



---

## THE DIALECTICS OF MA'RUF AMIN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: INFLUENCE ON VOTING PERSPECTIVE

*Moh. Bashori Alwi Almanduri\**

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

*Andi Faisal Bakti*

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

---

### **Abstract**

---

**Keywords:**

*Ma'ruf Amin;  
Partai Demokrasi  
Indonesia  
Perjuangan (PDI  
P); voters*

---

*This article is a critical review of the phenomenon of political contestation in the 2019 presidential election. Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI P) views the reality that NU is a political attribute of Ma'ruf Amin, as a tool to influence voting. In this context, the political strategy deliberately framed by the Prabowo camp aims to neutralize religious issues. Using a phenomenological approach and descriptive-analytical method, this research will dialogue with two specific problems, specifically: what is the role of Ma'ruf Amin as a voter for PDI P, and what is the role of voters in PDI P's victory? Furthermore, data were obtained through interviews, observations, and literature studies from several sources relevant to the research topic. The research results show that the Ma'ruf Amin entity as Jokowi's representative is seen as an absolute in gaining votes for the PDI P. Muslims as voters are divided into two types. First, the voters are dominated by reactive voters with lower secondary education levels. Second, the rational, responsive and active voters with an upper secondary education level.*

---

Correspondence:

e-mail: \*moh.bashori20@mhs.uinjkt.ac.id  
andi.faisal@uinjkt.ac.id

---

### **Abstrak**

---

**Kata kunci:**

Ma'ruf Amin;  
PDI P; pemberi  
suara

---

Artikel ini merupakan telaah kritis terhadap fenomena kontestasi politik Pemilihan Presiden 2019. Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI P) memandang realitas bahwa Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU) menjadi atribut politik dari Ma'ruf Amin sebagai alat untuk memengaruhi pemberian suara. Dalam hal konteks ini, strategi politik yang sengaja dibingkai oleh kubu Prabowo bertujuan untuk menetralsisir isu-isu agama. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi dan metode deskriptif analitik, penelitian ini akan mendialogkan dua problematika khusus, yaitu: bagaimana peran Ma'ruf Amin sebagai pendulang suara bagi PDI P, serta bagaimana peran pemberi suara terhadap kemenangan PDI P. Selanjutnya, data diperoleh melalui proses wawancara, pengamatan, serta studi literatur dari sejumlah sumber yang relevan dengan topik riset. Hasil riset menunjukkan bahwa entitas Ma'ruf Amin sebagai wakil Jokowi dipandang bersifat mutlak untuk mendulang suara bagi PDI P. Umat Islam sebagai pemberi suara terbagi menjadi dua tipe. Pertama, pemberi suara yang didominasi oleh pemberi suara reaktif dengan tingkat pendidikan menengah ke bawah. Kedua, pemberi suara yang rasional, responsif, dan aktif dengan taraf pendidikan menengah ke atas.

---

### **How to cite this (APA 7th Edition):**

Almanduri, M. B. A., & Bakti, A. F. (2022). The Dialectics Of Ma'ruf Amin Political Communication In 2019 Presidential Elections: Influence On Voting Perspective. *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 7(2), 243 – 274, <https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v7i2.5537>

## **INTRODUCTION**

The reality of politics in Indonesia shows a reasonably risky situation in the 2019 presidential election. The Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair is candidate pair number 1. Both received input from seven political parties: PDI-P, Nasdem Party, PKB, PKPI, PPP, Golkar Party, and Hanura Party. These

seven parties call themselves the Indonesian Work coalition. Meanwhile, the rival Prabowo-Sandi pair is carried by the Gerindra Party, the Democratic Party, PAN, and PKS, members of the just and prosperous coalition flag (Defi, 2019). The climate of the presidential election is so competitive that each candidate pair is looking for a strategy to attract the people's sympathy, one of which is campaigning. No doubt the amount disbursed was not a big deal. It is still fresh in memory that Sandi has been travelling around Indonesia for almost eight months seeking support and convincing the Indonesian people of his coalition's vision of realizing a just and prosperous Indonesia (Azizah & Rustono, 2020).

On the other hand, the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair prefers to use a media approach to the campaign. Not without reason, one of the national winning teams from this pair is Erick Tohir, a senior electronic media businessman known as INews Tv (Kompas TV, CNN Indonesia, TV One, and INews TV). So it is not difficult for Erick Tohir to influence the content and editorial staff of one of these TV stations to tend to Jokowi-Ma'ruf's side (Nyarwi, 2018).

In the campaign, political observers of one coalition also use the personalization point of view of the candidate pair as one of the accesses to general election regulations. In this way, the voter can vote not based on a political party but on a review of the candidate's name. What it means, the tendency of people to vote by looking at the name of a known candidate rather than the political party that houses them is a necessity. Borrowing the language of Suko Widodo, this condition is an indicator of modern democratization (Widodo, 2014).

PDI P also used a similar idea in the 2019 presidential election discourse. Learning from the 2017 DKI Pilkada, PDI P did not want to fall into the same place. How could it not be? The Ahok case was originally only a political dialogue that became more widespread and

narrowed into an identity problem, namely an attempt to build a negative framing of opponents with specific religious, ethnic or ideological media (Herdiansah, 2017). This situation became an easy target for the Anies-Sandi camp, pioneered by PKS et al. by frying up SARA issues such as Islamic Populism. As a result, a line of embarkation was created between Muslims vs non-Muslims or natives vs China which had succeeded in making PDI P reap defeat in the political contestation at that time (Prayogi & Adela, 2019). During political contestation in Indonesia, the 2019 presidential election was among the only ones that motivated researchers to study it more deeply. According to research conducted by Samsudin (2022), more than 38 studies related to framing presidential election news from 2005-2021. And the trend has been increasing since 2017-2021. This highly competitive political phenomenon recently referred to the 2017 DKI and 2019 presidential elections.

In the 2019 presidential election, the PDI P electoral politics considered it urgent to synergize their party with the ideology of Marhaenism with Islamic politics (Machmudi, 2005). This was done to convince the Indonesian people that PDI P is not a party that negates Islamic interests in practice. So, Ma'ruf Amin from PKB was chosen as a representative of moderate Islam. In addition, Ma'ruf Amin's NU background behind the PKB is a significant potential target to gain PDI P votes. The voice in question is the voice resulting from voters' reasoning, receptivity, and activity in developing persuadable behaviors in response to political communication initiated by the political elite. Figures in political communication play a significant role in voting. The arrogance of a politician will undoubtedly hurt his credibility in the eyes of the public. On the other hand, a charismatic and wise leader will be a priority for voting (Prasetyo, 2014).

Political dialogue will never be separated from the communication aspect, either as a communication process that occurs within the

internal political system or involves a political system with an external bureaucratic environment (Fadillah, Farihanto, & Dahlan, 2017). This interaction process will form an attitude and individual characteristics that explicitly affect the two terms. Thus, it can be understood that political communication is a reciprocal relationship that aims to influence state life (Arifin, 2011). In the realm of political communication, there are at least three terms that become essential elements: political thought; political talk; and political action (Nurussa'adah, Erfina, & Sumartias, 2017), which synergize each other to formulate political ideals. The urgency of these several elements plays a very important role in the construction of voting by the people. In the discourse of political communication, the people's voice is considered as vitality, which will persuasively determine the convergence of politicization in electoral politics arrangements. The assumption is that without the voice of the people as voters, a politician is nothing.

Based on the premise above, a several studies discussing political communication and presidential elections have also been discussed by some researchers. For example, the research by Farida & Yoedtadi (2019) about political identity in the 2019 presidential election in online media of medcom.id. As well as the article from Agustiani (2020), which discusses online media framing of the 2019 Presidential Election on zonasultra.com, and the article on review of the media framing of the presidential election around 2005-2021 by Samsudin (2022). Another research by Syam, Saleh, & Ramadhan (2020) discusses media and politics. These previous writings broadly refer to the framing and perspective of media associated with aspects of political communication, especially in discussing the 2019 Presidential Election and the political figures in it.

Other research that also specifically discusses Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 Presidential Election was also written Nasution, Kholil, & Idris (2020) about the political strategy of the presidential campaign;

Rahmat & Purnomo (2020) regarding political branding through the Twitter platform; as well as the research by Rustanta & Silalahi (2020) exposes about political marketing and multimodality analysis of political partners. Other research talks about the use of virality in the Jokowi-Amin political campaign examined by Damayanti, Santoso, & Hamzah (2021) and political polarization in the 2019 presidential election on social media by Salahudin et al. (2020). Previous research discussing the voter's side is also explained through articles by Mukhroman & Gumelar (2020) regarding the influence of social media on the perspective of millennial voters in the 2019 Presidential Election and Razy, Winarno, & Rusnaini (2020), which talks about perceptions of beginner voters in the 2019 Presidential Election.

Discuss further the focus of this research in political communication dialogue. Political elites should understand that there are several classifications of voters who, in practice, will formulate electoral political attitudes and actions to gain people's votes. Thus, there are at least four types of voters consisting of rational, reactive, responsive and active. The explanation of the four types is presented based on Nimmo's description below: The rational type is a sensible voter, which is self-actional, i.e. an attitude that is intrinsic to every personal character of the voter who also decides to vote for most citizens (Nimmo, 2010). In this case, rational people can be explained by several criteria, such as: 1) can always make decisions when faced with alternatives; 2) consciously choosing alternative alternatives; 3) arrange several options in a transitive way; 4) always choose the option with the highest preference rating; and 5) always make the same decision when faced with the same options.

Rational voters actively interested in politics are diligent in discussing and seeking political information and acting on principles for their own interests and the public interest. Likewise, rational voters are able to perform consistently in the face of political pressures and forces. In

Anzal Ibrahim's language, this type is termed rational voters with critical awareness, calculation, rationality and control over their chosen candidate (A. B. Ibrahim, 2018). It can be said that this rational type is representative of most academics, political observers, activists, students, and other educated groups. This type tends to be selective and not careless in seeing the reality of communication. Moreover, in Indonesia, communication patterns tend to be haphazardly polarised in the days leading up to the general election (Tazri, 2019).

Next, the reactive type is a voter who emotionally connects with a political party (Nimmo, 2010). Emotional attachment to the party as party identification, namely as the primary source of actions and reactive voters. Identification with the party enhances a more favorable image of his record, experience, abilities, and personal attributes. Thus, identification with the party increases the perceptual veil so that the individual can see the advantages of his party orientation. The stronger the party ties, the more exaggerated the selection process and distorted perception. Identification of the type The author believes that political communication can break down ideological walls, rationality, and group fanaticism (Usman, 2013). In fact, in this type, voters will not use their rationality to choose candidates. But more to the fanaticism of the party. Be it fanaticism toward its doctrine, such as the PDI P's Marhaenism ideology, people who accompany the party, such as the charismatic Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) in the democratic party, or groups that support the party, such as Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU) in PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*) and Muhammadiyah in PAN (*Partai Amanat Nasional*).

The responsive type is a voter that changes easily according to time, political events, and momentary conditions (Nimmo, 2010). Despite having loyalty to the party, this affiliation did not affect his voting behavior. Relations with political parties are more rational than emotional. Responsive voters are influenced more by short-term factors, particularly

interest in a particular election, than long-term loyalty to a group or political party. So the responsive type is conditional, it can be from family or peer groups (Rozak, 2009).

Furthermore, responsive voters who often change their political orientation are the hallmarks of novice voters in political contestation in a democratic country. Beginner voters participate in voting for the first time in general elections. They are Indonesian citizens (WNI/ *Warga Negara Indonesia*) who are only 17 years old. Or not yet 17 years old but already married (Wardhani & Nur, 2018). Technology has touched this group with their easy access to news, so their attitudes and voices are influenced by social media (Ratnamulyani, Atikah, & Maksudi, 2018).

The last is the active type of voters. Active voters are actively involved in interpreting personalities, events, issues, and political parties, by forming and compiling or accepting the series of choices given (Budifebrianto & Delliana, 2020). Active voters also formulate a political image of what they take into account with various variants. In this type of voter, active voters are not only seen as organisms that respond to political communication actions. However, they have a position as an organism that moves to form a series of political activities based on what is calculated (Nimmo, 2010).

Based on these points above, these active voters tend to determine where their voices will be directed, and more to the independence of voters, which is the result of identification of a set of values and facts from the communications or interpretive political campaigns they receive. Thus, based on the description of the background that has been presented, the article will focus on discussing two issues in political communication, specifically: What is the role of Ma'ruf Amin as a voter for PDI P? What is the role of voters in PDI P's victory?



## **METHODS**

The object of research studied is the socio-political phenomena that occur in Indonesia, especially regarding Ma'ruf Amin's dialectic in political communication carried out in the 2019 presidential election. At this level, the phenomenological aspect is used to analyze events so that they appear authentic and can be understood fundamentally and comprehensively so that this research questions why a phenomenon can occur. Furthermore, this research discusses and examines what caused Jokowi's victory in the context of the 2019 presidential election and to what extent Ma'ruf Amin can influence Muslim voters to support the vote for PDI P, considering that so far, PDI P has been labelled as being hostile to Islam.

This research is descriptive qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. It uses Dan Nimmo's construct of political communication theory (influence voting) as a conceptual basis for uncovering existing phenomena. It means the author initially described the phenomenon that occurred. Furthermore, the author will describe this phenomenon with analysis and discussion through the theory of Dan Nimmo, as well as dialogue on the findings with relevant Islamic texts. Finally, the writer will discuss and analyze it with constructive and critical studies. The data used in this research were obtained through interviews, observations, and literary sources in the form of book libraries, recent scientific articles, theses and dissertations, and other relevant secondary literary sources.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***Ma'ruf Amin's Role As A Voter For PDI P***

Today, many observers view that the reincarnation of Islam into the political arena of this country will give a dramatic new nuance. The reappearance of Islamic groups as actors in the distribution of oligarchy

in Indonesia is a logical consequence of political communication, whether intentional or not. Even long before the Reformation era (Miichi, 2015). Ma'ruf Amin was born in 1943 in Kresek, Tangerang. As a descendant of the great scholar Sheikh Nawawi Al-Bantani, who had been an Imam at the Grand Mosque, Mecca. Ma'ruf Amin, currently 75 years old, enjoys special privileges among the ulama in Indonesia. Having served in two large organizations, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the semi-governmental organization the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Ma'ruf Amin was not free from some controversies, especially when MUI issued several fatwas deemed insensitive to religious minorities in Indonesia (Suriyanto, 2017).

Ma'ruf Amin's career path is inseparable from education and politics. Had been a lecturer at Nahdlatul Ulama University tarbiyah in 1968 then served as Director and Chairman of the Al-Jihad Educational Institution Foundation. He also entered the world of politics by becoming a member of the DKI Jakarta DPRD as the class envoy from 1971-1973. Ma'ruf Amin is also active in political parties. It is recorded that he once chaired the DKI United Development Party (PPP) Faction, then became a member of the MPR-RI from the National Awakening Party (PKB) from 1997 to 1999. Finally, he was listed as a member of Commission II of the DPR-RI from the PKB faction in 1999 (Sanusi & Gumilar, 2019). Ma'ruf Amin is an activist in organizations under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama. He was Chairman of Anshor Jakarta 1964-1966, chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1966-1970, member of the Board of the PBNU Da'wah Institute from 1977-1989, Deputy Chairman of the Central MUI Fatwa Commission 1996, MUI Fatwa Commission 2001-2007 and the last one served as Chairman of MUI 2007-2010.

While serving as chairman of the MUI, Ma'ruf Amin often issued controversial fatwas. He once appealed to Muslims not to wish Christians a Merry Christmas by citing the MUI fatwa, which forbids participating in Christmas celebrations. In 2016, Ma'ruf Amin, through MUI and several

other Islamic organizations, declared their opposition to the existence of the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) group and supported criminal action against LGBT perpetrators. The MUI stance conveyed by Ma'ruf Amin included refusing all propaganda, promotion, support and development of LGBT in Indonesia and stating that MUI would encourage law enforcement against LGBT groups. At that time, he also issued a fatwa related to the case of Ahok, who blasphemed religion in the 2017 DKI Regional Election. So that at that time, Ahok was increasingly cornered (Ibrahim, 2019).

The lively democratic (political) event in Indonesia in the 2019 presidential election took place in a cyber-democracy atmosphere, which implies freedom, participation, and contestation that takes place face-to-face or online. In this cyber-democratic atmosphere, anyone can do various things on a computer screen: talk, discuss, make friends and even look for enemies (Wardani, 2019). In the 2019 presidential election, Jokowi ran again to nominate himself as RI 1. The party that carried it was PDI P et al., who then tried to improve their image after the Ahok case in the 2017 DKI election. At that time, buzzers deliberately blew SARA issues to marginalize the opponent's campaign. Perhaps, the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections were the most fantastic presidential elections in the history of elections in Indonesia. How could these two presidential elections only bring together two candidate pairs to compete for the people's vote? The strong unhealthy election climate gave birth to two camps of supporters of the candidate pair who intervened with each other. In the 2019 presidential election contestation, both supporters have a high level of bigotry (Zahrotunnimah, Yunus, & Susilowati, 2018).

Besides Ma'ruf Amin, President Joko Widodo has another option that is more or less equal in influence to Ma'ruf Amin, namely Mahfud MD. The former constitutional court chairman was widely discussed among the public as a strong candidate to run as a vice presidential candidate to

accompany Joko Widodo. The cancellation of the choice of Mahfud MD even surprised the public because of the strong suspicion that he would run as vice president, but he failed at the last minute (Afiane, 2019).

Apart from the reason for his character in the form of Mahfud MD, even though he comes from the NU environment with a strong Islamic boarding school background, many people say that Mahfudz MD is not a representation of NU. Several experts suspect that the cancellation of Mahfud MD's appointment as a vice presidential candidate is related to age issues. Mahfud MD, 61 years old by coalition parties, is considered dangerous for their political future after Joko Widodo cannot run for re-election. On the other hand, Ma'ruf Amin's age, who is currently 75 years old, is considered not too risky for him to secure a presidential position in the 2024 elections in the future. The choice of Ma'ruf Amin can be seen in two perspectives: First, Jokowi's political accommodation to the coalition parties that support him and the fear of forming a third axis from the breakdown of coalition party support that could shake Jokowi's vote in the elections. Second, Jokowi has concerns about identity politics, given that many Muslim organizations are not pro to Jokowi's leadership. Jokowi's fear of being perceived as unfriendly to Muslim voters forced Jokowi to accept the name Ma'ruf. Not without reason, as long as Jokowi's leadership, PDI P is a party that has become an easy target for Islamic groups who suspect him of being neo-communism (Musthafa, 2017).

NU, as the reality of Islam that dominates this nation, has not yet declared a position on the Prabowo pair. The reason for this is straightforward: the Prabowo camp is comprised of other groups with different beliefs than NU. PDI P is currently in coalition with PKB and PPP. There are two possible representations of NU. Before the candidate was determined, many analysts were sceptical that Jokowi would win the second round. This is because so many inflammatory activities are purposely intended to influence public opinion regarding

Jokowi's performance and the criminalization of ulama and communism. However, after the determination of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair, the atmosphere became even and even tended to turn around. The NU community entity already in his hands in the nimmo language is described as a reactive voter who is faithful and loyal to his *keiyayi* (superior), even though not all Muslim voices have gone to him.

### **The Influence Of Voting In The Perspective Of The Qur'an**

As a religion that claims perfection, Islam regulates the lives of its people holistically, starting from worship, social, economic, legal as well as political. Political terms in religious reality cannot be separated (Shobron, 2012). According to Fazlurrahman, the political concept in Islam consists of three elements: *din*, *dunya*, and *daulah* (Rahman, 1966). In historical records, Islamic civilization is colored by political dynamics that are quite tragic. Therefore, Muslims should be participatory in the existing political realities. Not without reason, the influence of Islam in the context of politics in Indonesia is very decisive for the progressive development of Muslims in the future. This effort is none other than to enforce the *syiar* of Islam and prevent the existence of a monopoly of power that tends to negate the interests of Islam. This discourse by Ibn Qayyim is called Political Islam (Assiyasah Al Islamiyah), which is an effort made to bring people to goodness and stay away from evil (Zawawi, 2015). Andre Heywood also explains political urgency that Politics is Power (politics is power), then whoever is in power on the political side will dominate the existing policies and rules (Heywood, 2004). One of the efforts that can be done is to be selective in voting in general elections to choose leaders who prioritize Muslims' interests.

When viewed from the perspective of political communication, Nimmo's terms of voting can be categorized into four types, namely rational, reactive, responsive and active voters. An active voter can be

understood as an attitude that prioritizes logic in thinking, and its axiology aims for the public interest (the benefit of the people), not personal interests (Handayani, Suntoro, & Nurmalisa, 2015) if the rational voter is contextualized with the real Islamic reality in QS. Al-Baqarah: 247-251. The verse tells the process of self-actional and angelic rationalization of the idea of creating the prophet Adam by Allah. In this story, the angel tries to use his rationalization to assess the discourse Allah will do regarding the creation of the prophet Adam.

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلٰٓئِكَةِ اِنِّيْ جَاعِلٌ فِى الْاَرْضِ خَلِيْفَةً ۗ قَالُوْۤا اَجْعَلْ  
فِيْهَا مَنْ يُّفْسِدُ فِيْهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَآءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ ۗ  
قَالَ اِنِّيْۤ اَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُوْنَ

And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels, "I want to make a caliph on earth." They said, "Are you going to make people who destroy and shed blood there while we glorify You and sanctify Your name?" He said, "Truly, I know what you do not know. Q.S. Al Baqarah Verse 30.

Ibn Kathir believes that the angel's questioning is a form of rationalization, which means *istisyyar* 'asking for guidance,' *isti'lam* 'asking to be told,' *istifham* 'asking to comprehend,' and various other interpretations that want to see the context of this verse as being more in line with theological corridors (Katsir, 2000). Sheikh Nawawi Al-Jawi also provided information on this angel's reputation as a form of the angel's rationalization of Adam's credibility as a leader on earth (Al-Jawi, 2011). At-Tabari in *Jami'ul Bayan Fi Ta'wilil Qur'an* asserts that this story is a process of communication interaction between Allah and the angels. Adam is the actor (candidate), Allah is the medium of information (campaign), and the angels are the voicers (War'i, 2019). From several scholars' opinions regarding the story, it can be understood that Islam strongly encourages

its people to prioritize self-action and rationalization in terms of choosing good leaders for the benefit of Muslims.

Further regarding reactive voting can be debated with QS. Al-Baqarah: 247-251 which tells the story of the Israelites' rejection of Talut as their king.

وَقَالَ لَهُمْ نَبِيُّهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ بَعَثَ لَكُمْ طَالُوتَ مَلِكًا ۗ قَالُوا أَنَّى يَكُونُ لَهُ  
لَهُ الْمُلْكُ عَلَيْنَا وَنَحْنُ أَحَقُّ بِالْمُلْكِ مِنْهُ وَلَمْ يُؤْتَ سَعَةً مِنَ الْمَالِ ۗ  
قَالَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَاهُ عَلَيْكُمْ وَزَادَهُ بَسْطَةً فِي الْعِلْمِ وَالْجِسْمِ ۗ وَاللَّهُ يُؤْتِي مُلْكَهُ  
مَنْ يَشَاءُ ۗ وَاللَّهُ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

And their prophet said to them, Verily Allah has made Talut your king. They replied, How did Talut get a kingdom over us, when we have more right to it than him, and he was not given much wealth? (The Prophet) replied, Allah has chosen him (to be king) for you and gave you the advantages of knowledge and physical. Allah gives His kingdom to whom He wills, and Allah is All-Encompassing, All-Knowing. Q.S. Al Baqarah Verse 247.

As emphasized by Sheikh Wahbah Azzuhaili in Tafsir Al-Munir that this verse tells about the ambiguous Jews in affiliation, this attitude is shown by disobedience to Prophet Samuel and doubting the ability of Talut as king regarding the command of jihad. This verse teaches Muslims to be loyal and loyal in affiliation. That jihad for the benefit of Muslims is a priority (Azzuhaili, 2001). Loyalty and fanaticism are indicators of a reactive voter so that no matter what happens, no matter how intense the negative framing of the party is, that attitude will not waver. Meanwhile, Quraih Shihab interprets this verse as self-discipline, not to change his heart to worldly affairs (Shihab, 2002). According to Sayyid, this context is very relevant if it is pulled into the world of politics, the fanatical and loyal attitude of reactive voters is a form of loyalty to the party even though

they are lured by money politics (Mumayasari, 2013). The story of the Talut troops who remained loyal and obedient, not drinking river water, showed a reasonably high discipline.

Furthermore, responsive voting types can be contextualized with QS. Ali Imran: 123 which tells the story of the defeat of Muslims in the Uhud war caused by swinger voters by Muslim troops who were fickle in their actions (Andriani, Mardiah, & Hakim, 2021). This verse explains that the causes of the defeat of Muslims are due to fighting over worldly treasures, so they violate the prophet's command to stay on the mountain.

وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ وَأَنْتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ ۖ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ

And indeed, Allah has helped you in the battle of Badr, even though you were in a weak state. Therefore fear Allah, that you may be grateful to Him. Q.S. Ali Imran Verse 123.

The incident in the Battle of Uhud made some believers doubt the certainty of Allah's help. Therefore Allah assured them and confirmed that Allah had helped them in the battle of Badr, which took place on the 17th of Ramadan in the second year of Hijriah, even though at that time you were in a weak state. Because their numbers are few and their armor is very simple. Because they believe in the coming of Allah's help, they get the victory. Therefore fear Allah in all matters so that you may be grateful for all His gifts.

Furthermore, the type of active voice actor is very clearly implied in the story of the prophet Sulaiman with the hud-hud bird who did not participate in his entourage.

وَتَفَقَّدَ الطَّيْرَ فَقَالَ مَا لِيَ لَا أَرَى الْهُدْهُدَ ۗ أَمْ كَانَ مِنَ الْغَائِبِينَ

And he examined the birds and said, Why don't I see Hud-hud, is he one of those who are not present? Q.S. An Naml Verse 20.



This verse explains that Muslims are encouraged to chase the ball, not wait for the ball in the political world. The active voice in this verse is represented by Hud-hud, who positions themselves as the carrier of updated information related to the Kingdom of Saba. At-tabari revealed that at that time when Prophet Sulaiman was checking his troops when he arrived at the bird army, he did not find Hud-hud. The first response that Prophet Sulaiman uttered later was a response described in the Qur'an with *lafadz La'udzqibannahû 'Adzâban Syadâdan Au La'adzâbahannahû Au Laya'tiyannâ Bi Sulţânim Mubîn*. A few moments after he said that sentence Hud-hud came and said: I have come to you from the land of Saba 'with news that is believed to be news about the kingdom of Saba' ruled by Queen Balqis. Then Prophet Sulaiman said, *"Let's see if you are honest or lying. Go with this letter of mine and give it to Queen Balqis then let's see what happens,"* (Al-Ṭabari, 1995). From this verse, Hud-hud tries to interpret the personality, issues and events. An action is a form of his activeness in finding facts. Actions taken as active voters are more about formulating actions than just responding to a particular political condition.

### **The Role Of Voters In PDI P's Vote Gain And Victory**

So far, Muslims have reached a saturation point in the reality of politics in Indonesia. From the grip of political Islam in the New Order era until now, no Islamic figure has emerged as a political figure. The main issue is credibility. Iding Rosyidin argues that among Islamic political parties in Indonesia, few figures have high credibility, especially as competent political communicators (Rosyidin, 2015). Even during the Reformation period, Muslims were somewhat relieved by the rise of Gus Dur to defeat Megawati. However, this condition did not last long when Gus Dur was forced to be ousted through a decision by the MPR chaired by Amien Rais. He also argues that trustworthiness is a relatively important aspect of credibility discourse for a political communicator. Ma'ruf Amin was

chosen as a reasonably credible figure representing Muslims throughout the archipelago.

Islam as a religious reality is often used as an instrument for the legitimacy of political elites. In the Indonesian context, many parties use Islam as their basis. Especially after reforms such as PPP, PKS, PBB, PAN and PKB (Nurjaman, 2017). Iding Rosyidin also said that in Fiqh Siyasa's view, the existence of an Islamic party was essential to regulate the affairs of the people and the state, especially those related to Islamic interests. Meanwhile, until now, Islamic parties have not been able to provide a breakthrough in the reality of politics. Instead of achieving good news, Islamic parties are full of bad news (Rosyidin & Heriyanto, 2015). Take, for example, the case of the feud between Gus Dur and Cak Imin, which impacted the dualism of the paradigm within the PKB. This condition creates a diametrical gulf, so many people affiliated with PKB and NU regret this incident. Whereas PKB, identical to NU, is a barn for charismatic clerics in Indonesia. Jalaludin Rakhmat also mentioned the aspect of trust in the credibility discourse, that what is meant by the trust is the public's impression related to the communicator (Rakhmat, 1985).

The undestroyed character of this nation's electoral political paradigm is the tradition of KKN (Corruption, collusion and nepotism). The author is of the view that one of the causes of Prabowo's defeat is the trauma healing of the Indonesian people against the new order regime which is feared to be repeated when Prabowo leads this country, how the public knows that Prabowo is the son-in-law of Suharto's iron fist. In addition, the public is already quite embarrassed by the tradition of KKN, so as much as possible, they choose figures who are considered credible and have integrity in carrying out their mandate. Bakti revealed that the 1998 Reformation Movement was a movement that emerged as an accumulation of public distrust of the performance of the bureaucracy, which was full of corruption, collusion and nepotism in the New Order

era. Various irregularities in government occur in the administration of the role of government and public administration, which are authoritarian, centralized and exclusive, where the government requires citizens' trust in maintaining the stability of the performance of government administrators, which can be obtained through the role of deliberative government and public administration (Mustapa, Bakti, Ansori, Saripudin, & Budiansyah, 2020).

Furthermore, the author believes that in facing political contestation, each contestant must be able to convince the public that the government to be built is a government free from KKN. In addition, the issue of SARA, which often triggers sensitivity between elements of the nation, also needs to be anticipated. Especially things that have Islamic implications. As a nationalist party, the PDI P feels inferior if it goes it alone. Besides that, PKB did not want to fall into the same hole as during the Gus Dur era. So the marriage of the two was the right decision choosing Ma'ruf Amin as a representative. The author believes that in the context of the significance of credibility, Ma'ruf Amin is more representative than Mahfudz MD. As a charismatic religious figure, the opportunity for the vice president can be used as a da'wah area and strengthen Islam's position as an essential element in the reality of politics in Indonesia. Because according to Bakti da'wah, in the era of globalization, are not enough lectures and sermons alone. This classic method is no longer productive. Da'wah, in the age of modernization 4.0 requires specific intelligence to answer the times' challenges. One of them is through da'wah through politics (Bakti, 2005a).

Moreover, PDI P chose Ma'ruf Amin as proof that Jokowi was not an anti-Islamic leader, as many have accused him. Issues of criminalization of ulama using the logical method were deliberately created further to degrade Jokowi from the political stage in Indonesia. This is certainly not the right reason because Indonesia is a multicultural country. It doesn't belong to one group or religion. Bakti's view of Pluralism/multiculturalism is helpful

in the liberation it provides from the hegemony of significant cultures over small cultures and exploitative and imperialistic cultural uniformities by dominant groups over small groups. Both imply internal crystallization and empowerment of a relatively isolated and neglected culture or sub-culture (Bakti, 2013). In addition, as a political communicator, Ma'ruf Amin is considered more polite and calm in protecting the people, and the age factor is quite mature. Ma'ruf Amin's experience and experience in Indonesian politics are quite capable. Leaders should be like that, not vice versa. Strategic positions as powerful figures are used to display high arrogance and agitation. This, of course, makes people nervous and feel intimidated. He is a provocative leader with a frontal style of speaking, so it seems his actions are legal. Such an attitude is unfortunate because the leader is an example for the people (Kobalen & Bakti, 2019). Practically the indicators of a political communicator to be able to get the people's voice are: credibility, integrity, religion, responsiveness and nurturing. Meanwhile, Bakti argues that to achieve good governance, at least five aspects must be met: transparency, consistency, intelligence, accountability, and communication (Bakti, 2005).

Many people doubt that Ma'ruf Amin's position as vice president is just Jokowi's way of camouflaging it to defend the interests of Muslims. In addition, many also said that Ma'ruf Amin did not play a significant role in obtaining PDI P votes from Muslims. They believe that it is not Ma'ruf amin, and NU will continue to support Jokowi because of Jokowi's support for the idea of Islam Nusantara. The secretary of LD PBNU said the statement was unreasonable. According to him, the presence of Ma'ruf Amin as Jokowi's vice president is a turning point for the superior vote of the PDI P coalition for Jokowi. Previously, the Prabowo camp was quite optimistic about winning the 2019 presidential election. It was not without reason that the success of Gerindra and its coalition in the DKI Regional Head Election was a reasonably dominant factor. In addition,

212 alumni used SARA issues and the Ahok case as a tool that would open up a relatively large chance of Prabowo's victory in the 2019 presidential election. How not almost all Islamic organizations are in Prabowo's camp, such as FPI, PKS (Reformative Islam), PAN (Muhammadiyah).

On the other hand, NU, a civil society supported by PKB, cannot be disregarded. NU's supremacy from a mass perspective makes it a factor that the political elite constantly considers. In addition, Ma'ruf Amin is a renowned elderly figure among NU locals. NU residents, with their ideological spirit and fanaticism towards the formation of a *kiyayi* (*nderek kiai*), can be used as a voice field for PDI P.

Irtanto revealed that among the few studies showing that people with lower-middle education tend to be ideologically oriented in carrying out the act of voting, the author is of the view that this is what Nimmo meant by reactive voting. While those with higher education tend to be problem-solving-oriented (problem-solving policy), this is what Nimmo means by giving rational and active voices (Irtanto, 2012). Meanwhile, the responsive voice actors are deliberately separated because the characteristics of this model's voice actors tend to be dynamic and flexible. The main point in this article is that NU citizens are reactive voters. Because the power of ideology is the most susceptible to political interest penetration. Prior to political contests, it is common for political elites to suddenly become religious, frequently visiting Islamic boarding schools and *kiyayi* (Hanafie & Azmy, 2018). Basr, in his research, views the importance of social factors as one of the instruments that influence voting. He explained that social and demographic attributes were highly correlated factors in voting decisions (Lipset, 1981).

One key feature of reactive voting is the emotional attachment to political parties as "party identification by candidate name". That is the primary source of reactive voter self-action (Nimmo, 2010). In the context of Ma'ruf Amin, this is the target for PDI P and its coalition. NU

residents, as reactive voters, have strong emotional ties to the party and its candidates. They are spread over three parties in the PDI P coalition: PPP, PKB and Golkar. The strategy carried out by the PDI P coalition through Ma'ruf Amin is called the legitimacy of power. In this term, the relationship between leaders and those who are led is determined by those who are guided. The purpose of the legitimacy given by the community to the leader is to create political stability and raise hopes for social change. The existence of community support for the governing leader makes the situation stable (Agustino, 2007). PDI P views Jokowi, who may have been hit by racial issues such as religious issues and the PKI, as the main factor in choosing Ma'ruf Amin to gain legitimacy from the community so that he can be trusted to carry out the mandate for the next five years. If observed carefully, the study of reactive voters is identical with the image of parties that effectively play a mediating role that translates what is happening in the political environment into terms that are meaningful to voters (Trilling, 1972).

One thing that is also an essential point in the discourse on influencing voting is the candidate's image. According to Nimmo, it is clearly influenced by a political candidate's political attributes and personal style (Nimmo, 2010). In the context of Ma'ruf Amin, the political characteristics of Ma'ruf Amin as Rais Aam NU and MUI chairman are credible enough to fulfil nationalist-religious indicators. Besides that, his personal style as a *kejayai* and Jokowi, with his quirky characters, are the tools to open the reactive voting faucet because many voters are affiliated with the party because they like the candidate who gets the nomination. No matter how intense the negative framing in the media against this couple is, it does not dampen the loyalty of reactive voters, especially NU residents. Dedy Mulyana revealed that most Indonesians are not easily persuaded politically through the mass media. Their commitment to political parties is more primordial than a rational choice (Mulyana, 2014).

The tendency of active voters in determining where votes will be directed is more towards voter independence which is the result of the identification of a set of values and facts from interpretative political communications or campaigns. This type views the campaign as a symbolic interaction of political communication carried out by the candidates. In the context of Ma'ruf Amin, this type is from the group of Muslim women, IPNU-IPPNU, GP Ansor, and Fatayat who are quite active in campaigning for Ma'ruf Amin.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

### **Conclusion**

Based on the discussion described in the previous point, several reflections can be drawn from this conclusion. First, in the contestation of the political stage in Indonesia, the context and atmosphere of democracy began to be felt after the reformation, which made Islamic politics increasingly appear on the surface. This is evidenced by the many Islamic parties that started to form. However, until two months later, several Islamic politics have not been considered the most prominent. The credibility aspect is felt to be the main factor behind this condition. The argument, then, is why it is so crucial for Islam to dominate politics. This is because Islam has a large mass public in this country. The entity must be utilized as best as possible. Because if it's not the quantity of Islam, it's like foam in the ocean. Moreover, this will lead to competition with other parties in the power struggle, especially by persuading on behalf of Islamic interests.

The second conclusion, in the context of the 2019 Presidential Election, Ma'ruf Amin is seen as capable of determining Jokowi's and PDI P's votes. This was a severe blow to the Prabowo camp, supported by 212 alumni, FPI and PKS because they hoped that Ma'ruf Amin would help Prabowo's camp. This context recalls Ma'ruf Amin's attitude

towards the Ahok case when he was still chairman of the MUI in the 2017 election. This opportunity was used to win the 2019 presidential election contestation, referring to PDI P's defeat during the DKI Pilkada. PDI P learned that Islam as a social reality and NU as a civil society in Indonesia are vital things to pay attention to, significantly to gain legitimacy for power from the Indonesian people. Instead of deliberately carrying out actions that lead to Islamic populism.

Third, in the context of voting, the educational background of voters is felt to be very influential in the vote. Therefore, voters can be categorized into two subdominants. The aim is to create a diametrical line between the two, i.e., towards voters with lower educational backgrounds and well-educated backgrounds. Educated and qualified voters will tend to be realistic, active, and rationalistic. Meanwhile, voters with minimal education are seen as growing to prioritize emotional ties in choosing candidates from the same party.

### **Suggestion**

Theoretically, the 2019 presidential election contestation is a political phenomenon that is quite interesting to discuss. Almost all aspects of the term require serious and phenomenological studies. However, both candidates are very competitive in showing the capability to be the winner, including in influencing voting. Perhaps, this is how the political elite engineered to analyze the opportunities that will be obtained when Prabowo's camp tries to use Islam as a political shield. The Jokowi camp did the same thing to neutralize the increasingly heated political climate. This method has proven effective in hitting the Prabowo camp in a landslide. Thus, this article explains that in the political dimension, all devices and aspects must be connected in parallel and analyzed holistically. It is envisaged that future study and scientific writing on similar issues and foci will be able to develop more generally in terms of discussion, research



and methodological techniques, as well as theoretical studies employed in a variety of other sociopolitical viewpoints.

From the 2019 presidential election phenomenon, it can be understood that as a voter, the community should be competent in making decisions, especially in voting. The responsive voter option may be an option because his loyalty to the party prioritizes rationality over emotion. With rationality, each individual will use common sense when faced with two alternatives. This means that even though they are passionate about political parties, people must still look at candidates' vision, mission, ideology, and credibility to be elected. Furthermore, for electoral politics, the types of voters, as Nimmo explained in his book, are essential to becoming important options in political contestation in Indonesia. However, all decisions should be based on the public interest, as the rule of “*tasarruf al imam ala ra'iyatibi manutun bi al maslahah*”.

## REFERENCES

- Afiane, F. F. (2019). Pembingkatan Berita Klarifikasi Kegagalan Mahfud MD Sebagai Calon Wakil Presiden Republik Indonesia 2019 Di Detik.com. *Undergraduate Thesis (Unpublished)*. Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullahi Jakarta.
- Agustiani, R. (2020). Analisis Framing Berita Politik Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2019 Pada Media Online Zonasultra.com. *Convergence: Jurnal Online Jurnalistik*, 2(1), 52–63.
- Agustino, L. (2007). *Perihal Ilmu Politik*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Al-Jawi, M. N. (2011). *At-Tafsir Almunir Lima'alimit Tanzil*. Bandung: Sinar Baru Algensindo.
- Al-Ṭabari, I. J. (1995). *Tafsir Al-Ṭabari*. Beirut: Darul Fikr.
- Andriani, J., Mardiah, A., & Hakim, L. N. H. (2021). Respon Al Quran Terhadap Kekalahan Kaum Muslimin Dalam Perang Uhud (Kontekstualisasi QS. Ali Imran Ayat 139-141) Seruan Bangkit

- Dari Kekalahan. *Al Misykah: Jurnal Studi Al Qur'an Dan Tafsir*, 1(2), 136-150. <https://doi.org/10.19109/almisykah.v1i2.9034>
- Arifin, A. (2011). *Komunikasi Politik Filsafat-Paradigma-Teori-Tujuan-Strategi Dan Komunikasi Politik Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Azizah, S. N., & Rustono, R. (2020). Tuturan Ilokusi Dalam Wacana Pidato Kampanye Prabowo Subianto Pada Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Sastra Indonesia*, 9(2), 144–150. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jsi.v9i2.35604>.
- Azzuhaili, W. (2001). *Tafsir Almunir Fi Al Aqidah Wa As Syariah Wa Al Manhaj Li Zubaili*.
- Bakti, A. F. (2005a). *Dakwah Cerdas Di Era Globalisasi; Tantangan Dan Peluang*, dalam Seminar Nasional Sehari Tentang Globalisasi: Tantangan Dan Harapan Dakwah Di Masa Depan. Palembang: IAIN Raden Fattah.
- Bakti, A. F. (2005b). *Good Governance Dalam Islam: Gagasan Dan Pengalaman, In Islam, Negara Dan Civil Society: Gerakan Dan Pemikiran Islam Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Paramedina.
- Bakti, A. F. (2013). Multiculturalism In Indonesia A Communication Perspective. In J. Edine et Yves Theoret (Eds.), *Reflexions Sur Les Diversities Mondiales*, pp. 125-130. Marocco: Orbicom.
- Damayanti, N., Santoso, P. Y., & Hamzah, R. E. (2021). Viral Political Campaign: Suppoters Of Jokowi-Amin In Indonesia Presidential Election. *Proceedings Of The 1st ICA Regional Conference, ICA 2019*, 187. Indonesia: European Alliance for Innovation.
- Defi, A. P. (2019). Framing Berita Deklarasi Kampanye Jokowi-Makruf Dan Prabowo-Sandi Pada Pilpres Tahun 2019 Di Media Online. *Jurnal Ekonomi, Sosial & Humaniora*, 1(1), 32-38.
- Fadillah, D., Farihanto, M. N., & Dahlan, U. (2017). Komunikasi Politik Koalisi Parlemen Di DPR. *Channel J. Commun*, 5(1), 111–119. <http://dx.doi.org/10.12928/channel.v5i1.6357>
- Farida, L., & Yoedtadi, M. G. (2019). Politik Identitas Dalam Pemilihan Presiden 2019 (Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Kampanye Pilpres 2019 Pada Medcom.id). *Koneksi*, 3(2), 358–365. <https://doi.org/10.24912/kn.v3i2.6395>
- Hanafie, H., & Azmy, A. S. (2018). *Kekuatan-Kekuatan Politik*. Depok: Rajawali Pers.

- Handayani, D., Suntoro, I., & Nurmalisa, Y. (2015). Pengaruh Kapabilitas Partai Politik Dan Citra Kandidat Terhadap Sikap Perilaku Pemilih. *Jurnal Kultur Demokrasi*, 3(2).
- Herdiansah, A. G. (2017). Politisasi Identitas Dalam Kompetisi Pemilu Di Indonesia Pasca 2014. *Jurnal Bawastu*, 3(2), 169–183.
- Heywood, A. (2004). *Political Theory An Introduction* (3rd Ed.). New York, United States: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Ibrahim, A. B. (2018). Perilaku Pemilih Pemula Pada Pemilihan Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden Tahun 2014. *Politico: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 7(1).
- Ibrahim, G. M. (2019). Masa Lalu Ahok-Ma'ruf Amin: Dari Persidangan Hingga Pilpres 2019. Retrieved January 6, 2022, from detik.com website: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4162466/masa-lalu-ahok-maruf-amin-dari-persidangan-hingga-pilpres-2019>
- Irtanto. (2012). Daya Tarik Iklan Politik Pada Pemilu Legislatif. *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi*, 15(1), 67–78. <https://doi.org/10.20422/jpk.v15i1.704>
- Katsir, I. (2000). *Tafsir Al-Qur'an Al-Azhim* (1st Ed.). Libanon: Mua'ssah Qurtubah & Maktabah Aulad Asy-Syaikh Li At-Turats.
- Kobalen, S. A., & Bakti, A. F. (2019). Good Clean Governance (GCG) Dalam Kepemimpinan Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) Sebagai Gubernur DKI Jakarta Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Asta Brata. *Publisia: Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Publik*, 4(1), 81-101. <https://doi.org/10.26905/pjiap.v4i1.2272>
- Lipset, S. M. (1981). *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Baltimore, Maryland, United States: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Machmudi, Y. (2005). *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Wajah Baru Islam Politik Indonesia*. Bandung: Harakatuna Publishing.
- Miichi, K. (2015). Democratization And 'Failure' Of Islamic Parties In Indonesia, In Southeast Asian Muslims In The Era Of Globalization, K. Miichi & O. Farouk (Eds.). London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137436818\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137436818_7)
- Mukhroman, I., & Gumelar, R. G. (2020). The Influence Of Social Media In Choosing Provision Based On Ideological Thinking Millennial's Generation In Serang City (Case Study Presidential Election 2019). *JIPAGS (Journal Of Indonesian Public Administration And Governance Studies)*, 4(2), 878–887. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31506/>

jipags.v4i2.8165

- Mulyana, D. (2014). *Komunikasi Politik*. Bandung: Rosdakarya.
- Mumayasari, D. (2013). Kisah Peperangan Antara Thalut Dan Jalut Dalam Tafsir Fī Dilālill Qur'an Karya Sayyid Qutub. *Undergraduate Thesis (Unpublished)*. Semarang: Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo.
- Mustapa, H., Bakti, A. F., Ansori, F., Saripudin, U., & Budiansyah, Y. (2020). Good Governance And Corruption In The View Of Syafruddin Prawiranegara (1911-1989). *International Journal Of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, 24(4), 5336-5330. 10.37200/IJPR/V24I4/PR201631
- Musthafa, M. B. (2017). Wacana Komunisme Dalam Pilpres Tahun 2014 Di Indonesia Pada Portal Berita Online Tempo.co Dan Republika.co.id. *Undergraduate Thesis (Unpublished)*. Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga.
- Nasution, H., Kholil, S., & Idris, M. (2020). The Political Communication Strategy Of The Presidential Campaign Team Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin To Win The Support Of The Ummah Islam In The 2019 Election In North Sumatra. *Budapest International Research And Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, 3(4), 2926–2937. <https://doi.org/10.33258/birci.v3i4.1313>
- Nimmo, D. (2010). *Komunikasi Politik Khalayak Dan Efek*. Bandung: Rosdakarya.
- Nurjaman, A. (2017). Cleavage Agama Di Tingkat Lokal, Indonesia: Identifikasi Partai Tanpa Komitmen Electoral. *Jurnal Sospol*, 3(2), 43-65. <https://doi.org/10.22219/sospol.v3i2.5065>
- Nurussa'adah, Erfina, & Sumartias, S. (2017). Komunikasi Politik Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Dalam Keterbukaan Ideologi. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 5(1), 43–52. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v5i1.8522>.
- Nyarwi, A. (2018). The Four Faces Of Authoritarian Populism And Their Consequences On Journalistic Freedom: A Lesson Learnt From Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election. *Trans: Trans-regional And National Studies Of Southeast Asia*, 10(2), 189-201. <https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2021.16>.
- Prasetyo, D. (2014). Persepsi Masyarakat DKI Jakarta Terhadap Figur Dan Komunikasi Politik Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 5(2), 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.14710/>

politika.5.2.2014.5-17

- Prayogi, I., & Adela, F. P. (2019). Populisme Islam Dan Imajinasi Politik Dalam Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017. *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 11(2), 31–34. <https://doi.org/10.32734/politeia.v11i2.1083>
- Rakhmat, J. (1985). *Psikologi Komunikasi*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Rahman, F. (1966). *Islam*. New York, United States: Winston.
- Rahmat, A. F., & Purnomo, E. P. (2020). Twitter Media Platform To Set-Up Political Branding: Analyzing @Kiyai\_Marufamin In 2019 Presidential Election Campaign. *Nyimak: Journal Of Communication*, 4(1), 73-88. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v4i1.2268>
- Ratnamulyani, I. A., & Maksudi, B. I. (2018). Peran Media Sosial Dalam Peningkatan Partisipasi Pemilih Pemula Dikalangan Pelajar Di Kabupaten Bogor. *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora*, 20(2), 154–161. <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v20i2.13965>.
- Razy, S., Winarno, W., & Rusnaini, R. (2020). Beginner Voter Perception Of Presidential Candidates (Case Study Of The Presidential Election In 2019). *Birle-Journal*, 3(2), 795–801. <https://doi.org/10.33258/birle.v3i2.941>
- Budifebrianto, R., & Delliana, S. (2020). Strategi Kampanye Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Dalam Meningkatkan Pemilih Aktif Pada Pemilu 2019 (Kajian Deskriptif Di Akun Instagram KPU). *Restorica: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Administrasi Negara Dan Ilmu Komunikasi*, 6(2), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.33084/restorica.v6i2.1344>
- Rosyidin, I. (2015). Islam Dan Dinamika Politik Indonesia Kontemporer Perspektif Komunikasi Politik. *Jurnal Dialog*, 38(2), 1–20.
- Rosyidin, I., & Heriyanto, G. G. (2015). Konstruksi Citra Partai Islam Pada Pemilu 2014 Pendekatan Fikih-Siyasah. *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 15(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v15i1.1-20>
- Rozak, A. F. A. (2009). Iklan Politik Caleg Dalam Persepsi Pemilih Pemula. *Thesis Undergraduate (Unpublished)*. Surakarta: Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret
- Rustanta, A., & Silalahi, E. (2020). Multimodality Analysis Of Jokowi's Social Exchange Theory And Political Marketing To Ma'ruf Amin's Infidelity At The 2019 Presidential Election Contestation. *JKMP (Jurnal Kebijakan Dan Manajemen Publik)*, 8(1), 10–15. <https://doi.org/10.32734/politeia.v11i2.1083>

[org/10.21070/jkmp.v8i1.690](https://doi.org/10.21070/jkmp.v8i1.690)

- Salahudin, Nurmandi, A., Jubba, H., Qodir, Z., Jainuri, & Paryanto. (2020). Islamic Political Polarisation On Social Media During The 2019 Presidential Election In Indonesia. *Asian Affairs*, 51(3), 656–671. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2020.1812929>
- Samsudin, D. (2022). Reseach Review On The Analysis Of News Framing Of Indonesian Presidential Election 2005-2021. *Al-Balagh : Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 7(1), 151–174. <https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v7i1.4021>
- Sanusi, A., & Gumilar, G. (2019). Peran Ma’ruf Amin Dalam Meraih Suara Masyarakat Muslim Pada Pemilihan Presiden 2019. *Lentera*, 3(1), 65-81. <https://doi.org/10.21093/lentera.v3i1.1407>
- Shihab, Q. (2002). *Tafsir Al-Misbab, Pesan Kesan Dan Keserasian Al-Qur’an*. Jakarta: Lentera Hati.
- Shobron, S. (2012). Strategi Dan Etika Berpolitik Dalam Islam (Kajian Terhadap Kitab Shahih Muslim. *Jurnal Isbraqi*, 10(1), 14-30.
- Suriyanto. (2017). Ma’ruf Amin, Kiai Nomor Satu NU Dan Cicit Imam Masjidil Haram. Retrieved January 6, 2022, from CNN Indonesia website: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170203105345-20-191044/maruf-amin-kiai-nomor-satu-nu-dan-cicit-imam-masjidil-haram>
- Syam, H. M., Saleh, R., & Ramadhan, A. (2020). Media And Politics In Indonesia: The Alignments Of The Media In The 2019 Elections. *SAR Journal*, 3(3), 118–123.
- Tazri, M. (2019). (2019). Politik Penodaan Agama Dalam Sistem Komunikasi Politik Indonesia (Studi Fenomenologi Cebong-Kampret). *Jurnal Commuiverse*, 4(2), 9–15.
- Trilling, J. (1972). *Party Image And Electoral Behavior*. New York, United States: Wiley.
- Usman. (2013). *Pencitraan Dan Komunikasi Politik Partai Demokrat Pada Pemilu Legislatif Tahun 2009. Thesis (Unpublished)*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- War’i, M. (2019). Dialog Inklusif: Dari Kebenaran Subjektif Menuju Kebenaran Objektif (Tinjauan Semiotik-Hermeneutik Al-Quran Surat Al-Baqarah Ayat 30-33). *Dialog*, 42(1), 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v42i1.318>.

- Wardani, S. (2019). Orasi Politik Joko Widodo Dan Prabowo Soebianto Dalam Pilpres 2019. *Nyimak: Journal Of Communication*, 3(2), 107–121. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v3i2.1544>
- Wardhani, S., & Nur, P. S. (2018). Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula Dalam Pemilihan Umum. *Jupiis: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial*, 10(1), 57–62. <https://doi.org/10.24114/jupiis.v10i1.8407>
- Widodo, S. (2014). Media Lokal Dan Individuasi Politik. *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)*, 4(2), 232–242.
- Zahrotunnimah, Yunus, N. R., & Susilowati, I. (2018). Rekonstruksi Teori Komunikasi Politik Dalam Membangun Persepsi Publik. *Staatsrecht: Indonesian Constitutional Law Journal*, 2(2), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.15408/siclj.v2i2.11186>
- Zawawi, A. (2015). Politik Dalam Pandangan Islam. *Jurnal Ummul Qura*, 5(1), 85–100.

