



ADDIN

<https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/Addin>

ISSN: 0854-0594; E-ISSN: 2476-9479

Volume 20, Number 1, June 2026: 321-358

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21043/addin.v20i1.36392>

Commodification of Ethnicity and Religiosity in Local Communities in the Simultaneous Election of Regional Heads in Central Kalimantan

Desi Erawati

State Islamic University of Palangka Raya, Indonesia

desi.erawati@uin-palangkaraya.ac.id

Fimier Liadi

State Islamic University of Palangka Raya, Indonesia

fimierliadi@gmail.com

Ibnu A.S. Pelu

State Islamic University of Palangka Raya, Indonesia

ibnu.elmi@uin-palangkaraya.ac.id

Syifa Adiba

State Islamic University of Palangka Raya, Indonesia

syifaadiba22@gmail.com

Shafa

State Islamic University of Palangka Raya, Indonesia

shafa2017@gmail.com

Abstrak

This paper aimed to analyze how ethnic and religious commodification occurs in local communities during the simultaneous election of regional heads, especially in Central Kalimantan. This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach. Documentation, observation, and several supporting

interviews were used in the data collection. Data analysis was carried out using the Miles and Huberman model, including the stages of data reduction, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation. The results show that ethnicity and religiosity are still used as political strategies to gain sympathy and empathy from various levels of society, both the lower middle and upper middle classes. However, these two aspects of identity are not dominant factors in shaping political preferences, suggesting a shift towards more pragmatic, issue-based considerations in the 2024 elections in Central Kalimantan.

Keyword: Commodification, Ethnicity, Religiosity, Local Communities, Simultaneous Elections.

A. Introduction

The 2024 Elections and Simultaneous Elections are democratic processes in Indonesia, and as citizens, the Indonesian people have the right to choose leadership candidates based on their expectations. This democratic party is not left behind, allowing politicians and others to win the most votes and achieve victory. Identity politics arises from the tendency of various identities, be it racial, religious, ethnic, social or cultural to create exclusive politics, rather than forming a traditional party politics broadly, and appearing to promote a particular group without regard for the interests of the larger political group¹ and is one of the strategies that can be used to gain the trust of people with a common identity, be it ethnic, religious, or cultural².

¹ Aminah Aminah et al., "Dampak Politik Identitas pada Pilkada (Studi Kasus Politik Identitas Pasangan Akhyar-Salman pada Pilkada 2020 di Kota Medan)," *Community: Pengawas Dinamika Sosial* 8, no. 2 (January 21, 2023): 245, doi:10.35308/jcpds.v8i2.5719.

² Fakhrar Ridha, "Analisis Politik Identitas Dalam Kemenangan Pasangan Aiyub Abbas Dan Said Mulyadi Pada Pilkada Pidie Jaya 2018," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas*

Identity politics, ethnic voting behavior, and the mobilization of religious sentiments have all been thoroughly studied in recent research on regional elections in Indonesia. This includes studies of ethnic voter behavior in the 2020 Central Kalimantan gubernatorial election, as well as broader analyses of ethnicity and religion as political tools in local electoral contests. However, the majority of the literature currently in publication concentrates on voter preferences, election results, and the normative implications of identity politics, paying little attention to the process of commodification, the deliberate conversion of ethnicity and religion into political resources, symbols, and electoral commodities by candidates, campaign teams, local elites, and community organizations. Furthermore, empirical research on how local communities in Central Kalimantan negotiate, reproduce, or oppose the commercialization of ethnic and religious identities during concurrent regional head elections remains scarce, especially given the province's multicultural social structure, which includes Dayak, Banjar, Javanese, and other groups. Understanding the mechanisms, actors, and sociopolitical ramifications of the commodification of ethnicity and religion at the community level, as well as its implications for social cohesion, democratic participation, and intergroup relations in Central Kalimantan's simultaneous regional elections, is therefore severely lacking.

Basically, identity politics is a positive movement to combat injustice, but in practice, it can be abused. On his journey, he widened and penetrated issues of religion,

beliefs, and diverse cultural ties.³ This is evident in the regional elections in Central Kalimantan, where one of the requirements for leadership is being a “son of the region.” It can be interpreted as a candidate for regional head, a resident (in this case, the Dayak tribe), because he understands regional issues firsthand.

There are several indications of ethnic and religious commodification in some regions, plus the massiveness through online media such as social media on various platforms with hate speech or online hoaxes, not to mention socialization in other forms, such as content that brings down one of the candidates, which can be in the form of billboards or banners ⁴. A similar phenomenon can also be seen in Re-Voting (PSU) in North Barito Regency in 2025, as the results of the regional head election in 2024 are considered invalid by the Constitutional Court (MK). There are indications of money politics to ensure a re-election in 2025. Bawaslu, as one of the election organizing agencies, recorded the alleged practice of money politics, carried out in a structured, systematic, and massive manner. This case shows that identity politics and the commodification of power do not stop at the level of discourse but also occur in the practice of local democracy in Central Kalimantan. Another fact is that not all identity politics is considered a bad thing; rather, it is interpreted positively, as seen in the Dayak and Malay tribes who compete peacefully, for example, in the balance in the recruitment of civil servants and other elite positions.

³ Idham Idham and Suaib Amin Pranowo, “Pilkada, Politik Identitas Dan Kekerasan Budaya,” *Jurnal Renaissance* 5, no. 2 (24 Desember 2020): 656, doi:10.53878/jr.v5i2.117.

⁴ Ukhra, “Isu Politik Identitas Dan Dinasti Politik Dalam Kampanye Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2020,” 349.

Some studies of politics and democracy in development must reflect the aspirations of the people, not just those of certain political elites or dominant political parties. The analysis of identity politics is not only understood in the context of practice, but can also be explained through the theories of political psychology and political marketing. Political psychology explains how cognitive, affective, and social identity factors shape people's political preferences and decision-making behaviors ⁵. Meanwhile, political marketing focuses on the communication and branding strategies candidates use to position themselves as "political products" for voters. These two frameworks provide complementary insights into why issues of ethnicity and religiosity are often used in political contestation, as well as how campaign strategies are designed to align with voters' psychological orientations. ⁶

The analysis of the existence of ethnicity in the political arena is one of the points that is quite taken into account, because an ethnic minority can be ignored if it is not fought, therefore it is necessary to have political action or action to gain sympathy from the elected regional head candidate and play an active role in socializing the programs of a regional head candidate in the hope of providing protection and security for a certain ethnic or community⁷. Sometimes identity politics is used by political parties as the basis of

⁵ Riska Sarofah, Nauval Trian Putra, dan Herdin Arie Saputra, "Pemasaran Politik dan Politik Identitas: Implikasi untuk Keterlibatan dan Minat Pemilih," *Nyimak: Jurnal Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (17 Oktober 2024): 299–310, doi:10.31000/nyimak.v8i2.12196.

⁶ Siti Nur Haliza, Bismar Arianto, dan Rizky Octa Putri Charin, "Comparative Political Marketing Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kota Tanjungpinang Tahun 2024," *Demokrasi: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum, Sosial Dan Politik* 2, no. 2 (30 April 2025): 165–75, doi:10.62383/demokrasi.v2i2.1226.

⁷ Nathan Kar Ming Chan and Francisco Jasso, "From Inter-Racial Solidarity to Action: Minority Linked Fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American Political Participation," *Political Behavior*, 2021, 1–23, doi:10.1007/s11109-021-09750-6.

their existence. It can be seen that the existence of the power and role of religious figures who have a strong mass and influence in society, and some scholars, both structural and non-structural, state that in determining political choices or candidate leaders, because identity politics appears only for a moment. The most important thing is an election that does not leave serious problems⁸.

In some developed countries, such as Switzerland, France, and Denmark, there is potential for social identity in the socio-cultural realm, with informants selected based on education, occupation, and residence. Collective identity tends more towards universality than towards particularism, as seen in developed Western democracies. Differences in religion, ethnicity, and social background are often part of political strategies to gain public support, especially ahead of elections and regional head elections.⁹ From a political marketing perspective, the use of identity is part of an effort to build a candidate's political image, making it easier to gain the voting public's sympathy.¹⁰ Studies on identity politics show that the influence of religious identity and religious figures is still an important factor in mobilizing political support for the Indonesian people.¹¹ This phenomenon shows that group identity still has an important position in practical political dynamics. On the other hand, multiculturalism, as the wealth of Indonesian

⁸ Khairil Anwar, Ahmad Syar'i, Fimier Liadi, *Geopolitik Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2019; Sebuah Survey Politik Identitas Menurut Perspektif Ulama di Kalimantan Tengah*, n.d.

⁹ Simon Bornschier et al., "Bagaimana 'Kita' dan 'Mereka' Berhubungan dengan Perilaku Pemilihan—Struktur Sosial, Identitas Sosial, dan Pilihan Pemilihan," *Studi Politik Komparatif* 54, No. 12 (2021): 2087–2122, doi:10.1177/0010414021997504.

¹⁰ Putra Et Al., *Marketing Politik (Teori Dan Konsep)*.

¹¹ Firdaus M. Yunus, Taslim HM Yasin, and Syamsul Rijal, "Politik Identitas Dan Politisasi Agama Dalam Konteks Pemilu Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 9, no. 2 (September 30, 2023): 121–37, doi:10.29103/jsds.v9i2.12590.

society, is expected to foster mutual respect and tolerance between communities in the midst of existing diversity.

To answer this diversity, it is necessary to refresh the meaning of identity politics not only as a tool or strategy in achieving something, but also as a way that can be done, such as political education starting from the realm of society, education, and others, where informing that in choosing leaders it is necessary to examine or study also on aspects of *their performance* or *track record*, with the hope that if they are selected, they really have the abilities and competencies that are in accordance with their field of expertise. This paper aims to provide an analysis of how the commodification of culture and religion in local communities affects the simultaneous regional elections in 2024. Identity politics is not one of the main factors; rather, it is the profile and professionalism of the candidates elected as leaders at the local, regional, and national levels.

B. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a field research model, and in sampling, aims to collect primary data in this study consisting of three informants (Bakumpai Dayak traditional leaders who are trusted by the surrounding community both structurally and non-structurally) and several local communities who have lived in the area for a long time. The data collection technique carried out in addition to using primary data as well as secondary data, in this case, documents from the election organizers, namely the General Election Commission (KPU), related to the results of the regional elections in Central Kalimantan, especially documents related to the re-voting (PSU) in the North Barito regency area. Other secondary data are from national and international articles,

newspapers, or documents related to the research problem under investigation, as a basis for information on ethnic contestation and religiosity. Before stepping into the data analysis stage, it is necessary to carry out data validity, in this case using triangulation techniques (methods), where the process combines existing documents, as well as the results of in-depth interviews and observations. The reduction of the three techniques is in accordance with the question in this study, namely, how the commodification of ethnicity and religion in local communities affects their choices in the 2024 simultaneous regional elections.

Furthermore, to analyze the study's data, the Miles and Huberman model is used. It begins by presenting all relevant data on ethnic and religious contestation in local communities during the election of regional heads. Furthermore, existing data, both documentation and interviews, can be verified and then analyzed in relation to ethnic and religious commodification in local communities in the 2024 simultaneous regional elections.

C. Result

1. Patterns of Ethnic and Religious Commodification: The Use of the Meaning of the Motto *Uluh Itah/Our People*

The commodification of ethnicity is still developing in society; one indication is the existence of a priority scale for regional/local sons: financially established and faithful. Ethnicity or tribe has become highly regarded as a leader in Central Kalimantan. Affiliation with local ethnicities is maintained because it serves as another political counterweight against the dominance of other ethnicities and the exploitation of natural resources, especially in the interior/rural areas (*Council Urges All Parties to Avoid Identity Politics*, n.d.). As long as identity

politics remains ethical and moral, it is considered reasonable.¹² The concept of *Uluh Itah* is an expression of identity solidarity, with no political dimension. It can be seen that if it clashes with the moment of the regional elections, it will change its meaning and become biased; it can be contextualized on that momentum. The meaning of uluh itah can have exclusive nuances when it is in political momentum; on the contrary, it can mean inclusive in the true meaning, where Dayak people with their culture, or more generally all residents in Central Kalimantan, become part of the local community while still upholding and respecting the rules and participating in developing the region.¹³ The use of the term *uluh itah* in political momentum indicates the presence of political marketing practices that leverage local identity to build social closeness and community support for certain candidates. In this context, cultural identity is not only interpreted as a symbol of the region but also becomes a political instrument for shaping voters' image and loyalty.¹⁴

Several factors cause the exploitation of the local tribes' dominance. First, family members, the closest relatives who influence the local community, often become role models or are referred to as traditional leaders¹⁵. *Second*, it influences government bureaucrats by carrying the ethnicity of local tribes. *Third*, it displays

¹² NY, Interview about local wisdom, 2020.

¹³ Sangkusni, "Jurnal Toddoppuli | Dua Istilah: Uluh Kalteng Dan Uluh Itah," *Jurnal Toddoppuli*, December 2, 2009, <https://jurnaltoddoppuli.wordpress.com/2009/12/02/Dua-Istilah-Uluh-Kalteng-Dan-Uluh-Itah/>.

¹⁴ Wojciech Cwalina, Andrzej Falkowski, And Bruce I. Newman, *Political Marketing:: Theoretical And Strategic Foundations* (New York: Routledge, 2015), Doi:10.4324/9781315701684.

¹⁵ Rara Triana and Rahel Liska, "Politik Identitas: Apakah Politik Identitas Akan Mempengaruhi Popularitas? (Kajian Politik Identitas Dalam Pilkada Kalteng)," *Wacana: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Interdisiplin* 7, no. 2 (December 4, 2020): 163–72.

humble performance, patronage, simplicity, family, honesty, and openness, and is very well known among the local community.¹⁶

The impact of ethnicity as an important factor in contestation is better understood by examining the real conditions in the regional field across natural resources, the economy, education, law, and culture. The positive impact of all policies is based on the geographical and sociological conditions of the people in Central Kalimantan, because not everything can be solved by the bureaucracy in general. However, it can be addressed through cultural channels, such as customary lands.

2. Religion Becomes a Political Commodity

The relationship between religion and politics seems inseparable, and the role of the Ulama remains an idol or role model for the Indonesian people, especially in Central Kalimantan, where many still hold the same *aqidah*. Most of the Bakumpai Dayak tribes spread across Central Kalimantan still hold to the same *aqidah* for their prospective leaders¹⁷. Religious leaders remain role models in all matters, as the Bakumpai people consider Ulama leaders and Imams not only for prayer, fasting, zakat, Hajj, and other matters, but also for issuing fatwas and providing advice in their daily lives.

Religious understanding that remains textual, leading to fanatical attitudes towards religious leaders, is the main factor in choosing leaders. This condition shows that political marketing practices are not only oriented

¹⁶ Ws, Interview With One Of The Informants, 2020.

¹⁷ GH, one of the informants, a community leader, 2020.

toward the delivery of political programs but also toward the formation of candidate images through emotional appeals and religious identity. This aligns with the concept of *political branding, treating candidates as a "brand"* built through symbols, images, and proximity to the voting community. Therefore, religious figures and religious symbols are often used to build positive perceptions and gain political loyalty from the community.¹⁸ The exclusive tribal attitude, to the point of viewing outsiders as foreigners, makes it difficult to develop a broader understanding of religion.¹⁹

According to the Bakumpai Dayak Tribe, Ulama is a central figure in the Bakumpai community who is considered to possess not only religious knowledge but also social knowledge. The exclusive view makes it difficult for the Bakumpai tribe to communicate with outsiders, who wonder why many Bakumpai tribal residents are still below the poverty line. To change the pattern of tribal exclusivism, it is essential to adopt a comprehensive approach that engages all elements of society and government.

The most serious impact is that Bakumpai Tribal Residents are vulnerable to receiving Political Money in the contestation of Elections, both Legislative and Regional Leaders. Exclusive religious understanding can be defeated by an approach that leads to pseudo-welfare, namely, buying and selling votes in the political arena. It is not surprising that in several regional head elections, in

¹⁸ Wojciech Cwalina, Andrzej Falkowski, And Bruce I. Newman, *Political Marketing:: Theoretical And Strategic Foundations* (New York: Routledge, 2015), Doi:10.4324/9781315701684.

¹⁹ Ab, Interview With One Of The Local Residents, 2020.

the pockets of Bakumpai residents, non-Muslim leaders who have a large financial budget are elected²⁰.

3. Fulfillment of Ethnic-Based Economic Resources

Bakumpai residents inhabit the Barito River from Marabahan to the end of the Barito River. Cilik Riwut stated that *Becompaijers/Bekoempaigers/Becompayer* is one of the Dayak Ngaju subethnicities and Muslims. The Bakumpai tribe inhabits the banks of the Barito watershed in South and Central Kalimantan. The livelihoods of the Bakumpai tribe are farming, fishing, and trading. Bakumpai residents: the majority of rainfed farmers have moved; furthermore, planting rubber, rattan, and fruit trees on former farmland/huma. As time progressed, large-scale plantation investors entered, namely, oil palm. The Head of Lemo Village in North Barito Regency revealed, "Many Bakumpai residents are trapped in a momentary favor, namely selling their land to plantation entrepreneurs, until after the money runs out, they become spectators and become manual laborers on the land. The plantations from which the land originated are their own." Thus, the original owners became laborers on their own land.

Residents with the initials "SA" said that life as fishermen or fish seekers, where they are only fishermen, while the owner of capital does not come from the local community, his power is only to distribute as a place to collect or store his catch. After realizing that the Bakumpai Tribe was just a spectator, the movement of the rise began. Bakumpai residents are beginning to realize

²⁰ SR, Interview with one of the local Dayak Bakumpai people, 2020.

that welfare starts from insight and intelligence. The current exclusive pattern does not seem to bring good things to the life of the tribe. The stigma of land ownership, with the jargon “ayung kuh, ayun ikei.” This creates a conflict of interest, one of which is the control of forest land. It can be said that at the normative level, the social civilization of local communities should be preserved and respected for its sacredness, especially in expressing their customary rights. This sense of concern becomes natural if the vote they cast fails to elect them as the candidate.

This conflict can even escalate into a major conflict involving residents and officials. After realizing that the Bakumpai Tribe is currently only a spectator, a spirit began to rise, building large enterprises through concessions with the central government, causing Bakumpai Dayak residents to leave their own land. This triggers conflicts over land grabs that often end up in court and result in casualties. Land concessions, which last for decades, marginalize the Dayak tribe and leave them as spectators in economic land management.

The low level of knowledge and experience of the Dayak Bakumpai people in the management of the economic sector, and to the extent that they seem to be lulled by the value of the rupiah given by entrepreneurs who buy land that has been the basis of their lives. Land controlled by residents to support their lives is lost to plantation entrepreneurs²¹. The invasion of large businesspeople into the control of land owned by residents at low prices, without giving residents any

²¹ SR, JN, Interviews with several local people, n.d.

concessions as partners. Dayak residents are treated as ordinary laborers and paid modest salaries. The loss of assets belonging to the Bakumpai tribe left residents as mere spectators, and most were appreciated only as manual laborers. Moreover, this makes the Bakumpai Dayak tribe remain below the poverty line. Because economic pressure is tightening, the Bakumpai Dayak tribespeople lack the strength to organize their economy. This also results in the inability of the Bakumpai Dayak tribe to compete in the Regional Leadership Election.”²² Although there are one or two people, for example, one of the regents in Central Kalimantan who has led the district for two terms, this is because the person concerned is supported by people in business outside the region, who, of course, have certain commitments, and are involved in determining policies controlled by big businessmen (Oligarki)²³. Therefore, in choosing regional leaders, Dayak residents are somewhat hesitant between idealism and dawn attacks (*political money*), and in one area of Central Kalimantan, the majority of Bakumpai residents elected are non-Muslim outsiders.

4. Analysis Commodification through Social Theory Use of the Meaning of the Uluh Itah Motto

It turns out that ethnic and religious contests in local communities during the election of regional heads are still developing and are used to convince voters and gain their trust. This is evidenced by providing support in

²² IS (Demang Adat Makunjung), Interview with traditional Dayak Bakumpai figures, 2020.

²³ FH, interview with young figures from Bakumpai North Barito, 2020.

the form of materials used for their benefit in the community, such as building houses of worship, and by providing other social assistance. This approach is a movement that plays a major role in ²⁴. The main foundation of the politicization of the local identity is the existence of an oppositional dichotomy that distinguishes the feeling of collectivity, making it easy to exploit regional slogans. It is important to clarify how the use of this slogan fosters an exclusive or hegemonic attitude. Are there specific examples of this slogan being used to discredit other groups? The section on the potential positives of slogan use is also helpful, but it needs to be balanced with the primary focus on commodification.²⁵ Local political elites who come with their regional branding are used as a way to hit opponents who are, incidentally, immigrant groups. The term 'immigrant' is applied to groups that lack genealogical ties, place of birth, marriage, or close relationships with local ethnic leaders. The meaning of *Uluh Itah* can be interpreted as exclusive or hegemonic during regional elections, but in the ideal realm, the slogan of *Uluh Itah* is more open and tolerant of other tribes.

Theoretically, political psychology explains that the use of ethnic symbols, such as the slogan *Uluh Itah*, is an attempt to build emotional bonds and social identities between political elites and Dayak people. Henri Tajfel, in *Social Identity Theory*, views group identity as the tendency for individuals to support groups they perceive

²⁴ Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Brawijaya, Malang and Haboddin, "Menguatnya Politik Identitas di Ranah Lokal."

²⁵ Wening Purbatin Palupi Soenjoto, "Eksplotasi Isu Politik Identitas Terhadap Identitas Politik Pada Generasi Mileneal Indonesia Di Era 4.0," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 4 (2019).

as having cultural and emotional similarities with themselves. This condition then gives rise to in-group favoritism, the tendency for people to show political loyalty to groups considered “their own group.”²⁶ This reality indicates that ethnic slogans no longer function solely as cultural symbols but have become political instruments capable of shaping people’s political preferences and behavior through emotional appeals and collective identities.

In the end, the scope of political movements is shaped by interpretations of local symbols and slogans in the region, intended to gain support from people who feel ‘of the same blood’. The feeling of equality and blood is felt because of the claim of ethnic identity symbols. Ethnic symbols were invented as a form of political communication. This is expressed in regional languages, dialects, and customs ²⁷. Theoretically, political psychology explains that the use of ethnic symbols, such as the slogan “Uluh Itah,” is an effort to build emotional bonds and social identities between the political elite and the Dayak community. The term “our people” conjures a sense of closeness (in-group favoritism), making people more likely to support candidates perceived as belonging to the same group. These cognitive and affective factors suggest that political preferences are not only shaped by rational programs but also by emotional attachments and ethnic identities constructed through local symbols.²⁸

²⁶ David Patrick Houghton, *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2025), doi:10.4324/9781003403364.

²⁷ Ilyas Lampe, “Identitas Etnik dalam Komunikasi Politik,” *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 3 (2010): 299–313.

²⁸ Sarofah, Putra, and Saputra, “Political Marketing and Identity Politics.”

Meanwhile, political marketing explains how the slogan *Uluh Itah* was positioned and marketed as a "political product" by the elite. Through ethnic symbols, the use of local languages, and promises to fight for the interests of indigenous peoples, candidates build an image as protectors of Dayak interests. This strategy is part of political imagery and promotion aimed at attracting voters' sympathy by emphasizing regional values as the campaign's main attraction (Haliza et al.). A symbol of ethnicity that undergoes dialectical dynamics that, at a certain point, becomes a tool for hegemony over other ethnicities. It is exploited by power seekers, who build demarcations in the name of an ethnic or exclusive group²⁹.

Motto *Uluh Itah* is one of the ethnic symbols used by the Dayak tribe. *Uluh Itah*, when translated into Indonesian, means 'our people'. The word reflects the value of solidarity and the spirit of unity³⁰. Such a meaning is then used to politicize the local political elite, aiming to build a political narrative that claims a certain party or group more exclusively and overrides the value of inclusivity and diversity in the wider society³¹. Deeper is intended as the most authentic form of representation of value, *Uluh Itah*.

²⁹ A. Bakir Ihsan Cucu Nurhayati, "Agama, Negara, Dan Masyarakat: Tokoh Agama Di Tengah Politik Identitas Warga Kota," 2020, <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/69074>.

³⁰ Angga Aditya Nugraha, "Politik Identitas Etnis Dayak (Peranan Lembaga Dewan Adat Dayak Periode 2008-2015 Dalam Meraih Rekognisi Terhadap Kekuasaan Di Kalimantan Tengah)" (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021), <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/197558>.

³¹ Mansurni Abadi et al., "Strategi Mitigasi Dampak Negatif Politik Identitas Sebelum dan Sesudah Pemilu," *Electoral Governance Jurnal Tata Kelola Pemilu Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (May 20, 2023): 142–65, doi:10.46874/tkp.v4i2.721.

In addition, the term 'regional son' is also widely used as a form of exploitation of the motto *uluh itah*. Regional sons are interpreted as the successors of ancestral history, thereby emphasizing the importance of leadership rooted in ancestral land. The use of the symbol "on of the regio" not only serves as a cultural identity but also as a means of building emotional legitimacy in the midst of the local community. People's political behavior is often influenced by the closeness of their identity to certain groups and a sense of belonging to them. As a result, people are more likely to support candidates with historical, cultural, and social ties to their group.³² This shows that ethnic identity is not only used as a practical political strategy but also constructed as a symbol of cultural representation and group solidarity. Ethnic politics was then considered a politics of recognition and preservation of cultural wealth. Finally, the exploitation of ethnic political issues in understanding the identity of political actors is always inherent in local communities ³³.

The exploitation of *Uluh Itah's* slogan in the political arena is evident in the way politicians try to arouse the spirit of ethnic pride and solidarity among the Dayak people. With an emphasis on unity and shared identity, political actors can easily rally strong support from local communities ³⁴. This is further strengthened by the promise to fight for local interests, such as protecting

³² Houghton, David Patrick, *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases.*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2025).

³³ Wening Purbatin Palupi Soenjoto, "Eksplorasi Isu Politik Identitas Terhadap Identitas Politik Pada Generasi Milenial Indonesia Di Era 4.0," *Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 4, no. 2 (2019).

³⁴ P. V. Oskolkov, "Ethnicity and Politics: Terminological Debates and Nodal Points of Intersection," *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences* 92, no. 2 (June 1, 2022): S155–60, doi:10.1134/S1019331622080081.

customary tanak rights, improving the welfare of local communities, and preserving local culture. Thus, the political elite tries to build an image as a defender and protector of the rights of the Dayak community.

Furthermore, excessive emphasis on ethnic identity in political contestation can reinforce ethnocentric sentiments³⁵. This can result in the marginalization of other groups that do not identify with the *Uluh Itah* identity. This kind of identity politics risks creating division and tension in diverse societies. Therefore, politicians need to balance championing the interests of certain ethnic groups with maintaining inclusivity and diversity³⁶.

The exploitation of ethnic slogans in politics is a complex phenomenon that has a profound impact on social and political stability. Politicians can use ethnic rhetoric to curb political opposition. In addition, the oppositional construction of ethnic identity status serves as a boundary for segregation in symbolic interactions, determining who can and cannot be in power.³⁷

The tendency to use ethnic identity in political contestation can give rise to patronage practices that emphasize emotional bonds and group similarities over

³⁵ Yoggi Alvi Hamdani, "Politik Identitas Masyarakat Multietnis Kota Sawahlunto Dalam Pilkada Walikota Dan Wakil Walikota Sawahlunto Tahun 2018," *Jurnal Demokrasi Dan Politik Lokal* 2, no. 1 (April 30, 2020): 16–30, doi:10.25077/jdpl.2.1.16-30.2020.

³⁶ Nathan Kar Ming Chan and Francisco Jasso, "From Inter-Racial Solidarity to Action: Minority Linked Fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American Political Participation," *Political Behavior* 45, no. 3 (September 1, 2023): 1097–1119, doi:10.1007/s11109-021-09750-6.

³⁷ Edy Junaedy Syaf, "Pertarungan Simbol Identitas Etnis Sebagai Komunikasi Politik Dalam Pilkada Kota Makassar," *Kareba: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2017, 215–24, Doi:10.31947/Kjik.V6i2.5274.

leadership qualities.³⁸ Political support based on ethnic closeness suggests that people's voting behavior is often influenced by group loyalty and emotional attachment rather than by rational considerations of political programs. Political support built on ethnic closeness suggests that people's voting behavior is often influenced by group loyalty and emotional attachment rather than rational considerations of political programs. This situation makes it easier for ethnic identity to serve as the primary instrument for building a political support base at the local level.³⁹ The exploitation of vulnerable ethnic slogans will reinforce patronage politics, in which political support is built through personal and ethnic relationships rather than through clear political competence or vision. This is vulnerable to undermining the democratic process. When politicians focus more on ethnic divisions than on substantive policy issues, this can reduce the quality of political debate and distract from the real challenges facing society.

Nevertheless, ethnic slogans can also be used for positive purposes, such as promoting inclusivity and reconciliation. Politicians and activists use ethnic slogans to highlight cultural diversity and promote cross-ethnic understanding ⁴⁰. This approach can help overcome prejudices, build community relationships, and strengthen national unity. For example, political

³⁸ Fathudin, Abu Tharim, Nur Habibi Ihya, "Patronage, Clientelism and Identity Politics in Grassroots Democracy Events" (UIN Jakarta, 2020).

³⁹ Houghton, David Patrick, *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2025).

⁴⁰ Siti Komariah Hildayanti, Juhaini Alie, and Bakti Setiadi, "Merayakan Keanekaragaman Kita: Mempromosikan Inklusivitas, Pemahaman Budaya, Keterlibatan Masyarakat, dan Kebanggaan Komunitas," *Jurnal Pengabdian West Science* 2, no. 05 (May 31, 2023): 325–34, doi:10.58812/jpws.v2i5.372.

campaigns that emphasize ethnic diversity as a national asset can help create a more harmonious and inclusive atmosphere.

In addition, the use of the slogan *Uluh Itah* may offer valuable insights into the challenges of integrating culture and politics ⁴¹. This highlights the importance of balancing cultural identity with integrity in political action. In the long run, the exploitation of the *Uluh Itah* slogan can reflect a larger challenge in Indonesian politics: how to maintain the integrity of cultural values in political practice. Furthermore, the slogan *Uluh Itah* can be used to advocate for the protection of the customary rights of the Dayak people, including the right to customary land, environmental conservation, and infrastructure development ⁴². Thus, it can ensure that the local community's needs and aspirations receive the attention they deserve.

In the end, the slogan *of Uluh Itah* has the potential to become a positive force in political contestation if used appropriately, thereby strengthening the spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of Central Kalimantan. However, if abused, it will only become a manipulative tool that erodes public trust in the political process. Overall, the exploitation of ethnic slogans in politics can strengthen political support and group identity, but it is also vulnerable to potentially undermining social cohesion and deepening inter-group tensions that fuel

⁴¹ Clarry Sada, Yabit Alas, and Muhammad Anshari, "Indigenous People of Borneo (Dayak): Development, Social Cultural Perspective and Its Challenges," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 6 (October 9, 2019), doi:10.1080/23311983.2019.1665936.

⁴² Ana Suheri, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Tanah Adat Kalimantan Tengah Dalam Kerangka Negara Hukum," 2018, <https://jurnal.upgriplk.ac.id/index.php/morality/article/view/96>.

ethnic divisions and hinder inclusive development. Therefore, it is important to understand the dynamics behind the exploitation of ethnic slogans and work towards a more inclusive and sustainable approach in politics.

5. Religion Becomes a Political Commodity

Religious issues should be closely related to political contests. There are many cases of politicians who have made religion a political commodity. This is due to the nature of religion, which is highly liquid. Religious sensitivity is the easiest identity to use across various issues in society ⁴³. Religion is considered one of the media or political tools assumed to wield power amid societal heterogeneity ⁴⁴.

Religion is considered an important entity in the Indonesian state. The polarization of the meaning of religion in political contestation becomes a stimulus that then refers to the ideology, values, and attitudes embraced ⁴⁵. In short, in the context of social life in society and the state, the relationship between religion and politics is related. Religion, which was originally intended to eliminate injustice, was eventually used as a tool for political actors to exploit and oppress ⁴⁶.

⁴³ Karman, Ibnu Hamad, and Udi Rusadi, "Commodification of Instrumental Islamic Piety in Indonesian Political Contestation 2019," *Asian Journal of Communication*, May 3, 2024, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01292986.2023.2295871>.

⁴⁴ Pinar Tank, "Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 1 (January 2005): 3–19, doi:10.1080/1468384042000339294.

⁴⁵ Iswandi Syahputra et al., "Escaping Social Media: The End of Netizen's Political Polarization between Islamists and Nationalists in Indonesia?," *Media Asia* 51, no. 1 (January 2, 2024): 62–80, doi:10.1080/01296612.2023.2246726.

⁴⁶ Salahudin et al., "Islamic Political Polarisation on Social Media During the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia," *Asian Affairs* 51, no. 3 (May 26, 2020): 656–71, doi:10.1080/03068374.2020.1812929.

The presence of religion is basically an enlightenment in regulating behavior and norms in society. Religion is a strong basis for re-recognizing people's lives by making religious values and norms a means of community development. Such a context emphasizes religion as a prophetic force that embodies the essence of freeing society from ignorance and iniquity.

However, in reality, religion is interpreted as the core of power, and power is the core of religion. This view ultimately makes religion a political commodity to achieve victory in political contestation ⁴⁷. The politicization of religion then creates hypocrisy and vigilantism. It must be admitted that the dogmatic understanding of religion is used as a tool of justification only. Meanwhile, the pragmatic understanding of religion views it as a formal but minimal symbol, with values and norms serving as its means of functioning in society ⁴⁸.

Political actors can manipulate religion to cover up their failures in other areas, such as economics or public policy. By diverting public attention to religious issues, they can avoid criticism of their performance and shift public focus away from the main issue. When religion is used for political purposes, religious values end up being distorted. Religion, which is supposed to be a moral and spiritual source, eventually becomes a tool of manipulation, diminishing its meaning and sacredness in

⁴⁷ Rafiudin Rafiudin, "Agama dan Kekuasaan (Studi pada Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Warga Al-Khairiyah Cilegon-Banten)," *Tsaqofah* 18, no. 1 (June 28, 2020): 65, doi:10.32678/tsaqofah.v18i1.3182.

⁴⁸ Jati, "Agama dan Politik."

society's eyes and altering public perceptions of religious institutions ⁴⁹.

From a political marketing perspective, religion is often portrayed as a "political product" sold by candidates to the public. *Branding* religiosity, the use of religious symbols, and proximity to religious figures are effective promotional strategies for attracting voters' sympathy. This strategy often shifts towards transactionalism, in which religious issues are not only used for moral legitimacy but also packaged as campaign commodities, even combined with the practice of *money politics* to influence voters' choices ⁵⁰. This shows that religion-based political marketing can strengthen candidate appeal, but at the same time risks distorting the values of religion itself.

The strengthening of the symptoms of religious conservatism that sees the meaning of religion only from the literal side, so that in the end it causes the desacralization of religion ⁵¹. This is because religion has developed into a political tool to strengthen hegemonic power. The inseparable correlation of religion and politics makes it an important locus in situating religion in political relations. The process of synergy between religion and politics perpetuates class domination and subordination, causing oppression of society. Such social

⁴⁹ Emmanuel Chilanga et al., "Religion, Politics and COVID-19 Risk Perception among Urban Residents in Malawi," *BMC Public Health* 22, no. 1 (July 27, 2022): 1430, doi:10.1186/s12889-022-13858-7.

⁵⁰ "Branding Agama Dalam Membentuk Identitas Politik: Kajian Mengenai Selebriti Islam Pada Aksi 212 | Fariszy | Jurnal Media Dan Komunikasi Indonesia," accessed September 17, 2025, <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jmki/article/view/55711/pdf>.

⁵¹ Prof Dr Nasaruddin Umar, "Ketika Agama Mengalami Desakralisasi," *Ketika Agama Mengalami Desakralisasi*, July 7, 2021, <https://uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/id/ketika-agama-mengalami-desakralisasi>.

stratification is an anomalous form of deviation from religious teachings.

The dominance of religion over politics becomes an active attraction, and the two are bound to attract each other as they bring their respective interests into play. Such politics is actually just an art aimed at regulating the realm of power. Textually, politics looks fine; however, in its implementation, it can turn into a scary thing. Finally, the issue of piety identity from the perspective of religiosity is precisely the one that is increasingly debated and, in the end, often makes religion the target of blame. Actually, it is not the wrong religion, but the behavior of the wrong person ⁵².

The complexity of the relationship between religion and the public sphere is considered to break the modernization pattern. Looking at the religious portrait in society reveals a paradox within the framework of Western modernization theory, which positions religion as subordinate in the dynamics of its political life, namely in the public sphere. Attempts to threaten and dominate existence are a consequence of the placement of religion, which is actually private as a way of contestation in the public realm ⁵³.

However, when religion becomes part of political discourse, religious people may be more motivated to participate in the political process. This can increase voter participation rates and citizen engagement in broader

⁵² Syarifudin Syarifudin, "Agama dan Politik: Apa yang Tuhan Perbuat dengannya?," *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas* 2, no. 2 (June 12, 2022): 295-98, doi:10.15575/jis.v2i2.18493.

⁵³ A. Bakir Ihsan and Cucu Nurhayati, *Agama, Negara & Masyarakat. Tokoh Agama di Tengah Politik Identitas Warga Kota* (Jakarta: HAJA Mandiri, 2020), 978-623-90005-8-5.

public issues, as well as increase social awareness of moral and ethical issues. In addition, the involvement of religion in politics is intended to ensure that politics aligns with moral ethics and religious teachings. Religion provides order and values, aiming to create a peaceful, orderly social order.⁵⁴

The use of religion as a political commodity is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it can strengthen political legitimacy, mobilize the masses, and increase social awareness. On the other hand, it can lead to polarization, discrimination, manipulation, and weakening of religious values. Therefore, it is important for politicians and society to be aware of the impact of exploiting religion in politics and seek to use religion as a positive force that promotes unity, justice, and common well-being. Awareness and responsible action from all parties are key to ensuring that religion remains a source of moral inspiration and not a tool of political manipulation.

6. Fulfillment of Ethnic-Based Economic Resources

The economy is a crucial aspect of people's social lives, and it is considered central to community welfare. The existence of interests and needs makes a person strive to be powerful in the economy, given the limited available resources. The economic resources in question are closely related to the results and natural resources of each region.

⁵⁴ Reza A. A. Wattimena, *Untuk Semua Yang Beragama: Agama dalam Pelukan Filsafat, Politik, dan Spiritualitas* (PT Kanisius, 2020).

Nowadays, in an increasingly connected global context, economic resources are linked to existing ethnic identities. Ethnic identity is considered the basis for the division of labor, the formation of economic policies, and, more deeply, the allocation of economic resources. Such a social situation encourages the community to build economic resources in line with its respective geopolitics.

55

More deeply, ethnic identities formed in society can affect the dynamics of economic conflict. Conflicts that are prone to occur include struggles over ethnically based economic resources. The struggle for economic resources is often linked to political control and power. Ethnic identity can be used or exploited in a political context to gain power or access to economic resources. Ethnic groups with political power tend to dominate certain sectors of the economy and use their positions to maintain access to resources. The combination of economic and ethnic power is considered a strong capital for entering political contests.

Ethnic political relations enable the formulation of policies and rules that are beneficial for securing economic resources by being oriented towards ethnic identity as ancestral heritage ⁵⁵. Control over economic resources provides not only material wealth but also significant political power. In many cases, certain ethnic groups use their access to economic resources to

⁵⁵ Eka Mawar Hartati, Bustami Rahman, and Ibrahim Ibrahim, "Inovasi Sosial : Tipologi Ekonomi Politik Berbasis Etnis pada Masyarakat di Kelurahan Sungai Selan Bangka Tengah," *Jurnal Studi Inovasi* 3, no. 1 (January 30, 2023), doi:10.52000/jsi.v3i1.129.

⁵⁶ Husni Setiawan, "Relasi Politik-Ekonomi Masyarakat Desa Adat di Riau," *JSSH (Jurnal Sains Sosial dan Humaniora)* 4, no. 1 (October 9, 2020): 1–11, doi:10.30595/jssh.v4i1.4008.

strengthen their political positions at both the local and national levels ⁵⁷.

D. Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that ethnic and religious commodification remains a significant political strategy in the simultaneous regional head elections in Central Kalimantan. Political actors continue to utilize ethnic and religious identities to attract public sympathy and strengthen emotional connections with voters across different social groups. These identity-based approaches are used to increase political support and enhance candidates' visibility within local communities. However, the study also reveals that ethnicity and religiosity are no longer the primary determinants of voter behavior and political preferences. Although identity politics continues to play a role in electoral campaigns, voters increasingly consider practical issues such as leadership capacity, development programs, economic concerns, and candidates' performance records. This suggests that the influence of identity-based mobilization has become more limited compared to previous electoral periods.

To conclude, the 2024 regional elections in Central Kalimantan demonstrate a gradual shift from identity-centered politics toward more pragmatic and issue-oriented political decision-making. While ethnic and religious identities remain relevant as campaign tools, their effectiveness in shaping electoral outcomes appears to be declining. This development reflects increasing political

⁵⁷ Dicky Dwi Ananta, "Politik Oligarki dan Perampasan Tanah di Indonesia: Kasus Perampasan Tanah di Kabupaten Karawang Tahun 2014," *Jurnal Politik* 2, no. 1 (October 15, 2017): 101, doi:10.7454/jp.v2i1.83.

maturity among voters, who are placing greater emphasis on substantive issues and policy considerations when determining their electoral choices.

During the election period of regional heads, the interest between ethnicity and religiosity became apparent. It is evident that at the time of the election of regional heads, this is very influential; This dimension shows that social reality argues that identity politics is an effective strategic tool, for example, during the campaign there are several strategies carried out including through social, religious, and local traditional ceremonies, which involve religious leaders, traditional leaders, or influential people, and invite the wider community. The next strategy is to establish friendships and embrace religious leaders, traditional leaders, or influential people in society, even if they are not widely known. The approach to ethnicity, religiosity, and economic resources is also pursued by politicians competing in Central Kalimantan's regional elections. In addition, the candidate for regional head must be accepted by all existing tribes, including the Dayak, Banjar, and Javanese, which dominate Central Kalimantan.

REFERENCES

Ab. interview with one of the local residents, 2020.

Abadi, Mansurni, Cenruang Alung, Iman Permadi, and Yana Schova. "Strategi Mitigasi Dampak Negatif Politik Identitas Sebelum dan Sesudah Pemilu." *Electoral Governance Jurnal Tata Kelola Pemilu Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (May 20, 2023): 142–65. doi:10.46874/tkp.v4i2.721.

Aminah, Aminah, Feby Gustira Harahap, Effendi Hasan, Muliawati Muliawati, and Ubaidullah Ubaidullah. "Dampak Politik Identitas pada Pilkada (Studi Kasus Politik Identitas Pasangan Akhyar-Salman pada Pilkada 2020 di Kota Medan)." *Community: Pengawas Dinamika Sosial* 8, no. 2 (January 21, 2023): 245–57. doi:10.35308/jcpds.v8i2.5719.

Ananta, Dicky Dwi. "Politik Oligarki dan Perampasan Tanah di Indonesia: Kasus Perampasan Tanah di Kabupaten Karawang Tahun 2014." *Jurnal Politik* 2, no. 1 (October 15, 2017): 101. doi:10.7454/jp.v2i1.83.

Bornschier, Simon, Silja Häusermann, Delia Zollinger, and Céline Colombo. "How 'Us' and 'Them' Relates to Voting Behavior—Social Structure, Social Identities, and Electoral Choice." *Comparative Political Studies* 54, no. 12 (2021): 2087–2122. doi:10.1177/0010414021997504.

"Branding Agama Dalam Membentuk Identitas Politik: Kajian Mengenai Selebriti Islam Pada Aksi 212 | Fariszy | Jurnal Media Dan Komunikasi Indonesia." Accessed September 17, 2025. <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jmki/article/view/55711/pdf>.

Chan, Nathan Kar Ming, and Francisco Jasso. "From Inter-Racial Solidarity to Action: Minority Linked Fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American

- Political Participation.” *Political Behavior*, 2021, 1–23. doi:10.1007/s11109-021-09750-6.
- . “From Inter-Racial Solidarity to Action: Minority Linked Fate and African American, Latina/o, and Asian American Political Participation.” *Political Behavior* 45, no. 3 (September 1, 2023): 1097–1119. doi:10.1007/s11109-021-09750-6.
- Chilanga, Emmanuel, Mastano Dzimbiri, Patrick Mwanjawala, Amanda Keller, and Ruth Agather Mbeya. “Religion, Politics and COVID-19 Risk Perception among Urban Residents in Malawi.” *BMC Public Health* 22, no. 1 (July 27, 2022): 1430. doi:10.1186/s12889-022-13858-7.
- Cwalina, Wojciech, Andrzej Falkowski, and Bruce I. Newman. *Political Marketing:: Theoretical and Strategic Foundations*. New York: Routledge, 2015. doi:10.4324/9781315701684.
- “Fakta Unik: Barito Utara Jadi Satu-Satunya Daerah Yang Ulang PSU Dua Kali, Bawaslu RI Tegaskan Pengawasan Luar Biasa.” Accessed September 17, 2025. <https://planet.merdeka.com/hot-news/fakta-unik-barito-utara-jadi-satu-satunya-daerah-yang-ulang-psu-dua-kali-bawaslu-ri-tegaskan-pengawasan-luar-biasa-442483-mvk.html>.
- Fathudin, Abu Tharim, Nur Habibi Ihya. “Patronase, Klientelisme Dan Politik Identitas Dalam Perhelatan Demokrasi Akar Rumput.” UIN Jakarta, 2020.
- FH. interview with young figures from Bakumpai North Barito, 2020.
- Flinders, Matthew, and Markus Hinterleitner. “Party Politics vs. Grievance Politics: Competing Modes of Representative Democracy.” *Society* 59, no. 6 (2022): 672–81. doi:10.1007/s12115-022-00686-z.

GH. one of the informants, a community leader, 2020.

Haliza, Siti Nur, Bismar Arianto, and Rizky Octa Putri Charin. "Comparative Political Marketing Pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kota Tanjungpinang Tahun 2024." *Demokrasi: Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum, Sosial Dan Politik* 2, no. 2 (April 30, 2025): 165–75. doi:10.62383/demokrasi.v2i2.1226.

Hamdani, Yoggi Alvi. "Politik Identitas Masyarakat Multietnis Kota Sawahlunto Dalam Pilkada Walikota Dan Wakil Walikota Sawahlunto Tahun 2018." *Jurnal Demokrasi Dan Politik Lokal* 2, no. 1 (April 30, 2020): 16–30. doi:10.25077/jdpl.2.1.16-30.2020.

Hartati, Eka Mawar, Bustami Rahman, and Ibrahim Ibrahim. "Inovasi Sosial : Tipologi Ekonomi Politik Berbasis Etnis pada Masyarakat di Kelurahan Sungai Selan Bangka Tengah." *Jurnal Studi Inovasi* 3, no. 1 (January 30, 2023). doi:10.52000/jsi.v3i1.129.

Hermansyah, Yus. "Politik Identitas Lokal Dalam Proses Demokrasi Indonesia." *Madani Jurnal Politik Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 14, no. 02 (August 10, 2022): 139–58. doi:10.52166/madani.v14i02.3236.

Hildayanti, Siti Komariah, Juhaini Alie, and Bekti Setiadi. "Merayakan Keanekaragaman Kita: Mempromosikan Inklusivitas, Pemahaman Budaya, Keterlibatan Masyarakat, dan Kebanggaan Komunitas." *Jurnal Pengabdian West Science* 2, no. 05 (May 31, 2023): 325–34. doi:10.58812/jpws.v2i5.372.

Houghton, David Patrick. *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2025.

———. *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2025.

- Houghton, David Patrick. *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals, and Cases*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2025. doi:10.4324/9781003403364.
- Idham, Idham, and Suaib Amin Pranowo. "Pilkada, Politik Identitas Dan Kekerasan Budaya." *Jurnal Renaissance* 5, no. 2 (December 24, 2020): 650–56. doi:10.53878/jr.v5i2.117.
- Ihsan, A. Bakir, and Cucu Nurhayati. *Agama, Negara & Masyarakat. Tokoh Agama di Tengah Politik Identitas Warga Kota*. Jakarta: HAJA Mandiri, 2020. 978-623-90005-8-5.
- IS (Demang Adat Makunjung). Interview with traditional Dayak Bakumpai figures, 2020.
- Jati, Wasisto Raharjo. "Agama dan Politik: Teologi Pembebasan Sebagai Arena Prefetisasi Agama." *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 22, no. 1 (June 15, 2014): 133–56.
- Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Brawijaya, Malang, and Muhtar Haboddin. "Menguatnya Politik Identitas di Ranah Lokal." *Journal of Government and Politics* 3, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 109–26. doi:10.18196/jgp.2012.0007.
- Karman, Ibnu Hamad, and Udi Rusadi. "Commodification of Instrumental Islamic Piety in Indonesian Political Contestation 2019." *Asian Journal of Communication*, May 3, 2024. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01292986.2023.2295871>.
- Khairil Anwar, Ahmad Syar'i, Fimier Liadi. *Geopilitik Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2019; Sebuah Survey Politik Identitas Menurut Perspektif Ulama di Kalimantan Tengah*, n.d.
- Lampe, Ilyas. "Identitas Etnik dalam Komunikasi Politik." *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 3 (2010): 299–313.

- Ni'am, Harun. "Pemilihan Umum 2024 Dan Wacana Tiga Periode: Perspektif Komunikasi Politik." *SPEKTRUM* 20, no. 1 (January 19, 2023): 1-15. doi:10.31942/spektrum.v20i1.7941.
- Nugraha, Angga Aditya. "Politik Identitas Etnis Dayak (Peranan Lembaga Dewan Adat Dayak Periode 2008-2015 Dalam Meraih Rekognisi Terhadap Kekuasaan Di Kalimantan Tengah)." Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021. <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/197558>.
- Nurhayati, A. Bakir Ihsan Cucu. "Agama, Negara, Dan Masyarakat: Tokoh Agama Di Tengah Politik Identitas Warga Kota," 2020. <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/69074>.
- NY. Interview about local wisdom, 2020.
- Onuora, Ngozi. "(PDF) Politics of Ethnicity: Ndiigbo and 2015 Election," 2018. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339324285_Politics_of_Ethnicity_Ndiigbo_and_2015_Election.
- Oskolkov, P. V. "Ethnicity and Politics: Terminological Debates and Nodal Points of Intersection." *Herald of the Russian Academy of Sciences* 92, no. 2 (June 1, 2022): S155-60. doi:10.1134/S1019331622080081.
- Putra, Fajar Setyaning Dwi, Dindin Abdurohim BS, Yanti Susila T, Andi Hartati, Ade Putra Ode Amame, Ita Musfirowati Hanika, Yoki Yusanto, and Hari Nugroho. *Marketing Politik (Teori dan Konsep)*. Penerbit Widina, n.d.
- Rafiudin, Rafiudin. "Agama dan Kekuasaan (Studi pada Gerakan Sosial Keagamaan Warga Al-Khairiyah

- Cilegon-Banten)." *Tsaqofah* 18, no. 1 (June 28, 2020): 65. doi:10.32678/tsaqofah.v18i1.3182.
- Ridha, Fakhrar. "Analisis Politik Identitas Dalam Kemenangan Pasangan Aiyub Abbas Dan Said Mulyadi Pada Pilkada Pidie Jaya 2018." *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial & Ilmu Politik* 8, no. 1 (February 2, 2023). <https://jim.usk.ac.id/FISIP/article/view/23389>.
- Sada, Clarry, Yabit Alas, and Muhammad Anshari. "Indigenous People of Borneo (Dayak): Development, Social Cultural Perspective and Its Challenges." *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 6 (October 9, 2019). doi:10.1080/23311983.2019.1665936.
- Salahudin, Achmad Nurmandi, Hasse Jubba, Zuly Qodir, Jainuri, and Paryanto. "Islamic Political Polarisation on Social Media During the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia." *Asian Affairs* 51, no. 3 (May 26, 2020): 656–71. doi:10.1080/03068374.2020.1812929.
- sangkusni. "Jurnal Toddoppuli | Dua Istilah: Uluh Kalteng Dan Uluh Itah." *Jurnal Toddoppuli*, December 2, 2009. <https://jurnaltoddoppuli.wordpress.com/2009/12/02/dua-istilah-uluh-kalteng-dan-uluh-itah/>.
- Sarofah, Riska, Nauval Trian Putra, and Herdin Arie Saputra. "Political Marketing and Identity Politics: Implications for Voter Engagement and Interest." *Nyimak: Journal of Communication* 8, no. 2 (October 17, 2024): 299–310. doi:10.31000/nyimak.v8i2.12196.
- Setiawan, Husni. "Relasi Politik-Ekonomi Masyarakat Desa Adat di Riau." *JSSH (Jurnal Sains Sosial dan Humaniora)* 4, no. 1 (October 9, 2020): 1–11. doi:10.30595/jssh.v4i1.4008.

- Sipa, Amar Muhyi Diinis. "Marketing Politik Kampanye Religius Pemilu Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 6, no. 2 (December 28, 2021): 150–62. doi:10.14421/jkii.v6i2.1196.
- Soenjoto, Wening Purbatin Palupi. "Eksplorasi Isu Politik Identitas Terhadap Identitas Politik Pada Generasi Milenial Indonesia Di Era 4.0." *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 4, no. 2 (2019).
- SR. Interview with one of the local Dayak Bakumpai people, 2020.
- SR, JN. Interviews with several local people, 2020.
- Sudirman. "Dinamika Politik Lokal Dalam Social Capital (Modal Sosial)." *Jurnal Academica Fisp Untad* 04 (2012).
- Suheri, Ana. "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Tanah Adat Kalimantan Tengah Dalam Kerangka Negara Hukum," 2018. <https://jurnal.upgriplk.ac.id/index.php/morality/article/view/96>.
- Syaf, Edy Junaedy. "Pertarungan Simbol Identitas Etnis Sebagai Komunikasi Politik Dalam Pilkada Kota Makassar." *KAREBA : Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2017, 215–24. doi:10.31947/kjik.v6i2.5274.
- Syahputra, Iswandi, Waryani Fajar Riyanto, Fatma Dian Pratiwi, and Rika Lusri Virga. "Escaping Social Media: The End of Netizen's Political Polarization between Islamists and Nationalists in Indonesia?" *Media Asia* 51, no. 1 (January 2, 2024): 62–80. doi:10.1080/01296612.2023.2246726.
- Syarifudin, Syarifudin. "Agama dan Politik: Apa yang Tuhan Perbuat dengannya?" *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas* 2, no. 2 (June 12, 2022): 295–98. doi:10.15575/jis.v2i2.18493.

- Tank, Pinar. "Political Islam in Turkey: A State of Controlled Secularity." *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 1 (January 2005): 3–19. doi:10.1080/1468384042000339294.
- Taufiq Tanasaldy. *Politik Identitas Ethnik di Kalimantan Barat*, n.d.
- Triana, Rara, and Rahel Liska. "Politik Identitas: Apakah Politik Identitas Akan Mempengaruhi Popularitas? (Kajian Politik Identitas Dalam Pilkada Kalteng)." *Wacana: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Interdisiplin* 7, no. 2 (December 4, 2020): 163–72.
- Ukhra, Aunil. "Isu Politik Identitas Dan Dinasti Politik Dalam Kampanye Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2020." Undergraduate, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2022. <http://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jppk/article/view/24405>.
- Umar, Prof Dr Nasaruddin. "Ketika Agama Mengalami Desakralisasi." *Ketika Agama Mengalami Desakralisasi*, July 7, 2021. <https://uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/id/ketika-agama-mengalami-desakralisasi>.
- Wati, Widya. "Menguatnya Politik Identitas Di Indonesia Baik Karena Faktor Agama, Sosial, Dan Etnis." *Jurnal Pendidikan PKN (Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan)* 2, no. 2 (September 28, 2021): 66–87. doi:10.26418/jppkn.v2i2.44627.
- Wattimena, Reza A. A. *Untuk Semua Yang Beragama: Agama dalam Pelukan Filsafat, Politik, dan Spiritualitas*. PT Kanisius, 2020.
- Wening Purbatin Palupi Soenjoto. "Eksplorasi Isu Politik Identitas Terhadap Identitas Politik Pada Generasi Milenial Indonesia Di Era 4.0." *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 4 (2019).
- WS. interview with one of the informants, 2020.

Yunus, Firdaus M., Taslim HM Yasin, and Syamsul Rijal. "Politik Identitas Dan Politisasi Agama Dalam Konteks Pemilu Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika Sosial* 9, no. 2 (September 30, 2023): 121–37. doi:10.29103/jsds.v9i2.12590.