



RELIGION, POLITICAL POSITION, AND NATION ON SOCIAL MEDIA: REVISITING THE DIALECTICS AND DISCOURSES ON THE JAKARTA LEADERSHIP AMONG SOCIAL MEDIA (INSTAGRAM) USERS

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Abstract

This study examines the religious expressions of young Instagram users in Jakarta and its surroundings related to the gubernatorial candidates ahead of the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, the dialectic of religious views that occur, and the reasons behind these religious views. The data in this study were obtained by observation, documentation, and interviews. Data collection and analysis were carried out using qualitative methods. The analysis and interpretation are arranged in a theoretical framework, reviewed and sourced from several literature related to the research focus. The results of this study indicate that public expressions on the official Instagram accounts of the 2017 Jakarta governor candidates often discuss religious issues, and there are pro and contra dialectics between Islamic and non-Islamic (Christian) leaders, along with their arguments. Religious passion is seen, and there is a strong tendency in the public expression of Instagram comments to link religious aspects to the figure who will lead Jakarta. Three interrelated themes become the main argument in dialectics and the opposition to whether or not a non-Muslim governor can become a leader, namely theological, fiqh, and national interest. These views may have been influenced by religious education obtained formally or informally and by religious authorities such as ustadz or ulama, whose opinions are considered correct and available online or printed religious information.

Keywords: *Dialectic; religious views; Jakarta gubernatorial election; public expression; religion;*

INTRODUCTION

The rampant discussion and debate surrounding the regional head election for the Governor of Jakarta have attracted the attention of many Indonesians who consist of various languages, ethnicities, cultures and

religions, with the majority of the population adhering to Islam, among other official religions, including Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Print and electronic media, national and international,

have highlighted the phenomenon of the direct election of the Governor of Jakarta, which is like the election of a president (Wescott & Quiano, 2017). The frenzied political and religious discourse became increasingly heated, coupled with a case considered 'religious blasphemy' by one of the gubernatorial candidate pairs ("Poll Open in Heated Vote for Jakarta's next Governor," 2017). The conflict between political, social and individual groups is visible everywhere. The rain of statuses, posts, and comments was pouring in so heavily from various people via various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. No less rapid is the flow of freelance writing in messenger application groups such as WhatsApp, which is popular among many circles of society. Individuals from different educational, economic, social, and political backgrounds can express their opinions publicly. There is no definite correlation between a person's level of education or a person's economic background and certain tendencies of thinking. In other words, it cannot be generalized that certain groups with specific backgrounds are guaranteed to have

certain tendencies. All their opinions vary, and many factors influence each individual.

Since the reform era, people have been more accessible to express their opinions, and social media has become a popular channel for many people to express themselves. By just using a smart phone and an internet network, someone can easily connect to the network and interact virtually without meeting face to face. This activity on social media has become fertile ground for certain religious understanding groups to express their ideas and beliefs. Various progressive, conservative, moderate and fundamentalist groups bombard cyberspace with their religious ideas. Fierce discussions and debates regarding various religious issues occur in various forums and online virtual media. Religious websites mushroomed, and ideological Islam emerged to the surface, prompting the Ministry of Communications and Information to create a policy to close and crack down on sources of information that were provocative and tended to have a 'radical' orientation. Various responses emerged from the public regarding this matter; some supported it, and

others rejected it with various views and arguments.

Recent trends show that the number of Instagram users has doubled since 2014, according to Kantar TNS Indonesia. In its 'Connected Life' report, Kantar TNS found that Indonesia is the fourth most active market for Instagram in the Asia-Pacific region, with 54 per cent of internet users using the platform to share their photos. Social media has more influence on youth than previous generations, whom family and friends influenced. Instagram ranks second after Facebook in use by internet users in Indonesia, with Facebook at 87%, Instagram at 69%, Twitter at 41%, Path at 36.5% and others (In Indonesia, Facebook Remains the Most Popular Social Site About 70% Also Say They Use Instagram, 2016), with the most popularity in the 16-29 year age range of Instagram users in Indonesia (Ganesha, 2017). Currently, Instagram is not only used to share personal images and sell. Instagram accounts have been widely used to convey certain personalities or groups' religious ideologies and political interests. With the freedom

of Instagram users to comment on image posts publicly, it is not surprising that tens of thousands of comments can be posted, especially on accounts that attract public attention or are controversial regarding political, social and religious issues.

A reductive and simplistic frame of mind or mindset in terms of religiosity and the orthodoxy of established religious teachings increasingly adds a 'legitimate' basis for audiences to judge other people. The quality of people's religion needs to be tangible and clear in the eyes of the public. Religious symbolic parameters are quick ways to judge someone's piety, especially public figures. Religion with a 'pietism' approach is more visible in a religious community where someone will be considered good or not only by certain symbols of 'piety'. At the same time, in inter-religious community relations, approaches to exclusion and inclusion or whether someone is part of God's people are rooted in existing and developing theological discourse and interpretations. People outside a particular religion are often considered unable to achieve

salvation or 'salvation' if they do not share the same 'belief'. This exclusive theology is popular among the public. It is increasingly becoming more pronounced with the phenomenon of regional head leadership in Muslim-majority areas, in contrast to several years ago when Muslims tended to be more moderate, not as conservative as they are now (Ichwan, 2013).

This research focuses on religious views, the dialectic of religious views among young people who use Instagram accounts, and what is behind their religious views in public expressions of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial candidate pair. The scope of the research will focus on responses or comments on account post-verification of the three candidate pairs and those related to them so that it does not spread to other areas. This research examines data obtained from comments from young users of Instagram accounts and the dialectic between them, namely different religious views and arguments conveyed in debates or opinions that contradict or complement each other. The background to the emergence and development of their religious views, which will be explored through field

studies, will also be the focus of research to examine further the phenomenon of religious views in Indonesian Muslim society in general and among youth in particular.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is a case study. The use of this method is commonly used in research, one of which is to understand the ideas of what people do in-depth, namely, in this case, understanding, analyzing and interpreting the research subject in an integrative manner in the dialectic of religious views, looking at religious issues related to the Jakarta gubernatorial candidate pair in the Pilkada 2017 through public expression on Instagram social media. Furthermore, this research attempts to trace the origin and development of the research subjects' religious views from several factors that influence them. After exploring and reviewing the data found, the existing implications will be elaborated on, and conclusions will be drawn at the end of this research chapter.

Research using the case method has several methodological

strategies and objectives, such as descriptive case studies, exploratory case studies, and explanatory case studies. This research approach is qualitative, where researchers try to study and interpret natural reality or phenomena. The qualitative approach does not produce quantitative data. However, it seeks to interpret and understand research subjects, including their perceptions of the world around them in social situations and their past experiences (J. Ritchie, 2003). Interpretation is carried out based on data that has been successfully processed and analyzed from a general overview and is more directed at specific aspects that are the focus of the research.

Data collection in this research used two types of observation and respondent interviews. The first observation was carried out by observing the dialectical comments of Instagram account users on image posts containing Jakarta gubernatorial candidates from the end of 2016 until mid-2017. The dialogue and conveying arguments between account users with different views will be studied, processed and

presented in the research. The second observation was of Instagram account users directly in the meeting when the interview took place. Another observation is to look at the respondent's profile on their Instagram account and see their possible religious background. Direct interviews with respondents deepened this observation, and the information obtained was recorded and then analyzed along with data collected and processed from the results of the first and second observations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Dynamics of Relations between Religion, State and Understanding of Islam in Indonesia

Many historians say that Islam came to the Hindu-Buddhist majority archipelago around the 14th century in the era of the kingdoms in the Indonesian archipelago. It was only a short time before European colonization began to run for hundreds of years, accompanied by the introduction of Christianity. Since then, Indonesia has become more diverse in terms of religion. Independence from the Netherlands

and the plurality of national components meant that Indonesia needed to formulate Pancasila as the basis of the state, which is what the founding fathers built. It is not easy to say that Indonesia is a religious or secular country, even though the first principle is about belief in one and only God. At the same time, the state is not based on a particular religion or directly declares it is a formal Islamic state. However, 'the state recognizes that it is based on religious and moral values that are neither foreign to Islam nor specifically Islamic' (Bruinessen, 1996).

The developments that occurred in Indonesia are indeed not the same as the history of the relationship between religion and the state as occurred in Europe when the problems of society and the state were socio-political and religious; in the Dark Ages - religion and state became one, religion had the legal authority of the state - and was followed by the age of Enlightenment or Enlightenment Era in which the line was drawn between the areas of religious affairs (authority) and state affairs (authority) (Locke, 1995). However, 'officially' at the state level and in the formulation of the elite

elements of the Indonesian state, it is stated that the relationship between states is based on the proportional position of Pancasila as the basis for the state to be able to implement divine values. Pancasila is not intended to be a 'religion' to regulate 'belief systems, worship systems, norm systems and religious identities of society.' existing' and 'Pancasila intends to make divine values the basis for managing life in the context of a pluralistic society, without making one particular religion dictate to the state (Muhammad, 2015).

In the current era of information and intense interaction on social media, religious affairs have become one of the 'hot' themes, especially during regional head elections where the figure of a potential leader is seen based on religious factors. Previous similar research on gubernatorial elections and Instagram has been carried out. However, they have yet to touch on crucial and controversial issues that cause friction between people, namely religion. It writes about political identity and violence but does not look at the religious aspect, only political identity in general (Shindyawati & Raffiudin Riady,

2019). Meanwhile, a study on religious identity politics conducted by Hidayat discusses the manoeuvres of gubernatorial candidate pairs in winning votes using religious issues via social media. (Hidayat, 2018). This research needs to explore the interactive dynamics that occur on Instagram further. Finally, although discussing participants or Instagram users whose comments were studied, Gaol's research looked more at the participants' gender in how they commented (Gaol et al., 2018). He did not examine the part of religious discourse debated on the Instagram account, even though the nuances of religious sentiment were powerful there. Therefore, this research seeks to fill the gap in an important area that has been overlooked in research, namely the dialectic of the dominant religious views expressed in the Instagram comments of the contesting Governor candidates, namely between Basuki Tjahaya Purnama and Anies Baswedan, which has heated up both in the virtual world and in the world.

Religious Discourse Regarding the 2017 DKI Regional Election

In statutory regulations and laws, there is no basis for stating that a president or governor must have a particular religion (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 10 Tahun 2016, 2015). At most, the law states that the President must be an Indonesian citizen. Even though everything runs smoothly according to applicable regulations, that is different in society. Conflicting views occur in many areas of Jakarta and its surroundings. The religious interpretations chosen by people vary. Lay people tend to view religious issues of public officials on religious grounds through preachers directly through Friday sermons or through print and electronic media. The middle and upper classes do not show much support for specific religious interpretations, which might be called the 'silent majority', which is not reactive in public and on social media. A more flexible combination of rationality and religiosity does not tend to be textual in applying the basics of religion in life. However, it cannot be generalized that there is a correlation between economic and educational background and the tendency to understand religion in the

case of this gubernatorial election. Further observations are needed on this issue.

Muslim Society, Religious Authority, and Fluid Orthodoxy in Indonesia

Most Muslim people do not access Islamic literature directly because one of the factors is language, so understanding of religion is mainly obtained from religious education at school, religious writings from Islamic preachers, and famous scholars, which most people easily understand. The halal and haram discourse is essential for Indonesians because it provides a quick and straightforward solution to religion (Bowen, 2003). Religious dialogue is often coloured by the question of 'what is the law' for deciding something, so religion tends to be characterized by the legality of *fiqhiyah*, religion with black and white dividing lines, not exploring the broad and unlimited meaning and spirituality in the relationship between God, individuals and fellow creatures. (Abdillah et al., 2022).

There is no central religious authority in Islam that is the sole role model; the existence of the

Indonesian Ulema Council is an essential element in determining the religiousness of Indonesian society. MUI was founded in 1975 by President Soeharto to bridge communication between the state and society on Islam-related matters (Bruinessen, 1996). The fall of Suharto's leadership marked a different era in which many parties utilized freedom of expression. MUI also has room to no longer follow government policy. In Gusdur's era, the MUI stated its ambition to change its role from government servant to servant of the ummah. A change has been seen in the MUI from a moderate to a conservative approach in the last ten years (Ichwan, 2013):

This semi-official organization represents this country and, at the same time, cannot control the country constitutionally, gaining support from the public who are pro-MUI's religious interpretation. The combination of public religious preachers, religious writings and community organizations makes up the existing orthodoxy in Indonesia (Hasiholan & Abdillah, 2022). However, without positive legal ties to religious authority, people remain free in their religious choices and

expressions. What happens is social and religious discourse and controversy in various social backgrounds. Particular religious views cannot be separated from the role of religious social agencies such as family, friends, ustadz, kayak, or other religious figures who colour the religious ideas or beliefs of individuals and society.

Instagram Social Media and Public Expression in Religious Issues

Instagram is a smartphone application (iOS and Android) that allows users to display exciting images to share with others on the internet. This convenience makes Instagram popular in various circles. Humans are visual creatures sensitive to images because images can convey a message. They are an effective and imaginative way of communication, even though they can have multiple interpretations. The visible message or meaning is not the same as that intended by the image maker. Several studies say that images showing a person's face get more attention and likes than images that do not show a face. Social media also impacts many aspects of life, such as interpersonal

relationships, education, business, religion, and social and political movements. The information displayed and 'propagated' on social media influences the decisions taken by individuals or groups to carry out specific movements.

Analysis of the Discussion

This research was carried out in two different 'worlds', virtual and real. The first is cyberspace or the internet with the social media application Instagram. This platform and media has become a meeting place for individuals to express opinions and argue on various issues, especially the 2017 Jakarta regional head election. The Ahok-Djarot candidate pair generated the most controversy and polarization with the Agus-Silvy and Anis-Sandi pairs. The competition for gubernatorial candidates is often reduced to the dichotomy of Islam and Christianity, as well as competition for power or interests of the Christian and Muslim communities, which makes the atmosphere even more frenzied on social media.

Instagram accounts are a means for public relations purposes,

as well as campaigns by each pair of candidates, and they are displayed in the form of pictures and captions or narratives about the posted pictures. The comments feature on each image on this account becomes a 'battlefield' for other Instagram account users to engage in dialectics, expressing their opinions about leadership - or, more precisely, regional heads - whether a governor may or may not be non-Muslim. Second, Instagram account users arguing with each other were interviewed to obtain additional information and deepen data about the background of religious ideas, which were assumed to influence what they conveyed on social media.

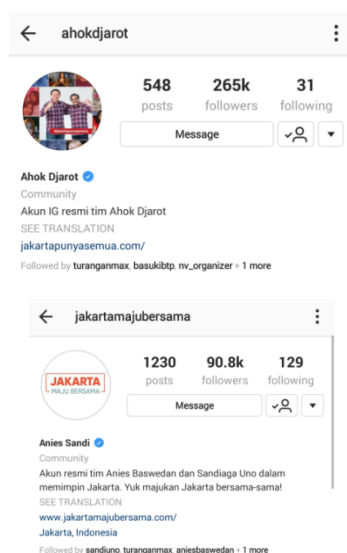


Figure 1: Instagram account of the 2017 DKI Regional Election Governor Candidate Pair

Source: Official Instagram account ahokdjaort dan jakartamajubersama

Interaction on social media such as Instagram through the comments column allows individuals to express something more freely because there is no direct face-to-face interaction, so it is not uncommon for irregular wording or harsh words between account users who are arguing or fighting. This is one of the considerations in selecting the sample where only comments that convey clear ideas and are not 'emotional' are examined. Comments and arguments occur when typing the '@' character to respond to certain account users. The debate usually takes place between two Instagram account users. It occurs in the comments section of the Instagram account of one of the three candidates for governor of DKI Jakarta.

Dialectics of Religious Views

Dialectics can be defined theoretically as Hegel termed it, namely that something (more specifically, the human mind) develops with a process consisting of three characteristics: thesis, antithesis and synthesis. An opinion or point of view will become a thesis. Views that conflict with this view are

antithetical. Moreover, the solution of these two conflicting views becomes a synthesis, combining both advantages and ignoring the weaknesses. The synthesis will become a thesis again when there is an antithesis that refutes it. The thesis can defeat the antithesis and vice versa or give rise to a synthesis when what is in both positions is combined with a new point of view that comes from the point of view of the thesis and antithesis (Popper, 2004).

Based on this understanding, dialectics in this research are used to explain this phenomenon of public expression, namely two opinions expressed with opposing positions, pros and cons, with each argument discussing regional leadership from the perspective of believed religious teachings. The debate on regional leadership from a religious perspective is based on a discoursed thesis and antithesis. This discourse concentrates on whether regional heads should or should not be Muslim. The view that leaders (regional heads) must be Muslim is the thesis, and groups who hold the view that they do not have to be Muslim are the antithesis. This

dialectic becomes a discourse that has almost no or negligible influence on changes in state policy or current political events. However, what dialectic is in the regional leadership's religious pros and cons discourse could indicate the current religious diversity of society in the ideological realm or from a point of view.

Data Description and Discussion

Data obtained through observations on the social media Instagram were sorted and grouped into pairs of pros and cons regarding the issues discussed in the accounts of the gubernatorial candidate pairs. Researcher comments are presented in each section of the data description below. The grouping of each category of various expressions, how the dialectic takes place, and the possibilities that influence the views they hold as the basis for the arguments they defend further explain the results of the exploration of the research subjects.

Observations were made by reading comments on Instagram accounts that researchers carried out directly during the pre-election period and some time after. The tendency to take a position

to allow or oppose the leadership of a regional head by someone who is not Muslim is known when conveying ideas in the comments column of an Instagram account as a source of information that can be accessed as information that is visible and tangible and can relatively be observed and considered as data. Of course, this type of data needs to be more, namely that it cannot explore thoughts and beliefs and dynamic human tendencies, which can only be observed through a long and intensive process or a deep and broad approach such as ethnography.

However, if the informant is willing, observations are strengthened by separate interviews in a different, more relaxed atmosphere, either through messages or face-to-face interviews. In this case, the researcher is assisted by a research assistant who is part of the research subjects with the same age range as the informants. Because the researcher is part of the community being studied, they can obtain data from within it naturally. To understand it fully, I wrote it according to what is available on social media.

Dialectics 1

The first pair is the dialogue and debate surrounding the governor's leadership by the Ainauff and Ifsandy accounts, where the first tend to have no problem with the regional head's leadership being held by a non-Muslim, and the second seems to very firmly express his disagreement with regional or provincial leadership being held by a non-Muslim.

@ainuafif: Perkuat lagi iman dan agama ente pak! @ifsandy: @ainuafif hak Demokrasi Politik ini pak ainu, bukan utk Soal agama. Kalo ajaran Agama islam tetep Panutan Wajib ane pemimpin Besar Suci Nabi Besar Suci Muhammad SAW. @ainuafif: Gw lebih percaya Habib dan Ulama2 besar bro dibanding harus percaya ama org kafir yg udah menista agama Islam. Emg setiap org punya hak untuk milih siapa aha, tp ya kalo emg org islam udah jelas di Al-quran udah jelas di larang memilih pemimpin orang kafir.

@ainuafif: Strengthen your faith and religion, sir! @ifsandy: @ainuafif, this right to Political Democracy, Mr Ainu, is not for religious matters. If the teachings of the Islamic religion are still a mandatory role model, I am the leader of the Holy Great Prophet Muhammad SAW. @ainuafif: I trust Habib and the great Ulamas, bro, rather than trusting infidels who have insulted Islam. Everyone indeed has the right to choose who they are, but if it is Muslim, it is apparent in the Koran that it is forbidden to elect leaders who are infidels.

The ifsandy account user is considered weak or not to have the right faith. Here, judgment occurs by the ainuafif account user with

parameters that he determines himself, namely when a person is deemed not to be by his religious beliefs in some issues, then he is deemed not to understand or is considered wrong and lacking in the quality of faith. This was responded to because the modern state political system and the leadership of regional heads have nothing to do with religious issues but rather with matters of general public administration arrangements for which there are already existing rules. Furthermore, the user of the *ainuafif* account tried to strengthen his argument by alluding to religious authorities in Islam and their interpretation of the verse of the Koran, which strictly prohibits choosing 'leaders' who are 'infidels'. By using the word 'infidel', the user of this account also conveys his views through aspects of theological beliefs and the identity of religious members, namely whether or not a person belongs to a particular religious community.

Dialectics 2

The second pair of debates was between Instagram users with the

account names *niyaaa27* and *muha_sabah*. The dialectic occurs around a person's belief and disbelief in salvation in the afterlife. This dialectical couple looks more relaxed in their conversation. Implicitly, *niyaaa27* firmly opposed the leadership of a non-Muslim governor, and *muha_sabah* responded subtly.

Pasangan @niyaaa27 vs @muha_sabah (komentar di akun @ahokdjarot). @niyaaa27: pak ahok siap2 gemeteran ya nanti tgl 4 november. @niyaaa27: ogah gue pilih ahok. @muha_sabah: memang @niyaaa27 sudah punya ktp? anak kecil sok ikut2an komen saja hehe. @niyaaa27: walaupun anak kecil tp saya tau mana pemimpin yg baik dan engga @muha_sabah. @muha_sabah: trus kalo jadi gubernur lagi emang kamu mau pindah @niyaaa27 dari DKI? @niyaaa27: Yaa bodo amaat pokoknya gue ga setuju klw ahaok menang lagi wkwk @muha_sabah. @muha_sabah: kalau allah mentakdirkan jadi gubernur lagi apakah kamu akan melawan takdir dan tidak setuju dg takdir allah? kalo tidak setuju dg takdir apa yang akan kamu lakukan? @niyaaa27: Ya bodo amaat klw emang Allah nakdirin ahok jd gubernur lagi ya mungkin allah mo kasih dia kesenangan dulu didunia sebelum di sengsarakan diakhirat hehe @muha_sabah: emang kamu yakin kamu sendiri akan bahagia di aherat, ato kamu sudah pernah ke aherat kok sudah tahu ahok akan sengsara di aherat hehehe @niyaaa27.

Pair *@niyaaa27* vs *@muha_sabah* (comments on the *@ahokdjarot* account). *@niyaaa27*: Mr. Ahok, get ready to shake, okay? It is November 4th. *@niyaaa27*: I do not want to vote for Ahok.

@muha_sabah: Does @niyaaa27 have an ID card? Little kids pretend to be commenting, hehe.
@niyaaa27: Even though I am a small child, I know who is a good leader and who is not @muha_sabah.
@muha_sabah: If you become governor again, do you want to move @niyaaa27 from DKI?
@niyaaa27: Yes, it is not very smart. I am afraid I have to disagree that Ahaok will win again, hahaha @muha_sabah.
@muha_sabah: If Allah destined you to be governor again, would you go against destiny and disagree with Allah's destiny? If you disagree with destiny, what will you do?
@niyaaa27: Yes, it's foolish if Allah wants Ahok to be governor again; maybe Allah can give him pleasure in the world before suffering in the afterlife, hehe
@muha_sabah: Are you sure you will be happy in the Hereafter, or you have been to the hereafter, how do you already know? Ahok will be miserable in the hereafter, hehe
@niyaaa27

The user of the *niyaaa27* account has an eschatological religious view of Ahok related to salvation in the afterlife because of his Christianity; he is not among God's people (Allah) because he does not embrace Islam. Meanwhile, muha_sabah responded and defended his argument with rational questions, challenging the interlocutor to provide empirical evidence of Ahok's status or fate in the afterlife. This second dialectic is similar to the first regarding the religious status of Islam and non-Islam, or more roughly, faith

and disbelief. However, there is an emphasis on salvation in the afterlife.

Dialectics 3

This dialectical pair is the account user maulana_rizki1933 and Alex. was, where the first one loudly opposes the leadership of non-Muslim regional heads, and the second one has no problem with it. The character of the language used between these two dialectical partners contains few words that contain a one-sided assessment of someone's religiousness.

Pasangan @maulana_rizki1933 vs @alexs.wenas (komentar di akun @djarotsaifulhidayat).

@maulana_rizki1933: ingat pak ayat" allah .. katanya bapa haji tpi tidak bisa memahami

isi dan makna nya ... sayang ke imanan bapak tidak ada harga nya..

@alexs.wenas: @maulana_rizki0 kayak ahli tafsir aja.. ane gk faham agama tapi ane condong ke tafsir qurais shihab dia habib tapi meninggalkan nama habib.. dibandingkan rizieq, habib yg jadi relawan kampanye.

Pair @maulana_rizki1933 vs @alexs.wenas (comments on the @djarotsaifulhidayat account).

@maulana_rizki1933: Remember the verse "Allah.. he said the father of Hajj but could not understand the content and meaning... darling, your faith has no price.
@alexs.wenas: @maulana_rizki0 I am just like an interpreter... I do not understand religion, but I am inclined towards Tafsir Quraish Shihab; he is Habib, but I left out Habib's name... compared to Rizieq, Habib, who is a campaign volunteer.

The user of the account *maulana_rizki1933* has a warning communication style and quotes verses from the Koran to propagate his views and judge his interlocutors that he has qualities that are not expected in his opinion, namely that his faith is considered low because of his different religious views. The account user is Alexs. Was tried to refute *maulana_rizki1933* by relying on one of the leading religious figures, Quraish Shihab, regarding religious affairs, including regional leadership in this debate.

Dialectics 4

This couple has quite a long dialogue in the comments column on the *@djarotsaifulhidayat* account. The user of the *@adamifikri* account has a communication style that is similar to previous opponents of non-Muslim leaders, namely a warning style by quoting verses from the Koran as God's Word, which must be obeyed according to the interpretation he believes in. His opinion was responded to by the account user *@lionelfadli*, who had no problem with regional leadership being carried out by non-Muslims. The tone of the

couple's conversation looks severe and tense, one of which is marked by an exclamation mark at the end of a comment or statement.

Pasangan *@lionelfadli* vs *@admifikri* (komentar di akun *@djarotsaifulhidayat*).
@zairatallah: ingat Akhirat !!, Ingat QS Al Maidah 51, Islam Kan?? Dunia Hanya Sementara!
@djarotsaifulhidayat (akun *@zairatallah* sudah tidak digunakan lagi). *@lionelfadli*: Yg komen di atas w.padahal situ kya nya org pemerintah tpi ente ga mengajarkan netral.mas sjak kpn pilkada ada di saat ayat itu diturunkan sya mw nanya sma situ *@zairatallah*
@admifikri: *@lionelfadli* sejak ayat itu diturunkan kepada nabi muhammad maka WAJIB Hukumnya Umat Muslim Dunia harys Mengikuti Al Qur'an dan hadits Shohih!
@lionelfadli: Oh sjak itu pemilihan gubernur sdh ada ya sm rmh dp 0 [itu.@admifikri](https://www.instagram.com/admifikri)
@admifikri: *@lionelfadli* Allah SWT berfirman :

اقترب للناس حسابهم وهم في غفلة معرضون

Telah semakin dekat kepada manusia perhitungan amal mereka, sedang mereka dalam keadaan lalai (dengan dunia) berpaling (dari akhirat). (QS Al-Anbiya: Ayat 1) *Via Al-Qur'an indonesia <https://goo.gl/MqhPUj>

@admifikri : *@lionelfadli*
 Allah SWT berfirman :

ما يا تبيهم من ذكر من ربهم محدث
 الا استمعوه وهم يلعبون

setiap diturunkan kepada mereka ayat-ayat yang baru dari Tuhan, mereka mendengarkannya sambil bermain-main. (QS Al-Anbiya: Ayat 2)* Via Al-Qur'an Indonesia <https://goo.gl/MqhPUj>

@lionelfadli: Yah akun robot ga brni namping muka.w nanya ga dijawab lo tong.ngaji sma sholat aja ga bnr so narihatin pak djarot.inti nya lo udh kena bego sm org" yg bwa agama ke politik.w nnaya berarti

jaman itu gubenru udh ada ya sma
rmh dp 0.

@lionelfadli: @admifikri bean
comen w itu. @admifikri:
@lionelfadli hahahah saya dibilang
akun robot? Senyumin saja.
@lionelfadli: wkwwkw mw aja
dibegoin sma org barbar sklh dlu yg
bnr, sni maein ke priok daerah ke
makam mbak priok nya udh
diresmiin sma gubernur kebanggaan
ahok @admifikri @admifikri:
@lionelfadli ya allah, kenapa setiap
ayat al-qur'an yg diturunkan oleh
mu banyak orang2 munafik yang
menolak kebenaran itu, angkatlah
penyakit hati manusia yang engkau
kehendak dan berilah hidayah
kepada siapapun yang engkau
kehendaki, amin. @admifikri:
@lionelfadli anda pikir aja sendiri,
al qur'an sudah memberitahu kita
umat muslim disuruh memilih
pemimpin muslim, berarti Allah
sudah tau makanya diturunkan ayat
untuk memilih pemimpin muslim!
Ini make nanya lagi gubernur udah
ada ya sama rumah dp 0 pertanyaan
macam apa ini? :D, bahkan saat
Zaman Khilafah Islam, Islam
Berjaya! Paham mas?

The pair @lionelfadli vs @admifikri
(comments on the
@djarotsaifulhidayat account).
@zairatallah: remember the
Hereafter!!, Remember QS Al
Maidah 51, Islam, right?? The world
is only temporary!
@djarotsaifulhidayat (@zairatallah
account is no longer used).
@lionelfadli: The comment above w.
even though it's a government
person, you do not teach neutrality.
Bro, since when the regional
elections were held when that verse
was revealed, I am going to ask sma
situ @zairatallah @admifikri:
@lionelfadli since the verse was
revealed to the Prophet Muhammad
So Muslims in the world must
follow the Qur'an and Shohih
hadith! @lionelfadli: Oh, since then,
the gubernatorial election has been
held, smh smh dp 0. @admifikri
@admifikri: @lionelfadli Allah
SWT says:

اقترب للناس حسابهم وهم في غفلة معرضون

People have drawn closer to
calculating their deeds while in a
state of neglect (of this world),
turning away (from the hereafter).
(QS Al-Anbiya: Verse 1) *Via Al-
Qur'an Indonesia

<https://goo.gl/MqhPUj>

@admifikri: @lionelfadli Allah
SWT says:

ما يا تيهيم من ذكر من ربهم محدث الا استمعوه
وهم يلعبون

Whenever God reveals a new verse
to them, they listen to it while
playing around. (QS Al-Anbiya:
Verse 2)* Via Al-Qur'an Indonesia
<https://goo.gl/MqhPUj>

@lionelfadli: Robot accounts do not
show their faces. Asking questions
will not be answered; you cannot
answer the Koran or even pray at all.
So I am sorry, Mr. Djarot. The point
is that you have been fooled by
people who brought religion into
politics. That means that the
governor already existed then, and
the household had a drop of 0.

@lionelfadli: @admifikri can
comment on that. @admifikri:
@lionelfadli, hahaha, am I being
called a robot account? Just smile.
@lionelfadli: Wow, I'm just being
played around by a barbarian's high
school; the first one is the right one;
here I'm playing in the Priok area, to
the grave of Mbak Priok, it's already
been inaugurated by the proud
governor Ahok's high
school @admifikri @admifikri:
@lionelfadli oh my God, why is
every verse of the Koran written
revealed by you to many hypocrites
who reject the truth, lift the
heartache of people as you wish and
give guidance to whomever you
wish, amen. @admifikri:
@lionelfadli, think for yourself; the
Koran has told us that Muslims are
told to choose Muslim leaders,
meaning Allah already knows that is
why the verse was revealed to
choose Muslim leaders! This makes
me ask again whether the governor
is there with the house dp 0. What
kind of question is this? :D Even
during the Islamic Caliphate Era,
Islam triumphed! Do you
understand, bro?

Account users @lionelfadli and @adamfikri in this dialectic also concentrate on the legal aspects of Islamic law or fiqhiyah regarding whether or not (mubah or haram) provincial leadership is held by a non-Muslim or, in this case, a Christian. The first account user tried to use a thematic interpretation by looking at the historical context because of the revelation of the verse that was being debated, namely Surah al-Maidah verse 51 and tried. Meanwhile, the use of the second account emphasizes the literal meaning of the verse and applies it to the current provincial leadership. Significant differences exist between the two religious views in this dialectic, which show variations in the understanding of Quranic verses and their application in the actual case of provincial governor elections. Nuances of differences in aspects of interpretation and fiqh appear dominant in this dialectic.

Dialectics 5

This dialectical pairing took place between account users @indahps97 and @yoitsindiana on account of the candidate pair for governor, and deputy governor of the

regime @ahokdjaort, who needed to be more technical in using religious terms in the field of interpretation or The dialogue tends to be relaxed but looks serious. The issue still revolves around the controversy over the position of the governor being held by Muslims and non-Muslims.

Pasangan @indahps97 vs @yoitsindiana (komentar di akun @ahokdjarot). @indahps97: Assalamualaikum sejatinya pemimpin itu melayani bukan di layani dan bp @ahokdjarot adalah pemimpin yg bertanggungjawab, peduli titik kecil dan apsti tulus dalam bekerja, pilih yg nyata bukan jani, saling menghormati antat beragama, mukmin yg benar adalah mikmin yg tau bgaimana akhlak yg diajarkan rasulullah. Barakallah bp ahok dan bp djarot. #jakartapunyasemua.
 @yoitsindiana: @indahps97 baca2 agi alquran dan pelajari dalil nya lagi. Maen bilang rasulullah aja.
 @indahps97: @indiana737 emg bener kan. @indahps97: @indiana737 mukmin yg baikadl mukmin yg tau sbagaimana akhlak dan sunah yg di ajarkan Rasulallah. Saling menghargai. Agamaku agamaku agamamuitu ada di alquran. Tidak saling mengejek tdk saling menjatuhkan. Kamu dia mereka ita semua saudara.
 @yoitsindiana: @indahps97 emang bener kok, tapi kalo ambil dasar nya umat muslim pilih lah yang pemimpin yang beriman. Dalil nya udah pada tau sendiri kan mba,
 @indahps97: pak h djarot bkn muslim kah? Aku bkn org cgk asli tp aku tau lho ya @indiana737.
 @yoitsindiana: @indahps97 haha sama aja sih jarot berpihak sama ahok, yang ujung2nya termasuk golongan munafik juga. Sama aja boong mba kalo milih 2 cuman milih jarot nya doang, ahok jg termayk kan wkwk gmna sih.

@indahps97: siapa pejabat satu2nya yg bersih dr korupsi, teruataman pd kasus e-ktp? dan siapa yg di pecat dr jabatannya karna kesalahannya dlm kasus negara? @indiana737.

The pair @indahps97 vs @yoitsindiana (comments on the @ahokdjarot account). @indahps97: Assalamualaikum, the true leader is to serve, not be served, and bp @ahokdjarot is a responsible leader, cares about every little thing and is always sincere in his work, chooses what is real, not what is pure, respects each other between religions, the true believer is the believer who knows how to have good morals taught by the Messenger of Allah. Barakallah BP Ahok and BP Djarot. #jakarhasitall. @yoitsindiana: @indahps97, reread the Koran and learn the arguments again. Just say Rasulallah. @indahps97: @indiana737 is right, right? @indahps97: @indiana737 A good believer is a believer who knows the morals and sunnah taught by the Prophet. Mutual respect. My religion is my religion; your religion is in the Koran. Do not make fun of each other; do not put each other down. You, he, they are all brothers. @yoitsindiana: @indahps97 It's true, but if you take the basis that Muslims choose leaders who believe. You already know the argument yourself, Miss @indahps97: Is Mr H Djarot not a Muslim? I'm not a real cake person, but I know, you know, @indiana737. @yoitsindiana: @indahps97, haha, it's the same as Jarot siding with Ahok, who, in the end, is a hypocrite, too. It's the same as lying, sis; if you choose 2, you only choose the tarot. Ahok is too big, right? What's the matter? @indahps97: Who is the only official who is free from corruption, especially in the e-KTP case? Who was fired from his position because of his mistakes in a state case? @indiana737

The user of the @indahps97 account regarding the leadership of non-

Muslim governors does not hold the view that it is haram or prohibited in Islam. On the other hand, the user of the @yoitsindiana account is of the view that in the Islamic religion, it is forbidden or haram to support or elect regional heads who are not Muslim. Their discussion had no technical Islamic religious terms related to theological issues or legal aspects of fiqh. However, there is a labelling of the term hypocrisy to refer to groups that are considered enemies within the Muslim community. The approach used is more about universal moral values such as responsibility, honesty and hard work at work. However, it still refers to the central religious figure in Islam, namely the moral glory of the Prophet Muhammad. His interlocutor was also not very technical and only expressed a widespread view about the validity of his haram view of supporting non-Muslim regional heads.

Dialectics 6

This dialectic was followed by three account users with positions supporting non-Muslim regional heads versus two opponents of this view. Deep discussions took place,

and disagreements were expressed aggressively. The religious issues raised here are theological, socio-religious identity and eschatological aspects.

Pasangan @mellan_13 vs @m.ismailmarzuki vs @titaaa0499
 @mellan_13: kebanyakan org milih soal agamanya ?? emg mau milih ustad yahh kalo mau pilih ustad kali.. ini kan mau nyari pemimpin yg berkualitas kerjanya nyata buatvrakyat tegass. Ya itu semua udh terbukri sm pak ahok pengalaman aja udh banyak kerjanya terbukti. Biarin galak pak biar yg kerja gak pada ngelunjak. Semoga memimpin lg pak nanganin jakarta agar lebih bagus lg kedepannya .. emg negara ini Cuma muslim doang apaya isinya #sayamuslimdansayapilihahokbknk arnagamanyatpkinerjanyaaterbukti.
 @mellan_13: pastii menang gak sombong kalo ngomong ini mahh gak lebay mempromosikan dirinyaa. Terbukti yg lebayy banyak mong menyombongkan dirinya pasti kalah lihat aja yg pertama tuh hebohnya kayak apa udh kalah diem gak berkutik suka pengen ketawa kalo diingetin nya hadoh.
 @m.ismailmarzuki: @mellan_13 naudzubillah. Anda telah dibutakan oleh dunia semoga allah memberi anda hidyaah, akhir kekal dunia sementara. Pilih kah ciptaan allah yg di arang allah. Lalu anada mengabaikan kitab anda? Demi Allah akhirat yg pedih telah menunggu orang2 yg munafik
 @titaaa0499 : @mellan_13 orang gila lu yaa.. gmn nanti kiamat,, lu milih mati, ataudikasih makanan sama dajjal dan hrs jd pengikut dajjal.. pasti lu milihnya jd pengikut dajjal nanti.. Naudzubillah.

Pair @mellan_13 vs @m.ismailmarzuki vs @titaaa0499
 @mellan_13: Most people choose their religion?? I want to choose a Ustad if I want to choose one this time... I want to seek a leader who

can work hard for the people. Yes, all of that has been proven because Mr Ahok's experience alone has proven much work. Let him be fierce, sir, so those working do not slack off. Hopefully, I will lead you again, sir, to make Jakarta better in the future... this country is only Muslim; what is in it # I am a Muslim, and I choose ah okay because of my religion; its performance is proven
 @mellan_13: I am sure I will win, I am not arrogant when I say this, I am not promoting myself too much. It's proven that those who brag too much will surely lose. Just look at the first one. What kind of excitement have you lost? Do not move; I want to laugh when I think about it. @m.ismailmarzuki: @mellan_13 naudzubillah. The world has blinded you; may Allah give you hidyaah, the eternal end of this temporary world. Choose God's creation, which God made. Then you ignore your book? By Allah, a painful afterlife awaits the hypocrites. @titaaa0499: @mellan_13, you are crazy... what will the end be like? You will choose to die or be given food by the Dajjal and have to be a follower of the Dajjal... you will choose to be a follower of the Dajjal later... Naudzubillah

Account user @melan_13 provided comments that explicitly supported Ahok's leadership by describing what he believed to be a real achievement in his responsibility to lead the province. There are no specific religious arguments used to support his views. The user of this account was opposed by two account users, @m.ismailmarzuki and @titaaa0499, with a rebuttal that was

coloured by aspects of differences in faith, divinity and beliefs about the afterlife where supporters of 'infidel' leaders did not get salvation. Even though his leadership has achievements, they are only an illusion and a worldly pleasure that should not be appreciated.

Dialectics 7

One of the exciting things in the post on this Instagram account is a photo that appears to be at the end of the Ahok-Djarot campaign, which represents life with followers of different religions and representatives of religions in Indonesia with markers of religious identity and clothing of followers of specific religions.

Pasangan @berryjamesmanurung vs @adamenka (komentar di akun @ahokdjarot gambar doa yg dipimpin beberapa tokoh agama). @berryjamesmanurung: ini baru Pancasila NKRI. @adamenka: awas tuhannya bingung mau nagepin doa yg mana. @adamenka: @berrymanurung347 yups pancasila itu yg khotbah di gereja titelnya Haji dan yg imamin solat jumat itu Biksu ntap kan ancurnya @berryjamesmanurung: wkakakakakak @adamenka jirrr.. klu ane mah ga ngefek sampai ke ane. @adamenka: @berrymanurung347 hahahahahha tap surantap masbro bhineka tgl ika pake banget

Couple @berryjamesmanurung vs @adamenka (comment on the account @ahokdjarot picture of prayer led by several religious

figures). @berryjamesmanurung: this is just Pancasila NKRI. @adamenka: Be careful; God is confused about which prayer to give @adamenka: @berrymanurung347 yups Pancasila is the one who preaches in the church with the title of Hajj, and the one who leads the Friday prayers is a Monk, it is a mess. @berryjamesmanurung: wkakakakakak @adamenka jar.. for me, it does not have any effect on me @adamenka: @berrymanurung347 hahaha hahaha tap surantap bhineka date use it

Dialectics is more concentrated on the religious and theological interactions and relations that appear in this picture rather than the leadership of Muslim and non-Muslim regional heads. However, it is still very closely related to the dialectic of whether regional heads are not allowed to be Muslim. The account user @adamenka explicitly emphasized the strangeness of praying with people of different religious beliefs. He considers it unacceptable to gather to pray together in the same place and time as followers of different religions. Meanwhile, the opponent of the discussion in this comment, @berryjamesmanurung, considers it a reflection of the cultural and religious diversity of the Indonesian nation with its motto being different but still one (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika), even

though he does not directly provide a religious argument about the phenomenon he appreciates.

Various Religious Public Expressions in the Context of the Pros and Cons of Muslim and Non-Muslim 'Leaders'

From the data description, comments, elaboration and analytical discussion above, the researcher entered the respondents' tendencies into categories formulated using the basic parameters of argumentation in the dialectic of religious views of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial candidates.

First, the discourse on the Dichotomy of Muslims and Non-Muslims (Infidels) regarding theological aspects. The judgment of not obtaining salvation in the afterlife because non-Muslims is an attitude that is quite well established in society because theologically, Christians and other religions are considered to have no faith or have the status of 'infidels' and do not believe in God or at least are deviant in religion so that on this basis they considered to be outside of God's people and deemed to have an incorrect religion. This understanding

influences the strong opposition to any form of support for anything related to a person or religious group outside Islam, especially when they hold public office. The formation of this understanding cannot be separated from the process of crystallizing the results of the interpretations of the ulama in understanding the Koran and Islamic religious teachings in general and problems in religious life where the results of the interpretations and conclusions made are not just one form (monolithic). However, there is one or some that have become mainstream in society.

Second, the Discourse on Fiqh Legal Decisions regarding the Haram and Halal (permissibility) of supporting or electing non-Muslim gubernatorial candidates. The terms haram and halal/permissible are a religious discussion that often appears in the religion of Muslims in Indonesia. Many things are immediately challenged, such as haram and halal. Religion in Indonesia is often coloured by haram-halal discourse, with the word haram connoting a significant sin and the consequences of God's wrath and

being included in God's punishment or despicable in God's eyes. So when there is a decision from the results of ijtiḥād by a religious authority in the form of an ustadz or ulama, then it affects the judgment or labelling carried out by a Muslim person or group against another Muslim person or group as a significant act or violation in religious matters so that it can be given a severe punishment or in Certain cases can be considered outside the Islamic religion. The formation of a tendency to understand religious teachings using a haram-halal approach can be traced to the spread of the study of jurisprudence by Islamic scholars over several centuries - around the 8th and 9th centuries after the founder of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad died in the 7th century. Islam spread beyond the Arabian Peninsula. and interacted with other traditions and cultures. They 'perform ijtiḥād' in interpreting the Islamic religion and try to understand what God wants through the Koran and the Prophet's sunnah as narrated in hadith books. Religion with a fiqh approach looks easy because the ulama decides matters in black and white, haram and halal, so it is easy to understand and practice

and can fulfil the religious passion of people who need certainty in religion.

Third, Discourse on the Nation-State, Public Issues, and Privatization of Religious Affairs. Nationality and religion, in this case, are seen as things that are related and unrelated at the same time. Relating to the meaning of a nation living in the same state system but with freedom of religion and religious teachings, both dominant and less dominant, can influence state regulations. Not related means that state and national affairs are secular/worldly affairs and regulate people's lives, such as the development of infrastructure facilities, housing, education, health, and human welfare, regardless of religious background. Universal human values and public order apply regardless of a particular religion. Therefore, religion becomes irrelevant in the election of the governor of DKI because it is a matter of provincial management which accommodates all the objectives of implementing the affairs of the city's people. Here, a distinction is made between religious matters and matters of public benefit. Religion is a matter for religious leaders and their respective adherents. The regional

government only takes care of civic affairs and the welfare of its citizens, including their rights and obligations, as well as city development aimed at the interests of all Jakarta residents.

There are implications from the discussion and results of this research, namely that religion is an integral part of life, and it is difficult not to influence various aspects of people's lives. Humans throughout the ages and from generation to generation have never stopped discussing the reality of God, God's people, religious truths, and what can and cannot be done according to religion. In the context of discussions and debates about whether or not a Christian can serve as regional head, which occurred in the comments column on the Instagram account of the pair of candidates for governor of Jakarta, religion is still an important issue and influences the lives of Indonesian people. Religious passion is seen to be great, and religion (Islam) is a sacred reference or guide in determining people's views on worldly/secular affairs, such as what happened in the period leading up to the 2017 DKI Jakarta provincial head election. However, people's religious

views are not single. Their religious views have several variations, with various aspects becoming points of view in understanding Islamic teachings.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the research results that have been discussed and analyzed, it can be concluded that there is a strong tendency in public expressions expressed in comments on the Instagram accounts of gubernatorial candidates to link religion to the figure who will lead Jakarta. The variety of religious views towards the Jakarta gubernatorial candidate pair found in this research contained three interrelated themes which became the main points of argument in the dialectic and opposition as to whether or not this non-Muslim governor should be allowed, namely theological, jurisprudence and nationality. Theologically, the understanding that appears is the established understanding of the dichotomy of the status of faith and disbelief, namely Muslims and non-Muslims. The first is God's people, and the second is not God's people or

'infidels', so they are considered and believed not to receive salvation in the afterlife. In terms of Islamic jurisprudence, which is already popular in society, haram and halal are an apparent reference, and the connotation of haram, which is always associated with significant sins, is a favourite parameter in labelling religiously reprehensible acts against the support of non-Muslim gubernatorial candidates. Lastly, nationally, the state foundation of Pancasila and the Indonesian constitution do not regulate or prohibit provincial leadership by non-Muslims and have nothing to do with religion because regional heads are administrative affairs and social public organizations that are culturally and religiously diverse. These three themes are the basis for the arguments in this dialectic, which are conveyed in the form of written opinions in an informal conversational style in the comments column on the Instagram accounts of the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial candidates. The religious views expressed by Instagram account users can be influenced by the formal religious education they received.

Alternatively, informal religious authorities such as ustadz or scholars whose opinions are considered correct and the consumption of religious information is available in print or online on religious websites.

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