

# The Ulama Identity Politics in 2019 Presidential Election Contestation at the 4.0 Industrial Era in Central Kalimantan

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## ABSTRACT

The 2019 Presidential Election Contestation in the 4.0 Industrial Era is very interesting to be examined, specifically related to the Political Activities of Religious Identity. There are two presidential and vice presidential candidates appointed by the General Election Commission (KPU), namely the pair of Joko Widodo and K.H. Ma'ruf Amin with number 01 on one side; and the pair Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga S.Uno with number 02 on the other side. The two pairs tried to win the hearts of the ulemas who were not only favored by the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, but also from the cultural ulama and the habaib.

This research investigates deeper analysis into whether the 2019 Presidential Election will still be exposed to the Politics of Identity, especially Ulama and Islamic figures. There are three research problems to be answered, namely how is the view of Central Kalimantan ulama on identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election contestation? how is the roles of Central Kalimantan ulama in influencing voters on identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election contestation? and how are the efforts of MUI in creating a conducive atmosphere for the post legislative election and the 2019 Presidential Election

Data were elaborated by conducting field survey through in-depth interviews with Islamic leaders (ulama) who are members of Islamic organizations (MUI, NU, Muhammadiyah, LDII, Al- Wasliyah) as well as Traditional / non-structural figures in the community. Islamic boarding schools spread in 2 regencies and 1 city in Central Kalimantan, namely, Palangkaraya City, North Barito Regency and East Kotawaringin Regency.

The finding revealed that the Politics of Identity in Central Kalimantan still influenced the 2019 Presidential Election, although it was not in high intensity. Respondents said that Ulama structurally made Identity Politics as a place to attract voters. However, at the grassroots which were dominated by Traditional Ulemas, people were still in undecided condition. Some Ulama who active in Islamic Organizations as well as non-Structural Ulama use Identity Politics especially the issue of Religion in giving advice, answering questions and even giving advice to Jamaah / Groups so that they can determine their Jama'ah choices in the 2019 Election. On the other hand, ulemas at every level, try to cool down the atmosphere after presidential election by cooperating together both Structural Ulama who are members of the MUI and Traditional Ulama. They come to society to reduce the tension and reduce friction due to the 2019 Presidential Election.

**Keywords:** *Ulama, identical Politics*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Identity politics and national democracy are interesting themes to be investigated in the present reality of the Indonesian nation, especially in the 2019 presidential election contestation today. Identity politics, especially religious identities have been widely discussed by experts, scientists and scholars. Especially after the emergence of Ahok (Basuki Purnama) case which was considered to be insulting to religion and ulama before the 2017 DKI Governor Election; and the elected of United States

President Donald Trump, who tends to be a phobia of Muslim.

The two cases above emerge various comments and opinions. On the one hand, identity politics, including religious identity and can threaten democracy and national integration. Scientists and experts who agree such views including Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif and General (Retired) Moeldoko (Kompas, January 2017). However, on the other opinion, identity politics is permissible, as long as it does not damage democracy and threaten national integration.

So that identity politics is not always seen as a negative threat to the national integrity. However, it can be a potential thing to increase national unity and integrity through the ability to apply the spirit of Unity in Diversity in running the life of the nation and state and pay attention to political ethics and commitment to the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. More than that, identity itself is something inherent in human beings.

The 2019 Presidential Election contest seems to be very interesting to study. There are two candidates for president and vice president that have been determined by the General Election Commission (KPU), namely the pair of Joko Widodo and K.H. Ma'ruf Amin numbered 01 on one side; and the pair Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga S. Uno numbered 02 on the other side. The two pairs tried to win the hearts of the ulamas who were not only from Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah circles, but also from cultural ulama and habaib.

The emergence of the ulama and habaib phenomenon providing open and covert support to one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs was clearly seen in the 2019 Presidential Election and can influence voters among Muslims. The candidate of vice president K.H. Ma'ruf Amin is an ulama who served as Chairman of the Central MUI and Rais Syuryah PBNU and supported by scholars from Nahdhatul Ulama. Instead, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates Prabowo Subiyanto and Sandiaga S. Uno were supported by scholars and habaib who were members of the 212 alumni and supported by Habib Rizieq Shihab (HRS), in Ijtima 'Ulama II. While the Muslim scholars who are members of the Muhammadiyah organization seem to be organizationally neutral, but individually invited to each individual to choose according to his conscience. But interestingly, one of the Muhammadiyah cadres such as Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak (Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Youth PP) turned out to support and become the coordinator for the spokesperson of the Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno National Winning Agency.

The phenomenon of supporting the presidential election in 2019 seems to spread also to Muslim scholars in Central Kalimantan. This is proven by the phenomenon of posting on social media. There are individual ulama who tend to support the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates No. 01 and influence other voters. However, there are also Muslim scholars who support Presidential Candidate No. 02 and influence other voters.

Through religious identity politics, Muslim scholars are also considered to have a role in appealing and inviting voters to use their voting rights and at the same time reduce the white group (undecided group). Because, according to data from the Commission of General Election (KPU) of Central Kalimantan, the use of voting rights in Central Kalimantan in the 2014 legislative and presidential elections was 65%. Meanwhile, the use of the

right to vote in the 2018 mayoral election was 66.12%. Even though the national target is 77.5%. It means, the role of the ulama is also expected to urge its people to use their voting rights even though more or less using the politics of religious identity.

## **2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The research questions of this study are :

1. What is the view of the Central Kalimantan ulama on identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election contestation?
2. What is the role of the Central Kalimantan ulama against identity politics in influencing voters in the 2019 presidential election contestation?
3. How are the efforts of MUI in creating a conducive society after the legislative election and Presidential Election?
4. How do politicians use the 4.0 era in mobilizing voter support?

## **3. RELATED STUDIES**

The political representation that has not been widespread and institutionalized the participation and society political representation comprehensively triggered the emerge of discriminative and exclusive policy, which ultimately strengthening the reason for emerging of the ethnic political identity. According to Barker, driven by political struggle and interest in philosophy and language, 'identity' developed into a major feature of cultural studies in the 1990s. The politics of feminism, ethnicity, and sex orientation, as well as other headlines, become the main priorities that have closely related with politic identity. Referring to Eriksen in Pruitt, Dean G and Jeffrey Z Rubin. (2004: 10) if it was viewed from antropology, in all socieity, there was a change in social and cultural identity. He said, at least in the last 20 years of the 20th century, we can see dramatically the reconceptualism of culture and society in studies of social science .

Until the 1960s, there was an overlap between culture and ethnicity (assumed to be an identity determined by ethnicity, as long as ethnicity keeps on cultural distinctiveness) and the problem of citizenship (one's nationality status). However, less than thirty years passed or around the 1990s, it began to see very rapid changes where we can no longer show a direct relationship between culture and ethnic ties. It means that ethnic identity is not necessarily determined by the culture of that ethnicity.

According to Thomas in Alo (2003), what is happening now is that what has just happened has now changed into ethnic identity as cultural identity has now changed to "new" cultural identity or which can be identified as eye-free social identity. In the next set, Eriksen explained that what was shown showed at least two issues which were always debated. First, there is always controversy about primordialism and instrumentalism. This is related, the ethnic identity on the cross is something that is "primordial", which was originally rooted in a civilization that is shared with all together ", assimilation of two or more supported by marriage (amalgamation) and

intercultural communication in the workplace, schools, etc. - others (also read Abner Cohen about the ethnicity of African descent in the US).

Second, the debate between constructivism and essentialism. Ethnic and identities can be formed and the results of the new ethnic formations essentially eliminate or reduce cultural symbols from the previous ethnicities, or essentially also form new ethnic characteristics with new ethnic symbols.

This issue is being discussed by Ernest Gellner (1983, 1997) and Anthony D. Smith (1986, 1991) in Alo. Both try to "share" in a "between" position, where on the one hand we still recognize the existence of ethnic groups, whether in the context of ethnicity itself or in the framework of a nation (meaning that there is a relationship between ethnicity and nationalism), and on the other hand we must face new ethnic forms because of the current modernization. Then, Gellner said that: after all, the name "nation" is a creation or modern creation, at least the creation of thinking about the state. If so, the development of the state must be discussed without ignoring that in reality there are indeed countries and nations that are formed because of ethnicity. Its evidence, said Gellner, is that the nation is indeed the formation of an ethnic group that is at least as shown by the leader (from which ethnic group) governs.<sup>17</sup> Conversely, Anderson (1983) sees that the nation is an abstract community or an imagined community of a nation, especially a group ethnicity. An example of imagined communities are the Philippines and Indonesia, which are multi-ethnic countries, so we must distinguish between ethnic and nationality.

As described above is a symptom of the transformation of ethnic identity due to certain changes in the direction of history, socioeconomic conditions, social and political conditions. Ethnic action respond to progress and modernization as a change that always must happen. Like or not, now there is a transformation of ethnic identity. The concepts of progress and modernization have enhanced views on freedom, including freedom of ethnic expression. Modernization in the demographic field of government helped shape individual autonomy, including ethnic autonomy for structural changes in our society. This fundamental progress has given a birth of civil society, which is now beginning to claim its lost rights in the history of ethnic conflict. Therefore, the social definition of individuals now changes along with changes in the structure of power, gender domination, political power, such as minority rights, including the development of religion that does not limit ethnicity as something that limits roles. Thus, within certain boundaries and contexts, we still need contextual ethnic meanings, especially in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society.

### **3.1. Politics of Identity and Muslim Scholars**

#### **3.1.1. Politics of Identity**

In the political science literature, identity politics is completely differentiated between identity politics and political identity. Political identity is a construction that

determines the subject's position in the community's political ties. Meanwhile, identity politics refers to political mechanism of organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as a source and means of politics. The meaning of political policy as a source and means of politics in political policy contestation such as the Presidential Election is very possible and increasingly prominent in contemporary political practices. Therefore, scientists who are struggling in the discourse of identity politics are trying to interpret in simple and operational logic. For example, Agnes Heller defines political identity as politics that focuses on differentiation as a category that supports freedom, tolerance, and free play, although, it emerges patterns of intolerance, violence, and opposition.

#### **3.1.2. The concept of Ulama**

The word ulama is the plural form of the word 'alim', which means "the one who knows" or "the one who has knowledge". In Qur'an, the word 'ulama' is mentioned in 2 places. First in QS Fathir verse 28, "... Verily the one who fears Allah among his servants as ulama ...". If this verse was correlated with the previous verse (verse 27), the understanding of the ulama in this verse is one who has knowledge of natural science or kauniyah science. Second, ulama in the sense of people who have religious knowledge, such as in Surah ash-Syu'ara, verses 196-197. "And indeed the Qur'an is really in the previous holy books. And is this not enough evidence for ulama of jews to know?" From these two verses it can be concluded that the ulama are people who have knowledge about natural sciences and religious knowledge, and the knowledge owned to deliver it to the sense of Khasy'ah (fear) to Allah swt. In Indonesia, the term ulama or alim ulama which was originally a plural form, changed into a single form. The understanding of ulama also becomes narrower, because it is interpreted as having knowledge of Islamic religion. Whereas people who have natural or general knowledge are called scholars or scientists. According to Ali Mustafa Yaqub, there are 5 criteria for ulama as the prophet heirs. Namely: (1) mastering Islamic knowledge, (2) only fear to Allah swt; (3) zuhud and ukhrawi oriented; (4) familiar with people; (5) having the minimum age of 40 years old.

More than that, the term ulama itself referred to someone who is qualified in the field of religious knowledge, having good character, being a role model for the community, and other honor traits. Ulama always fill the joints of life with positive behavior that urges widely benefits. The existence of ulamas brings mercy, not curse. Da'wah also embraces, not hitting, inviting not mocking. Habib Lutfi in the same book said the Ad-Dailami hadith from Anas r.a, Rasulullah SAW said: *ittabi'ul ulama'a fainnahum suruuhud dunyaa wamashaa biihul akhirah*. "Follow the ulama because they are clearly the lamps of the world and the lights of the afterlife." (HR Ad-Dailami). The above hadith certainly strengthens the Prophet's recognition of ulama. However, at this time, many people are stuck with religious symbols that are inherent through one's clothes. As a result, even though a person has no

knowledge, and behavior and speech do not reflect noble character, but they are often followed as someone who is considered to understand religion. Na'udzubillah. The concept of ulama according to Muhammad Quraish Shihab in his Tafsir Al-Misbah, ulama is a person who has a clear knowledge of religion, the Qur'an, the science of natural phenomena. This knowledge leads someone to have a sense of *khasyyah* (fear) of Allah. Ulama also have a position as an heir of the Prophet who is able to carry out his duties and has a high degree in the sight of Allah. However, the relevance in today's life, especially in Indonesia, which more often connects or limits the meaning of ulama to the kiai, clerics and preachers. It is different from the understanding of the Quraish Shihab, because these restrictions sometimes lead to errors in judging someone. Unless the title is pinned to someone who is religiously qualified and has good morals towards living together. Therefore, the concept of ulama according to Quraish Shihab is referring to the characteristics, not just to the degree or outward attributes.

This perspective will be more appropriate in the spirit of religion. The glory is not due to a particular title or position, but with the piety and love of humans with God equipped with qualified religious knowledge that has a positive impact on human life in general. This shows that ulama also including intellectuals who bring enlightenment to the surrounding society. Badaruddin Hsukby in his book *The Dilemma of Ulama in Changing Times* (1995) revealed the definition of ulama according to the Salaf Mufassir, among of them, first, according to Imam Mujahid, arguing that the ulama are people who only feared to Allah SWT. Malik bin Anas also emphasized that people who are not afraid of God are not ulama. Second, Hasan Basri argues that ulama are people who are afraid of God because of unseen matters, like something that God likes, and reject everything that is wrath by God. Third, Ali Ash-Shabuni's opinion states that the ulama is a person who is fear of being very profound because of his ma'rifat. Fourth, according to Ibn Kathir, ulama are those who truly ma'rifat to Allah so they are afraid of Him. If the ma'rifat is already deep, then the fear of Allah is completed.

Fifth, Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani believes that the ulama are people who master the sharia law 'to determine the legitimate faith and other shari'ah charity. In this case, Wahbah Zuhaili said that the ulama instinctively are people who are able to analyze natural phenomena to change the life of the world and the hereafter and fear the threat of God if they fall into disgrace. The immoral people are not ulama in nature. The five definitions of the Salaf Mufasir can be drawn, namely the ulama are those who fear Allah SWT. This is consistent with what is stated in QS Al-Fathir verse 28: *innama yakhshyallahu min ibadihil ulama* (actually among the servants of Allah who fear of Him only the Ulama). Related to the word of ulama in Nahdlatul Ulama, KH Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) once said that the name Nahdlatul ulama was inspired by the saying of Ibn Athaillah as-Sakandari (W 1309 AD) the author of *Al-Hikam*. According to Gus Dur, Mbah Hasyim

Asy'ari (Founder of NU) often quoted Ibn Athaillah as saying, *Latashhab man la yunhidluka ilallahi haaluhu wa laa yadulluka ilallahi maqooluhu* (don't make friends or teachers, one whose deeds don't raise you to fear to God). Then, it is birth of Nahdlatul Ulama. According to Gus Dur, it was the ulama who raised his behavior to God. Then was born Nahdlatul Ulama. The Nahdhah is derived from *yunhidlu*. At that time, the proposed word of the Ulama is said from many Muslim scholars. Besides, Abdurrahman revealed, the one that summarizes the word of Nahdlatul Ulama is Mbah Hasyim Asy'ari.

## 4. RESEARCH METHODS

### 4.1. Research Approach

The approach used in this study is descriptive qualitative approach. Through this approach, it is possible for researchers to directly search for and collect data or problems learned, without having to be bound to prove whether or not a theory has been put forward by experts.

This qualitative research approach is used, since it is suitable with the research question. It is also flexible and presents the data directly about the nature of the relationship of researchers with subjects and informants. It is more sensitive and more able to adjust to many refinements of shared influences and on patterns value encountered.

Qualitative research in *Scientific and Natural Research Methodology*, prioritizes understanding the meaning of human actions in mutual action with fellow members of the community. Thus, the researchers demanded to provide time to interact informally with the subjects in their environment (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982).

The paradigm in qualitative research is indispensable in the form of theory, substantive concepts to describe working hypotheses in the field. The paradigm becomes the root of the tradition of qualitative research basically considering that social phenomena, because humans as actors in social activities. Social activities in this study are people and governments who understand very well how social political phenomena especially occur in Muslims when interpreting a political reality in their social life.

The location of the study was conducted in Central Kalimantan. The study only took three sample districts or cities intentionally (purposive sample), namely, East Kotawaringin Regency (representing the western part), Palangka Raya City (representing the middle part) and North Barito Regency (representing the northern part).

Whereas the subject of this study has the criteria of experts in Islam, religious preachers, and they are more than 40 years old. Among of them can be called clerics, habib, religious teachers and Islamic leaders in Central Kalimantan which is certainly accommodated in the Central Kalimantan Indonesian Ulama Council of provinces, cities and districts. The subjects of this study were taken from NU, Muhammadiyah, LDII, and Persis ulama, both ulama who sit in the structural of Islamic mass organizations and cultural scholars who do not sit within the structure of Islamic mass organizations.

The object of research is the views and role of ulama in identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election.

## **5. RESEARCH RESULTS**

### **5.1. Central Kalimantan Ulama's Views on Identity Politics**

The views of Ulama towards Identity Politics are very diverse. The results of interviews with several Islamic figures divided into two domains, namely the Structural Ulama domain, namely Ulama that existed and active in Islamic Organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, LDII and others, are members of the Ulema Council Organization Indonesia (MUI). As revealed in several interviews below:

- a. Ulama's View of Identity Politics  
Ustadz A, said that one-side, Identity Politics is damaging the order of Democracy, but on the other hand, identity politics is needed to unite the people in electing leaders. The formal position of NU is to support Presidential Candidates number 01 namely Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin. The idea was conveyed by the Great Leader. However, in reality, the idea was not all NU members obedient. There were many NU members supported the 02 pair and were respected as human rights. (NU Branch Chair, North Barito Regency).
- b. Identity Politics is needed to mobilize the people, the fact that the election of Habib Ismail as DPD RI Member for the period 2014-2019 who is currently the Vice Governor of Central Kalimantan, uses Identity Politics in order to get voters, (Ustadz. Afn, LDII Ulama, North West Barito Regency).
- c. In the current Industrial Era of 4.0, Political Identity should be diminishing. At the moment, Politics of Identity is like ghosts haunting Democracy, in my opinion in Central Kalimantan the realm of democracy has begun to appear to shift the phenomenon of Identity Politics. The proof is that Pak Sakarias, a Christian Regent of Katingan Regency can win and support the majority Muslim society. Pardi Yosef, the Regent of Murung Regency Raya, also a Christian and has full support from Muslims. This proves that the Politics of Identity does not apply in this area, and indicates that our society has begun to wake up to democracy (Ust. Mrni).
- d. In the 2019 presidential election in accordance with the direction of the Muhammadiyah Central Committee, Muhammadiyah followers were not bound to support one of the two candidates. However, they should be neutral and active, meaning that Muhammadiyah followers were forbidden to be undecided people. About Identity Politics, I, as the one who entrusted by Muhammadiyah residents in East Kotawaringin Regency, see that Identity Politics still emerges and becomes a tool to gain votes both in the Legislative Election and in the Presidential

Election. The proof is that Politicians still use religious issues in attracting voters, such as choosing the topic of Muslim Leaders, using the campaign time during religious activities and so on. Therefore, Identity Politics seems to be still used by politicians (legislators) and the presidential election campaign team (Ustadz Mdf, Regional leader of Muhammadiyah, East Kotawaringin Regency).

- e. Identity Politics is very necessary to unite the Muslim people in choosing leaders. For example, some Habib who tend to choose certain choices. Their followers, of course, follow them. They are an enlightenment and a sign that their choices also tend to be what the teacher's choice. I am the leader of this Islamic boarding school not talking politics, but if the followers ask about my Islamic politics I will explain how the Messenger of Islam politicized and how to choose a leader who truly has the character to be fully devoted to the welfare of the people. So, I do not direct the congregation to a specific presidential candidate pair but more on the direction of science how to choose a leader in accordance with Islamic teachings (Ustadz H (Non Structural Ulama)).
- f. The ulama is warasiatul ambiya (Heirs of the Prophet). Consequently, the people should follow ulama's direction. if the ulama directs to the pair 01 then, they must be obedient; and vice versa if ulama directed to choose 02, they must also obey. Moreover, we know that the establishment of Ijtima Ulama, which supports 02, the ummah as a whole should support the ijtima 'ulama. But there is no compulsion, I am pleased if you want to support others. I believe that a choice based on religious criteria should be supported (KH. R, Non Structural ulama).
- g. Identity Politics is an attempt by politicians to bring out or existentize themselves in the midst of society by bringing religious, ethnic and regional jargon (Ustdz A, Structural Ulama).

### **5.2. The Role of Central Kalimantan Ulemas on Identity Politics in influencing voters**

- a. It is no doubt that there are some ulama who are active in politics both individually and as members of certain parties It is very well understood that identity politics must be used in finding supporters. Religious issues are used to attract and influence their followers. Likewise, many ulama joined in the Presidential Election winning team both in groups 01 and 02. Massively, they used religious issues to influence their groups, both through lecturing, directing and political speeches formally in an official campaign as well as during preaching conducted routinely (KH.AH, Structural ulama).
- b. Basically, Political Identity is very influential on the views of voters. Ulama, if he does not join the

contestation, he is certainly also used by politicians to seek supporters in society. Ulama play a very important role in everything. For example, the Regional Election Commission uses ulama in providing information to the public about the General Election. The authorities, for example, the Police and souldiers, asked ulama to participate in giving direction and advice so that the election could be peaceful and successful. Likewise, some Political Parties use ulama in certain segments to campaign or motivate voters to choose their parties or politicians. (LDII Structural Ulama).

- c. In my opinion, Ulama has a very important role in influencing voters in their groups. Therefore, identity politics becomes something that they must do. For example, choosing leaders must be the same religion because they have been guided by Allah in the Qur'an shurah al-Maidah verse 51 and many more arguments suggesting Muslims must choose a Muslim leader. The same case in the Presidential Election. NU as a large Islamic organization plays an important role in influencing its followers to elect Presidential and Vice-President Candidates number 01 because of the candidate of Vice President is an NU figure, In addition to the issue of religion, there is also a figure as a reference in influencing voters. So, identity politics is a tool that they play in influencing people's choices. (Ust.A / Structural ulama).

### **5.3. MUI's Efforts in Creating a Conducive Atmosphere for the People After the 2019 Legislative and Presidential Elections**

- a. Community leaders and Ulama throughout Central Kalimantan examine a symptom of disintegration in society. This disintegration is possible because of differences political views in choosing political party, especially in the Election of President and Vice President. Conflicts of opinion developed so rapidly and information Hoak also colored the dispute opinion in the midst of society. After the Presidential Election, the MUI of each Regency seeks to reassemble people that began to split with the Joint meeting with the understanding that the national interest is above the interests of groups. Ustadz ASL from Palangkaraya City said that the Legislative Election and the Presidential Election were only held temporarily once in five years, not to break up the brotherhood that binds fellow members of both religious communities and with other religious communities.
- b. KH. AH, stated that since the beginning, MUI together with Islamic Organizations made a mapping and indication of conflicting symptoms as well as anticipatory efforts with the Police, souldiers, Regional Government, committee of general election

and Bawaslu in the 2019 Presidential and Legislative Elections. Praise to God, Peaceful elections were carried out safely. However, it is undeniable that at the grassroots emotional friction occurs. For that case, the Council of Ulama together with the ulama figures in the Islamic Organizations to come to enlighten the public and to rebuild the nation state.

- c. Post-Presidential Election MUI Palangkaraya City has come to people to provide suggestion and advice to the people, especially figures supporting the Presidential Election in order to create a sense of comfort with reconciliation due to the split for almost a year. (Ustadz ZA, Structural Scholar).

### **5.4. Utilizing the 4.0 Industry Era by Politicians in Mobilizing Voters**

The emerging of social media seems to be a human tool to facilitate communication easily without having to face to face. Politicians use social media to garner support in the form of identity and real politics. The virtual world that is used by politicians today, out of 50 respondents almost 100% use social media. The data shows 47.8% using Waths App, 26.16% using Face books, and 26.04% using Twiter.

The campaign models are:

- a. Establishing a Brotherhood Group like Brothers Surbekti (WA Group of Brothers Surbekti).
- b. FB contains the content of friendship and party sympathizers.
- c. Twiter also the same binding friend account.

Whereas the content of the solicitation is the legal promises of politicians. If it is successful and the jargon of vision and mission if it is elected as a member of the DPRD, and the DPR RI. The followers are the majority of the milineal generation over 60% aged between 17-20 years, 30% students and young people, 10% age over 35 years. The next data is that almost 38% of legislators install identity politics jargon, such as Let's Choose Our Fellow Dayak Residents, Choose Muslim Fellows.

## **6. CONCLUSIONS**

Conclusions of the study were

- a. Politics Identity still exists and is used by politicians in order to seek supporters for political existence. Some ulama, both structural and non-structural, have the perception that politics, especially religious identity, is needed in guiding or giving perspective to the followers in determining the choice of the elected Candidate in order to preserve the interests of the people and religion in the life of the nation and state.
- b. On the other hand, some Ulama both Structural and non-structural argue that it is no need for Political Identity of religion in determining Political choices. As seen from this perspective, ulama should be careful and somewhat closed in providing whether it is needed or not for Political Religious Identity as carried out by Politicians from ulama.
- c. The Indonesian Ulama Council in Central Kalimantan has provided input and advice to the

Government from the beginning in order to minimize conflicts both before the General Election and after the General Election and the Indonesian Ulama Council together with traditional ulama endeavors to continually close related to the ummah to establish good relations with other religions.

- d. General Elections in the 4.0 industry era makes it easier for legislators to garner followers and Identity Politics as well as still coloring the political arena in 2019.

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