (Hamid et al., 2023). The provocation of religious identity can trigger social tensions in multicultural societies, such as in North Sumatra. The emergence of movement groups based on Islam is contextualized in the form of support for Islamic leaders in North Sumatra. The 2018 Regional Head Election of North Sumatra Province was attended by 2 (two) candidate pairs, Edy Rahmayadi, and Musa Rajekshah, with the ERAMAS tagline. Meanwhile, his competitor is Djarot Syaiful Hidayat, paired with Sihar Sitorus (Djoss). The Eramas couple's closeness to Islam is then described as the leader of an Islamic group. At the same time, DJOSS is described as a nationalist leader who does not reflect Islam.

Religion has a strong orientation in faith, piety, and belief in God. Religion is not concerned with personal interests and does not discriminate between political groups. Orientation to the eternal interest for the safety of the world and the hereafter, not a momentary issue of power. However, the politicization of religion refers to the manipulation of religious beliefs and practices for political gain, including how to mix religion with politics to manipulate people's emotions and gain their sympathy. In the local elections in North Sumatra to elect a leader, religion was politicized to gain public support. Religious politicization can attract attention to electing Islamic leaders by using the arguments of the Koran as a legal basis. In this context, Eramas plays an important role.

There are many legal bases for selecting leaders in Islam. One of them is Al-Quran Surah Ali Imron verse 28, which emphasizes the season not to choose non-Muslim leaders to be good leaders, loyal friends, and protectors. If Muslims do, they will not get help. This means that leaders close to Muslims and believers are advantageous in attracting support in the Governor Election in North Sumatra. Eramas became the couple who benefited the most in this situation. Moreover, the DJOSS pair did not represent Muslim groups.

“Let not the believers take the disbelievers as WALI (waly) leaders, loyal friends, protectors) by leaving the believers. Whoever does this, surely he will be released from Allah's help, except for (the strategy) to protect himself from something that is feared from them. And Allah warns you against Himself (his punishment), and only to Allah you will return”. (QS: Ali Imron [3]: 28).



Blasphemy of religion became one of the issues that emerged in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election. This cannot be separated from national politics, which is considered to have had success in using religious issues to attract the attention of supporters. What happened at the national and provincial level of DKI Jakarta, which was full of divisions, spread to Indonesia. North Sumatra Province is an area that has a high level of religious tolerance. However, in regional head elections, sensitivities and conflicts often arise in the name of support for religion. It becomes common to find various religious identities in every democratic activity.

Polarization Trend: The Role of Ulama in North Sumatra Province

The trend of political polarization in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election was a sharp split on the issue of religion. The two pairs of governor candidates with different religious backgrounds strengthen the position of the Edy-Ijeck Eramas pair, who have a Muslim-Muslim background, and Djarot-Sihar, who have a Muslim-Christian background. This condition is the background of the support of Muslims for the Eramas couple. The Eramas campaign approach that uses dialogue and collective prayer (Yusri, 2018) strengthens the emergence of polarization. This condition was emphasized by Edy Rahmayadi, who hoped for support from religious leaders and Ulama.

"I am shallow in religious knowledge. But I hope my teachers do not doubt my two sentences of creed. Please pray for all of my teachers" (Setiawan, 2018: 17).

As a result, the Ulama in North Sumatra Province and the City of Medan, Muslim scholars, leaders of Islamic organizations, and leaders of Islamic boarding schools have provided much support to the Eramas couple. Moreover, the Djarot-Sihar pair has an inseparable history of polarization in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada. This effect spread in the North Sumatra Regional Head Election, especially Sihar, who incidentally is not a Muslim. Many Islamic mass organizations have influenced the emergence of polarization, such as the Islamic Ummah Forum (FUI), fronted by the elite Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). There is also the National Fatwa Defender Movement (GNPF) for Ulama which is still influential in movements supporting faith leaders.

In the context of the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election, the polarization of hatred in society is the impact of the issue of religious identity because some Islamic groups consider the current regime to be identical to the Djoss pair, who are considered to be at odds with the interests of Islam. The problem places the division of society. The Eramas couple, through their jargon, Dignified North Sumatra, actually pointed to religious sentiments. The 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election has become an issue that continues to be echoed. The emergence of the support of many scholars, such as Ustaz Abdul Somad and Ustaz Tengku Zulkarnain, who were very influential in Indonesia, strengthened Eramas' position. With the headline "*Prayer for North Sumatra with Dignity*", the Akbar campaign emphasized the pair's inclination to form polarization (Rangkuti, 2018).

The politicization of religion can be a practical way to gain public support due to the low level of political literacy and rationality. Campaigns such as "Prayer for Dignity of North Sumatra" as an indoctrination effort and campaigns aimed at influencing public opinion. Moreover, the involvement of Ulama in the North Sumatra Regional Head Election is a strong strategy for influencing support. Scholars in Islam have an essential role and function In the Al Quran Surah Asy-Syu'araayat 197 and Surah Fatir verse 28 mention it 28. The message is that among His servants, the most afraid are scientists who understand the teachings of Islam deeply and also think about the natural phenomena that Allah created to get closer to Him (Prayoga & Liddini, 2022).



“And so (also) among humans, living moving creatures and livestock there are various colors (and types). Among Allah's servants who fear Him, only the scholars. Indeed, Allah is Mighty , Most Forgiving”. (QS. Fatir Verse 28).

For the people of North Sumatra, *Ulama "the learned ones"*, play an essential role in building society, starting from involvement in regional development (Biroadpim.sumutprov.go.id, 2018) and issuing fatwas regarding social issues (sumutprov.go.id, 2022). According to the Koran, there are three roles and functions of the clergy. First, scholars must *tafaqquhu* findings, namely understanding religious knowledge in depth. Second, the scholar is a figure who understands the development of the situation and also understands the development of social and economic conditions of society in various aspects. Third, the ulema is a figure of *akhlakul karimah*. It means having integrity, a strong personality, and being a societal role model (Hafidhuddin, 2017). These conditions made the people of North Sumatra have a sense of trust in the Eramas couple compared to Djoss, because of the support of the clergy.

The politicization of religion can also negatively impact the emergence of groups that take refuge in religious identities. This means that identity politics, which occurs in regional head elections and is carried out by political and religious elites, create consequences of social segregation that will occur in society due to divisions. However, the emergence of awareness that with identity politics, the electoral impact is very beneficial for the candidate being promoted to be able to gain votes and win the 'battle'. This awareness is obtained from identity politics and then makes identity issues which are played by religious elites and political elites and disseminated through the mainstream media, either directly or mediated by the media.

Polarization and Movement of Islamic Community Organizations in the Politicization of Religion

Polarization in the people of North Sumatra is inseparable from the issue of religious identity and the role of the clergy in providing support to one of the candidates. This encouragement gave rise to several prominent cleric figures in their support. There is a strong connection between a collection of Islamic community organization movements voicing Anis-Sandi's support in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election with Eramas in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election. The involvement of the Islamic Community Forum, Islamic Community Congress and GNPF Ulama in the North Sumatra regional election emphasizes a domino effect who wants a leader representing Muslims. Eramas is considered close, fighting for Islam and showing Islamic leadership as the basis for the movement of Islamic community organizations to support Eramas.

The influence of local figures and elites is huge in encouraging political participation (Fadli et al., 2018). The ability and influence possessed to participate local leaders and elites can encourage the community's political participation in supporting and selecting the candidates campaigned by these figures. In the case of the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election, the leaders and elites did not only come from the regions but also involved other national figures and elites. These figures and elites include some religious figures, political figures, and other influential figures. That said, Ustadz Abdul Somad (UAS) was one of the central figures considered to have played an essential role in pushing for Eramas' election in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election.

The UAS figure is one of the charismatic clerics positioned at odds with the interests of power. The presence of UAS in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election and being in the ranks of ERAMAS encouraged political polarization. Moreover, UAS firmly invites the public to elect leaders who care about Muslims. This was strengthened by shops close to Muslims, such as Ustadz Tengku Zulkarnain and Gatot Nurmantiyo. The character of religious and political elite figures strengthens the polarization previously formed by Islamic community



organizations. It must be admitted that the peak of the *da'wah* polarization was with the theme "Prayer for Dignified North Sumatra".

Islam has provided guidelines for its adherents in choosing leaders. Most importantly, a leader must have faith in the word of Allah SWT in the letter Al Maidah verse 55. The word *waliyukum* is a leader or helper. For Muslims, it is enough for Allah and His Messenger to be leaders and helpers in addition to those who believe. The person who becomes the leader of the Muslim community must have faith; apart from that, he performs prayers, pays zakat, and gathers in the congregation (Saputra, 2021).

“Surely your waliyy (leader/helper) is only Allah, His Messenger, and those who believe, who establish prayer and pay zakat, while they submit (to Allah)”. (Al Qur'an Surah Al Maidah verse 55).

The representation presented by Eramas suggests he is considered not only a leader who has good faith but a Muslim leader who defends Islam. In contrast, his rivals, one of whom is not Muslim, strengthened the polarization aspect. Eramas approach, which emphasizes the Islamic religiosity approach compared to Djoss, which uses a nationalist approach, strengthens North Sumatra society's polarisation.

The legitimacy of Interfaith Figures as an Effort to Reduce Polarization

Representation of trustee leaders who encourage various supports from interfaith leaders is needed. Interfaith leaders consisting of Protestant Christians, Catholics, Muslims, Hindum, Buddhists, and Confucianism adherents have provided support to Eramas, who was assessed as a leader with character, trustworthiness, courage, uniting, reflecting diversity, acting fast, a faithful leader and a true leader (Beritasumut.com, 2018). Eramas tried to eliminate polarization, but the steps taken were not enough to stem the emergence of growing polarization. The emergence of the interfaith prayer campaign became Eramas effort to attract support outside of Islam and to introduce leaders who uphold diversity.

In the North Sumatra Regional Head Election, which gave rise to polarization, placing religion first was exploited for political interests by using religious symbols and teachings. The impact will be that religious symbols are used as legitimate tools in gaining a majority votes for political interests and this will undoubtedly cause further divisions. However, if politics is fought in the interests of religion, it may be acceptable, such as empowering the people more. There was a sharp religious identity-based polarization in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election. The involvement of figures who were considered to be at odds with the ruling regime and the spread of the issue of blasphemy pinned by the Djoss partner through social media and political campaigns, were the leading causes of this polarization.

Voting should not take place along religious or ethnic lines. When such issues arise this is vexing for a multiracial and religiously diverse country such as Indonesia. The country houses to the biggest number of Muslims in the world, but Indonesia is not an Islamic state. We should remember that Indonesia's founders were against any efforts to declare Islam as the national religion. They opted for having a belief in one god and tolerance and diversity in the constitution. This way of thinking has been their key organizing principle for Indonesia since gaining its independence in 1945. Generally, Indonesian Islam has had a clearly moderate and tolerant of diversity character (Brooks, 2019).

Conclusion

The emergence of polarization of hatred in society based on the issue of religious identity in the North Sumatra Regional Head Election was caused by several factors, including political campaign activities, the involvement of political and religious elites, Islamic organization



movements, and the closeness of actors to Islam. The issue of identity politics has become very dominant in North Sumatra due to the domino effect of the previous regional head election DKI Jakarta. As a result, polarization leads to an attitude of hatred when supporting a candidate. Meanwhile, there was no hatred between religious adherents in North Sumatra before and after the regional elections.

The amplification of religious issues echoed by religious leaders played a vital role in causing polarization of hatred in society in the 2018 North Sumatra Regional Head Election. Islamic religious figures are people who have a strong teaching influence, and their political views become a reference point for Muslims to support various candidates. This means that this basis encourages religious symbols to be used in supporting candidates who are the cause of polarization. It is crucial to develop this research in viewing leaders' policies from an Islamic perspective. What is needed is a multi-faith tolerance and respect and voting for the right candidate in elections for the right reasons.

References

- Aghazadeh, J. & Mahmoudoghli, R. (2017). Religion and political engagement. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1), 1368109. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2017.1368109>].
- Amin, M., & Ritonga, A. D. (2022). The Differential Effect of Women Politicians' Communication, Efficacy, and Ideology in Building Citizens' Political Satisfaction and Trust: A Case of a Developing Nation. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 9(4), 87-105. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.29333/ejecs/1375>].
- Amin, M., & Ritonga, A.D. (2023). Populist student organizations in Indonesia: an analysis of anti-establishment ideas. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10 (229), 1-12. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01697-9>].
- Barlian, Y. A., & Wijayanto, P. W. (2021). Analyzing'hate Speech Phenomenon' Research In Indonesia: A Systematic Review. *English Review: Journal of English Education*, 10(1), 203-212. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.25134/erjee.v10i1.5371>].
- Biroadpim.sumutprov.go.id. (2018). Ulama Miliki Peran Penting dalam Pembangunan Daerah. *biroadpim.sumutprov.go.id*. [Available online at <https://biroadpim.sumutprov.go.id/ulama-miliki-peran-penting-dalam-pembangunan-daerah/>].
- Brin.go.id. (2021). Otoritas Keagamaan dalam Ranah Politik menjadi Faktor Penting pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah. *brin.go.id*. [Available online at <https://politik.brin.go.id/berita-terkini/otoritas-keagamaan-dalam-ranah-politik-menjadi-faktor-penting-pada-pemilihan-kepala-daerah/>].
- Brooks, K.B. (2019). Indonesia's Election Exposes Growing Religious Divide, *Council on Foreign Relations*, [Available online at <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/indonesias-election-exposes-growing-religious-divide>].
- Campbell, D. E. (2020). The perils of politicized religion. *Daedalus*, 149(3), 87-104. [Available online at https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01805].
- Castle, J. J. & Stepp, K. K. (2021). Partisanship, religion, and issue polarization in the United States: a reassessment. *Political Behavior*, 1-25. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09668-5>].



- Chalik, A. (2017). *Pertarungan elite dalam politik lokal*. Pustaka Pelajar Yogyakarta.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.
- Driskell, R., Embry, E. & Lyon, L. (2008). Faith and politics: The influence of religious beliefs on political participation. *Social Science Quarterly*, 89(2), 294-314. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2008.00533.x>].
- Fadli, M., Bailusy, M. K., Nas, J. & Zulfikar, A. (2018). Keterlibatan elit lokal dalam peningkatan partisipasi politik pada pemilihan bupati dan wakil bupati Kabupaten Toraja Utara Tahun 2015. *Aristo*, 6(2), 301-328. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.24269/ars.v6i2.1025>].
- Hafidhuddin, D. (2017). Ini Peran dan Fungsi Ulama Menurut Alquran. *republika.co.id* [Available online at <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/p04x5o396/ini-peran-dan-fungsi-ulama-menurut-alquran>].
- Hamid, A., Sanusi, A., Lutfi, A., Mubarak, M. S. & Habibi, D. F. (2023, March). Refleksi Pemilu 2024 terhadap Politisasi Agama di Media Sosial Perspektif Teori Double Movement Fazlur Rahman. In *Gunung Djati Conference Series* (Vol. 21, pp. 1-12). [Available online at <https://conferences.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/gdcs/article/view/1248>].
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M. & Saldana, J. (2014). A methods sourcebook. In *Qualitative data analysis*. Sage Thousand Oaks.
- Miraza, M.M. (2019). *Faktor-Faktor Kemenangan Pasangan Edy Rahmayadi-Musa Rajekshah (Eramas) pada Pemilihan Gubernur (Pilgubsu) Sumatera Utara Tahun 2018 di Kecamatan Medan Marelan* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Sumatera Utara).
- Mubarak, A. (2009). Religion and Politics: Integration, Separation and Conflict. *Irenees. net*. [Available online at https://www.irenees.net/bdf_fiche-analyse-884_en.html].
- Nasution, F. A., Thamrin, M. H., Sinaga, R. P. K., Saraan, M. I. K. & Indainanto, Y. I. (2023). Humbang Hasundutan Regional Head Election In 2020: Empty Box Volunteer Political Communication Movement. *Studies in Media and Communication*, 11(1), 52-59. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v11i1.5807>].
- Prayoga, U. & Liddini, L. (2022). Makna Kata Ulama Dalam Qs. Fatir Ayat 28 (Implementasi Semiotika Roland Barthes). *MAGHZA: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir*, 7(1), 139–152. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.24090/maghza.v7i1.6282>].
- Prior, A. (n.d.). The butterfly effect: representation as fractal politics, The Loop-ECPRS Political Science. [Available online at <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/the-butterfly-effect-representation-as-fractal-politics/>].
- Rangkuti, L. (2018). Ustaz Abdul Somad dan Tengku Zulkarnain Doakan Eramas saat Kampanye Akbar. *sindonews.com*. [Available online at <https://daerah.sindonews.com/berita/1315776/191/ustaz-abdul-somad-dan-tengku-zulkarnain-doakan-eramas-saat-kampanye-akbar>].
- Saputra, A. (2021). Pedoman Bagi Muslim Memilih Pemimpin. *republika.co.id*. [Available online at <https://islamdigest.republika.co.id/berita/qrr5l335/pedoman-bagi-muslim-memilih-pemimpin>].
- Setiawan, R. (2018). Edy Rahmayadi Terus Galang Dukungan Ulama Sumut. *news.detik.com*.



[Available online at <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4019842/edy-rahmayadi-terus-galang-dukungan-ulama-sumut>].

Soderborg, S. & Muhtadi, B. (2021). Resentment and polarization in Indonesia. SSRN. [Available online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3873291>].

Sumutprov.go.id. (2022). Edy Rahmayadi Berharap Ijtima Ulama akan Dapat Perbaiki Prilaku Sosial Umat. *sumutprov.go.id*. [Available online at <https://sumutprov.go.id/artikel/artikel/edy-rahmayadi-berharap-ijtima-ulama--akan-dapat-perbaiki-prilaku-sosial-umat>].

Syarif, F. (2017). Politicization of religion: religion in political discourse. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 25(2), 443-478. [Available online at <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.25.2.1569>].

Syofian, E. (2021). *Politik Identitas: Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Sumatera Utara Tahun 2018* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Sumatera Utara).

Wanasari, S. (2019). *Komunikasi Pemasaran Politik Tim Pemenangan Edy Rahmayadi-Musa Rajekshah di Pilkada SUMUT 2018* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Sumatera Utara).

Warburton, E. (2020). Deepening Polarization and Democratic Decline in Indonesia. *Political Polarization in South and Southeast Asia: Old Division, New Dangers*, eds. Thomas Carothers and Andrew O'Donohue, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 25-40. [Available online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep26920.8.pdf>].

Yusri, M. A. (2018). Eramas Fokus Kampanye Dialogis dan Doa Bersama. *sindonews.com*. [Available online at <https://daerah.sindonews.com/berita/1315497/203/eramas-fokus-kampanye-dialogis-dan-doa-bersama>].

Zainuddin, R. E., Mirdad, J. & Yaacob, S. E. (2023). Siyasah shariyyah and the politicization of religion in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election. *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 22 (2). [Available online at <https://10.15408/ajis.v22i2.28165>].

Conflict of Interest Statement: *The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.*



This article is open-access and distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Licence

The use, distribution or reproduction in other forums is permitted, provided the original author(s) and the copyright owner(s) are credited and that the original publication in this journal is cited, in accordance with accepted academic practice. No use, distribution or reproduction is permitted which does not comply with these terms.